

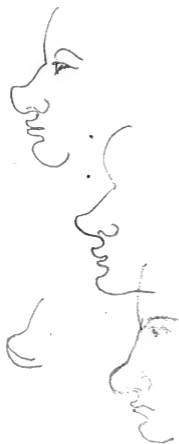
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THE
HISTORY OF ROME,

TO THE
END OF THE REPUBLIC.

BY
THOMAS KEIGHTLEY,

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF GREECE, MYTHOLOGY OF GREECE AND ITALY.
OUTLINES OF HISTORY, THE CRUSADERS, ETC. ETC.

FOURTH EDITION.

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PREFACE

TO

THE FOURTH EDITION.

AMONG the valuable discoveries which have illustrated the present century, that of the true nature of the early Roman history by Niebuhr may justly claim an honourable place. Had therefore Goldsmith's and other histories of Rome even contained, as they do not, all that was known on the subject at the time they were composed, still a new history would be required for general use adapted to the present state of knowledge. The sale of three very large impressions of the present History of Rome in less than seven years perhaps proves this view to be correct.

Constant occupation prevented me from revising the preceding editions of this history and that of Greece, as I could have wished. Having at length terminated my historic labours, I have devoted the leisure of which I found myself possessed to a careful comparison of them both with the original authorities and some modern works of high repute. The result has been, that I have detected some errors, and become aware of some deficiencies. The former have been corrected, the latter I have endeavoured to supply, and they will both now I trust be found as free from error and defect as any histories of the kind well can be. As to those of England and of the Roman Empire, they were written with so much care, that I have as yet found little in them to amend. Among the improvements in the histories of Greece and Rome, may be mentioned the constant reference in the notes of the one to the contemporary events of the other, and the complete list of the

lost or extant authorities given in the Appendix. A residence of nearly a year in Italy, three months of which were spent (and not idly spent) in Rome, has enabled me to give greater accuracy in geography and topography to this history than it previously possessed. On the whole, I now see no further improvement that I can make.

Down to the end of the first Punic war, I claim to be little more than the copyist of Niebuhr, though the reflections are often my own, and the narrative is generally derived from Livy and Dionysius. I have taken care to insert in the narrative only such of Niebuhr's views as may be regarded as demonstrated, while those which are more problematic are placed in separate chapters; so that even should these views prove to be erroneous (a case not very likely to occur), the value of this history will be thereby little impaired. I know there are some to whom they are distasteful, who cannot, for example, endure to see Rome's first two kings treated as mere creatures of imagination; but this proceeds entirely from want of familiarity with the principles of mythology. I had hoped by my work on that subject to diffuse a general taste for its cultivation; but my expectations stand, I fear, little chance of being realised: I console myself, however, with the knowledge of the work being highly appreciated by the most eminent philologists of Germany.

From the first Punic war to the end of the volume, both narrative and reflections are entirely my own, and I claim the praise, and submit to the censure, to which they may be entitled. In the latter chapters of the last Part, some alterations will be perceived in the present edition.

"No history of Rome," says Clinton, "should be written without the Varronian years of Rome; nor any history of Greece without the Olympiads." To the latter part of this injunction I have yielded implicit obedience; to the former I have been less submissive, having, with Livy and Niebuhr, given the preference to the Catonian computation. In reality, I do not discern the superior advantage of the Varronian æra; all systems are alike conjectural, and all that seems to me to be requisite is, that the writer should inform the reader which

of them he employs. As the years before Christ form a common measure for Grecian and Roman history, I have placed them at the top of each page.

In proper names, when, as in Ahala, the penultimate is long otherwise than by position or a diphthong, I have marked it by an *apex*, as Ahâla, the first time it occurs, and in the Index; but in names ending in *atus*, *osus*, and *inus*, it is omitted, as their quantity is generally known. This practice I know derogates from the dignity of my histories, but I cheerfully make the sacrifice to utility.

Though my histories have this elementary appearance, I should feel rather mortified to see them looked on as mere school-books. In the Preface to the History of Greece it will be seen that I consider them adapted to readers of a higher class than school-boys; and I now add, that in my opinion even scholars may find them useful manuals. It is with a view to them that I have given so many references to the original authorities. I also hope that travellers in Italy will find this history and that of the Empire useful companions of their route. For *their* use I have added a Geographical Index of the places in Italy mentioned in the narrative, with their modern names; by means of which the campaigns of Hannibal and others may be followed with satisfaction by those who have only a modern map of that country.

Still it is chiefly for youth that my histories are designed; and I feel a pride in being able to say, that so rapid and so general has been their adoption in the schools, that there are few of any reputation in England or Ireland in which they are not now read, and they have all been reprinted in the United States. I am not a believer in the omnipotence of education; yet still I think that they will tend to cherish in the breasts of youth the love of country and of liberty, respect for religion and justice, and hatred of tyranny in all its forms, and that thus I shall not have laboured in vain.

My historic career is now terminated. In the space of about seven years I have written the Histories of Greece, Rome, and England, from the original authorities, and, as I

believe, without party bias. It is on the last-named work that I set the greatest value, as a history of England written with impartiality is a novelty in our literature. But it is not on my histories that any reputation I may have will depend; for few can estimate the difficulty of epitomising, or discern the amount of reading requisite for arriving at correct results; and any of them will appear to most persons easy of execution as compared with my *Mythology of Greece and Italy*. Probably my *Outlines of History* will be rated higher than the more detailed histories. I myself, at least, esteem it more: it was my first; it was literally (I know not whether I should mention it with pride or shame) *thrown off at a heat* without previous preparation, and in the space of less than a dozen weeks, and its sale has been most extensive. It has the merits and defects of rapid execution. If I deceive not myself, there is in it a freshness, a vigour, and animation beyond what my other works display; while I cannot answer for its uniform accuracy as for theirs; for I was not equally familiar with all parts of the history of the world, the requisite books were not always within my reach, and I was obliged to complete the work within a limited period of time. I have since revised and corrected some parts of it; but my studies now having taken a different direction, it will, I fear, never be in my power to undertake the extensive course of reading requisite for verifying all its statements.

In conclusion, I must request of teachers to recollect that my histories are intended for various classes of readers: they should not therefore, I think, exact from their pupils an accurate knowledge of all that they contain. Dates and numbers, for example, need only be committed to memory in important cases; and a knowledge of the two last chapters of the *First* and the conclusion of the *Second Part*, and the *Appendix*, need not be required from the very young. They should however be made to study the article *B*, on the city of Rome.

London, Nov. 1, 1842.

T. K.

PRELIMINARY NOTICES.

Roman Chronology.

THE taking of the City by the Gauls is the event which was used to connect the Grecian and Roman chronology, from which 360 years were reckoned back to the foundation of Rome. By some that event was placed in Ol. 98, 1. B.C. 388; by others in Ol. 98, 2. B.C. 387. Fabius, taking the former without a necessary correction of four years, placed the building of Rome in Ol. 8, 1. B.C. 747; Cato, from the same date with the correction, in Ol. 7, 1. B.C. 751; Polybius and Nepos, taking the latter date with the correction, in Ol. 7, 2. B.C. 750; while Varro placed it in Ol. 6, 3. B.C. 753. The æras in use are the Catonian, Varronian, and that of the Capitoline Marbles (as they are called), which is a mean between those two; the date of the commencement of our æra being 752 Cat., 753 Cap. Mar., 754 Varr. The Catonian is that used in the following pages, and the year B.C. may always be obtained by subtracting any given date from 752.

Roman Money.

The lowest Roman coin, the *As*, was originally a pound weight of brass (*æs*), but it was gradually reduced to half an ounce. The Sesterce (*Sestertius*, i. e. *semis-tertius*), also named *nummus*, contained $2\frac{1}{2}$ asses, and was usually expressed by H.S. (an abbreviation of L.L.S. *Libra, libra, semis*, or of 1.1. $\frac{1}{2}$). The Denar (*denarius*) contained 10 (*deni*) asses; the *Sestertium*, 1000 *sestertii*.

The Roman denar was to the Attic drachma as 8 to 9. As the latter was equal to $9\frac{1}{4}d.$ of our money, (see Hist. of Greece, p. xvi.) the former must have been worth $8\frac{3}{4}d.$, the sesterce consequently $2\frac{1}{4}d.$, and the as $0\frac{1}{2}d.$ or somewhat more than three farthings. The usual value however assigned to the sesterce is $1d. 3\frac{3}{4}q.$, and to the as, $3\frac{1}{10}q.$

Roman Measures of Length and Breadth.

The Roman foot was equal to 11.604 English inches, or to 10 inches 11 lines Paris measure. Five feet made the pace (*passus*) = 4 feet

10·02 inches : 1000 paces (*mille passus*) are called the Roman *mile*, a word derived from *mille*.

The Roman *actus* was a square of 120 feet, containing therefore 14,400 square feet ; two Actus made the Juger (from *jugum*), which consequently measured 240 feet by 120. Seven Jugers are equivalent to five English acres.

Roman Names.

The Romans had two, three, four, or more names ; 1. The *prænomen*, or Christian name, as we may term it, as Aulus Caius, ending (the antiquated Kæso, Lar, Opiter, Agrippa, and Volero excepted) in *us*. 2. The *nomen*, or gentile name (that of their *gens*), as Julius, Furius ; no Roman was without this name ; it always ended in *ius*. 3. The *cognomen*, or family-name, as Scipio, Sulla, Marcellus. 4. The *agnomen*, or name of honour, as Africanus : *ex. gr.* Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus.

The abbreviations of the prænomena are as follow :—

A. Aulus ; Ap. or App. Appius ; C. Caius ; Cn. Cnæus ; D. Decimus ; K. Kæso or Cæso ; L. Lucius ; Mam. Mamercus ; M. Marcus ; M'. Manius ; N. Numerius ; P. Publius ; Q. Quintus ; S. or Sex. Sextus ; Ser. Servius ; Sp. Spurius ; T. Titus ; Ti. or Tib. Tiberius.

These prænomena (Appius and Cæso excepted) were common to most families ; the more unusual ones were peculiar to some families : thus none but the Menenii and Furii bore that of Agrippa, none but the Fabii, Quinctii, Atinii and Duillii that of Cæso ; the Cominii and Æbutii alone bore that of Postumius ; Volero was peculiar to the Publilii, Opiter to the Virginii, Lar to the Herminii, Vopiscus to the Julii, and Appius to the patrician Claudii.

Women had not a prænomen ; the daughters of a Fabius, for example, if only two, were called Fabia major and Fabia minor ; if more than two, Fabia prima, secunda, tertia, etc.

The Romans when adopted placed their own gentile or family name last : thus Æmilius, when adopted by Scipio, was named P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus ; and M. Junius Brutus, when adopted by Cæpio, became Q. Servilius Cæpio Brutus.

ERRATA.

- Page 70, note §, *dele* πρεσβύτεροι, and
 Page 212, note †, *for* dictatorem *read* dictatorem
 Page 220, line 14, *for* Campania *read* Apulia

CONTENTS.

PART I.

THE REGAL PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

Page

<u>DESCRIPTION of Italy.—Ancient inhabitants of Italy.—The Pelasgians.—The Oscans.—The Latins.—The Umbrians.—The Sabellians.—The Etruscans.—The Ligurians.—The Italian Greeks.—Italian religion.—Political constitution</u>	1
---	---

CHAPTER II.

<u>Æneas and the Trojans.—Alba.—Numitor and Amulius.—Romulus and Remus.—Building of Rome.—Reign of Romulus.—Roman constitution.—Numa Pompilius.—Tullus Hostilius.—Ancus Marcius ...</u>	8
---	---

CHAPTER III.

<u>L. Tarquinius Priscus.—Servius Tullius.—L. Tarquinius Superbus.—Tale of Lucretia.—Abolition of royalty.—Conspiracy at Rome.—Death of Brutus.—War with Porsenna.—Battle of the Regillus. ...</u>	20
--	----

CHAPTER IV.

<u>The regal period of Rome, according to the views of Niebuhr</u>	36
--	----

CHAPTER V.

<u>The origin and progress of the Roman constitution, according to Niebuhr</u>	44
--	----

PART II.

THE CONQUEST OF ITALY.

CHAPTER I.

<u>Beginning of the republic.—The dictatorship.—Roman law of debt.—Distress caused by the law of debt.—Secession to the Sacred</u>	
--	--

	Page
Mount.—The tribunate.—Latin constitution.—Treaty with the Latins.—War with the Volscians.—Treaty with the Hernicans	57
CHAPTER II.	
The public land.—Agrarian law of Spurius Cassius.—The consulate.—Volscian wars.—Veientine war.—The Fabii at the Cremera.—Siege of Rome.—Murder of the tribune Genucius.—Rogation of Volero Publilius.—Defeat of the Roman army.—Death of Appius Claudius	63
CHAPTER III.	
Volscian war.—Legend of Coriolanus.—The Terentilian law.—Seizure of the Capitol by the exiles.—Dictatorship of Cincinnatus.—The first decemvirate.—The second decemvirate.—Sicinius Dentatus.—Fate of Virginia.—Abolition of the decemvirate	81
CHAPTER IV.	
Victories of Valerius and Horatius.—Canuleian law.—Censorship and military tribunate.—Feud at Ardea.—Sp. Mælius.—Æquian and Volscian war.—Capture of Fidenæ.—Volscian war.—Murder of Postumius by his own soldiers.—Veientine war.—Capture of Veii.—Siege of Falerii.—Exile of Camillus	99
CHAPTER V.	
The Gauls.—Their invasion of Italy.—Siege of Clusium.—Battle of the Alia.—Taking of Rome.—Rebuilding of the city.—Distress of the people.—M. Manlius.—The Licinian rogations.—Pestilence at Rome.—M. Curtius.—Hernican war.—Combat of Manlius and a Gaul.—Gallic and Tuscan wars.—Combat of Valerius and a Gaul.—Reduction of the rate of interest	114
CHAPTER VI.	
First Samnite war.—Mutiny in the Roman army.—Peace with the Samnites.—Latin war.—Manlius put to death by his father.—Battle of Vesuvius, and self-devotion of Decius.—Reduction of Lutium.—Publilian laws.—Second Samnite war.—Severity of the dictator Papirius.—Surrender at the Caudine Forks.—Capture of Sora.—Tuscan war.—Passage of the Ciminian Wood.—Samnite and Tuscan wars.—Peace with the Samnites.	132
CHAPTER VII.	
Third Samnite and Etruscan wars.—Battle of Sentinum and self-devotion of Decius.—Battle of Aquilonia.—Reduction of the Samnites.—Hortensian law.—Worship of Æsculapius introduced.—Lucanian war.—Roman embassy insulted at Tarentum.—Gallic and Etruscan war	152
CHAPTER VIII.	
Arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy.—Battle on the Siris.—Cineas at Rome.—Approach of Pyrrhus to Rome.—Battle of Asculum.—Pyrrhus in Sicily.—Battle of Beneventum.—Departure of Pyrrhus.—Italian allies.—Censorship of Ap. Claudius.—Change in the constitution.—The Roman legion.—Roman literature	162

PART III.CONQUEST OF CARTHAGE AND MACEDONIA.CHAPTER I.

Carthage.—First Punic war.—Siege of Agrigentum.—Roman fleet.—	Page
Naval victory of Duilius.—Invasion of Africa.—Defeat and capture	
of Regulus.—Losses of the Romans at sea.—Battle at Panormus.—	
Death of Regulus.—Defeat of Claudius.—Victory at the Ægæan	
Isles.—Peace with Carthage.—Effects of the war	175

CHAPTER II.

Civil war at Carthage.—Illyrian war.—Gallic wars.....	191
---	-----

CHAPTER III.

Conquests of the Carthaginians in Spain.—Taking of Saguntum.—	
March of Hannibal for Italy.—Hannibal's passage of the Alps.—	
Battle of the Ticinus.—Battle of the Trebia.—Battle of the Tras-	
imene Lake.—Hannibal and Fabius Cunctator.—Battle of Cannæ.—	
Progress of Hannibal.....	195

CHAPTER IV.

Hannibal in Campania.—Defeat of Postumius.—Affairs of Spain.—	
Treaty between Hannibal and king Philip.—Hannibal repulsed at	
Nola.—Success of Hanno in Bruttium.—Affairs of Sardinia,—of	
Spain,—of Sicily.—Elections at Rome.—Defeat of Hanno.—Siege	
of Syracuse.—Affairs of Spain and Africa.—Taking of Tarentum.—	
Successes of Hannibal.....	213

CHAPTER V.

Taking of Syracuse.—Defeat and death of the Scipios.—Hannibal's	
march to Rome.—Surrender of Capua.—Scipio in Spain.—Taking	
of New Carthage.—Affairs in Italy.—Retaking of Tarentum.—De-	
feat of Hasdrubal in Spain.—Death of Marcellus.—March of Has-	
drubal.—His defeat on the Metaurus	226

CHAPTER VI.

Successes of Scipio in Spain.—Mutiny in his army.—Carthaginians	
expelled from Spain.—Scipio's return to Rome.—His preparations	
for invading Africa.—Invasion of Africa.—Horrible destruction of	
a Punic army.—Defeat of the Carthaginians.—Attack on the Ro-	
man fleet.—Death of Sophonisba.—Return of Hannibal.—Interview	
of Hannibal and Scipio.—Battle of Zama.—End of the war	239

CHAPTER VII.

Macedonian war.—Flight of Hannibal from Carthage.—Antiochus in Greece.—Invasion of Asia and defeat of Antiochus.—Death of Hannibal.—Last days of Scipio.—Characters of Hannibal and Scipio.—War with Perseus of Macedonia.—Conquest of Macedonia.—Triumph of Æmilius Paulus	254
---	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

Affairs of Carthage.—Third Punic war.—Description of Carthage.—Ill success of the Romans.—Scipio made consul.—He saves Mancinus.—Restores discipline in the army.—Attack on Carthage.—Attempt to close the harbour.—Capture and destruction of Carthage.—Reduction of Macedonia and Greece to provinces.	266
---	-----

CHAPTER IX.

Affairs of Spain.—War with the Lusitanians.—Treachery of Lucullus.—Virithian war.—Murder of Viriathus.—Numantine war.—Capture of Numantia.—Servile war in Sicily.—Foreign relations of Rome.—Government of the provinces.—The publicans.—Roman superstition.—Roman literature.	277
---	-----

PART IV.

CONQUEST OF THE EAST AND DOWNFALL OF
THE CONSTITUTION.

CHAPTER I.

State of things at Rome.—Tiberius Gracchus:—his tribunate and laws:—his death.—Death of Scipio Africanus.—Caius Gracchus:—his tribunate and laws:—his death.—The Gracchi and their measures.—Insolence and cruelty of the oligarchs.—Conquests in Asia and Gaul.....	291
--	-----

CHAPTER II.

The Jugurthine war.—Defeat and death of Adherbal.—Bestia in Africa.—Jugurtha at Rome.—Defeat of Aulus.—Metellus in Africa.—Attack on Zama.—Negotiations with Jugurtha.—Taking of Thala:—Caius Marius.—Taking of Capsa.—Taking of the castle on the Mulucha.—Sulla and Bocchus.—Delivery up of Jugurtha.—His end.—Cimbric war.—Victory at Aquæ Sextiæ.—Victory at Vercellæ.—Insurrection of the slaves in Sicily	311
---	-----

CHAPTER III.

State of Rome.—Tribunate of Saturninus.—His sedition and death.— Return of Metellus.—Tribunate and death of Drusus.—Social or Marsic war.—Murder of the prætor by the usurers.—Sedition of Marius and Sulpicius.—Sulla at Rome.—Flight of Marius.....	Page 326
--	-------------

CHAPTER IV.

State of Asia.—First Mithridatic war.—Sulla in Greece.—Victories of Chæronea and Orchomenus.—Peace with Mithridates.—Flaccus and Fimbria.—Sedition of Cinna.—Return of Marius.—Cruelties of Marius and Cinna.—Death and character of Marius.—Return of Sulla.—His victories.—Proscriptions of Sulla.—His dictatorship and laws.—He lays down his office and retires.—His death and funeral. —His character	339
--	-----

CHAPTER V.

Sedition of Lepidus.—Sertorian war in Spain.—Death of Sertorius and end of the war.—Spartacian or Gladiatorial war.—Defeat and death of Spartacus.—Consulate of Pompeius and Crassus.—Piratic war.— Reduction of Crete.....	355
--	-----

CHAPTER VI.

Second Mithridatic war.—Third Mithridatic war.—Victories of Lu- cullus.—His justice to the provincials.—War with Tigranes.— Defeat of Tigranes.—Taking of Tigranocerta.—Invasion of Armenia. —Defeat of a Roman army.—Intrigues of Lucullus' enemies at Rome.—Manilian law.—Pompeius in Asia.—Defeat of Mithridates. —Pompeius in Armenia:—in Albania and Iberia:—in Syria and the Holy Land.—Death of Mithridates.—Return and triumph of Pompeius	365
---	-----

CHAPTER VII.

Catilina's conspiracy.—Arrest and execution of the conspirators.— Defeat and death of Catilina.—Honours given to Cicero.—Factionous attempts at Rome.—Clodius violates the mysteries of the Bona Dea. —His trial	373
---	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

Pompeius and Lucullus.—C. Julius Cæsar.—M. Licinius Crassus.— M. Porcius Cato.—M. Tullius Cicero.—Pompeius at Rome.—Con- sulate of Cæsar.—Exile of Cicero.—Robbery of the king of Cyprus. —Recall of Cicero.—His conduct after his return	387
--	-----

CHAPTER IX.

Second consulate of Pompeius and Crassus.—Parthian war of Crassus. —His defeat and death.—Anarchy at Rome.—Death of Clodius.— Pompeius sole consul.—Trial and exile of Milo.—Gallic wars of Cæsar	402
--	-----

CHAPTER X.

	Page
Commencement of the Civil war.—Cæsar at Rome.—Cæsar's war in Spain.—Surrender of Massilia.—Cæsar's civil regulations.—Military events in Epirus	418

CHAPTER XI.

Battle of Pharsalia.—Flight and death of Pompeius.—His character.—Cæsar's Alexandrian war.—The Pontic war.—Affairs of Rome.—Mutiny of Cæsar's legions.—African war.—Death of Cato:—His character.—Cæsar's triumphs.—Reformation of the Calendar.—Second Spanish war.—Battle of Munda.—Honours bestowed on Cæsar.—Conspiracy against him.—His death.—His character	431
---	-----

CHAPTER XII.

Affairs at Rome after Cæsar's death.—His funeral.—Conduct of Antonius.—Octavius at Rome.—Quarrel between him and Antonius.—Mutinensian war.—Cæsar made consul.—The Triumvirate and Proscription.—Death of Cicero.—His character.—Acts of the Triumvirs.—War with Brutus and Cassius.—Battle of Philippi.—Death of Brutus and Cassius.—Antonius and Cleopatra.—Cæsar's distribution of lands.—Ferusian war.—Return of Antonius to Italy.—War with Sex. Pompeius.—Parthian war.—Rupture between Cæsar and Antonius.—Battle of Actium.—Last efforts of Antonius.—Death of Antonius and Cleopatra.—Sole dominion of Cæsar.—CONCLUSION ...	449
---	-----

THE HISTORY OF ROME.

PART I. THE REGAL PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

Description of Italy.—Ancient Inhabitants of Italy.—The Pelasgians.—The Oscans.—The Latins.—The Umbrians.—The Sabellians.—The Etruscans.—The Ligurians.—The Italian Greeks.—Italian Religion.—Political Constitution.

THE peninsula named Italy, the seat of the mighty republic whose origin and history we have undertaken to relate, is separated from the great European continent by the mountain-range of the Alps, and extends about five hundred miles in a south-eastern direction into the Mediterranean sea. The part of this sea between Italy and the Hellenic peninsula was named the Adriatic or Upper Sea (*Mare Superum*), that on the west toward the Iberian peninsula the Tyrrhenian or Lower Sea (*Mare Inferum*). A mountain-range, the Apennines, commences at the Alps on the north-western extremity of Italy, and runs along it nearly to its termination, sending out branches on either side to the sea, between which lie valleys and plains generally of extreme fertility. The great plain in the north, extending in an unbroken level from the Alps to the Apennines and the sea*, and watered by the Po (*Padus*) and other streams, is the richest in Europe; and that of Campania on the west coast yields to it in extent rather than in

* Now called the Plain of the Po (*La Pianura del Po*).

fertility. The rivers which descend to water these plains and valleys are numerous ; and many of them, such as the Po, the Adige (*Atesis*), the Arno, and the Tiber, are navigable.

The mountains of Italy are composed internally of granite, which is covered with formations of primary and secondary limestone, abounding in minerals, and in ancient times remarkably prolific of copper. The white marble of Carràra on the west coast is not to be rivalled. Forests of timber-trees clothe the sides of the Apennines and their kindred ranges, among whose lower parts lie scattered lakes of various sizes, many of them evidently the craters of extinct volcanoes. The western side of Italy has been at all times a volcanic region, and Mount Vesuvius, on the bay of Naples, is in action at the present day.

The fruitful isle of Sicily, with its volcanic mountain Ætna, lies at the southern extremity of Italy, separated from it by a channel five miles in its greatest, two in its least, breadth. It is by no means unlikely, that, as tradition told, Italy and Sicily were once continuous, but that, at a point of time long anterior to history, a convulsion of nature sank the solid land and let the sea run in its place. Beside Sicily there are various smaller islands attached to Italy, chiefly along its west coast, of which the most remarkable are the volcanic group of the Liparæan isles and the isle of Elba (*Ilva*), which has from the remotest times been productive of iron.

The magnificent region which we have just described, so rich in all the gifts of nature, has never, so far as tradition and analogies enable us to trace, been abandoned by Providence to the dominion of rude barbarians living by the chase and the casual spontaneous productions of the soil, without manners, laws, or social institutions. To ascertain, however, its exact condition in the times anterior to history is beyond our power ; but by means of the traditions of the Greeks, and the existing monuments of the languages and works of its ancient inhabitants, we are enabled to obtain a view of its ante-Roman state, superior perhaps in definiteness to what we can form of the ante-Hellenic condition of Greece.

Under the guidance of the sharp-sighted and sagacious investigator whose researches have given such an aspect of clearness and certainty to the early annals of Rome*, we will now venture to pass in review the ancient peoples of Italy.

* G. B. Niebuhr, with whom K. O. Müller in his *Etruscans* (*Die Etrusker*) in general agrees.

In the most remote ages to which we can reach by conjecture, Italy was the abode of two distinct portions of the human family, different in language and in manners; the one dwelling on the coast and plains, the other possessing the mountains of the interior. The former were probably a portion of that extensive race which we denominate the Pelasgian, and which dwelt also in Greece and Asia*; the latter were of unknown origin, and no inquiry has enabled us to ascertain anything more respecting them, than that they belonged to the Caucasian race of mankind. We cannot by means of language or any other tokens trace their affinity to any known branch of the human kind, or even make a conjecture as to the time and mode of their entrance into Italy. They may therefore, under proper restrictions, be termed its indigenous inhabitants.

The Pelasgians, it is probable, entered Italy on the north-east. Under the names of Liburnians and Venetians, they seem to have possessed the whole plain of the Po and the east coast down to Mount Gargânus; thence, as Daunians, Peucetians, and Messapians, they dwelt to the bay of Tarentum and inlands; as Chonians, Morgêtans, and CEnotrians, they then held the country from sea to sea to the extreme end of the peninsula; and finally as Tyrrhcnians and Siculans dwelt along the west coast to the Tiber and up its valley, perhaps even as far as the Umbro (*Ombrone*) in Tuscany. Italians was the name of the people, Italia that of the country, south of the Tiber and of Mount Gargânus†.

The Pelasgians of Italy would seem to have been similar in character to those of Greece. We find various traces of their devotion to the pursuits of agriculture; their religion appears to have been of a rural character; and Cyclopiàn walls are to be seen in some of the districts where they dwelt. If they entered the country as conquerors, it was probably their superior civilisation which gave them the advantage over the ruder tribes which occupied it.

At length, in consequence of pressure from without or from

* See History of Greece, Part I. chap. ii.

† *Italus* and *Siculus* are merely different forms of the same word, as will be apparent to those who are skilled in etymology. For the sake of those who are not, we will observe, that *s* being a semivowel might be prefixed to a word, and that *t* and *c* are commutable letters. Thus the Latin *septem* answered to the Greek ἑπτά, and the town in Sicily called by the Greeks Egesta, was named by the Romans Segesta; the Doric form of the common Greek πόρε was πόκα, Καρχηδών was in Latin Carthago, Twickenham is vulgarly pronounced Twit'nam.

internal causes, such as excess of population, the tribes of the interior came down on and conquered the people of the coasts and plains. A people named Opicans or Oscans overcame the Daunians and other peoples of the east coast, and the region thus won was named from them Apulia; they also made themselves masters of the country thence across to the west coast, and along it up toward the Tiber. Here they were divided into the Saticulans, Sidicinians, Volscians, and Æquians, while Auruncans or Ausonians was the more general appellation of the whole people*.

Another tribe, named Cascans and Priscans†, who are supposed to have dwelt in the mountains from the Fucine lake to Reâte and Carseoli, being pressed from behind by the Sabines, came down along the Anio and subdued the Siculans, named Latins, who occupied the country thereabouts. A part of the conquered people retired southwards; and this movement gave, it is said, occasion to the occupation of the island of Sicily by the Siculans: the remainder coalesced with the conquerors, and the united people was named Priscans and Latins (*Prisci Latini*‡), or simply Latins, and their country Latium.

Further north a people named the Umbrians descended from the mountains and conquered the country to the Po; they also extended themselves to the sea on the west of the Apennines and down along the valley of the Tiber.

The Latin language, which we have still remaining, is evidently composed of two distinct elements, one akin to the Greek, and which we may therefore assume to be Pelasgian, the other of a totally different character§. The existing mo-

* According to etymology, the root being OP or AP (probably *earth* or *land*, 'ops'), *Opici*, *Osci*, *Apuli*, *Volsci*, *Æqui* are all kindred terms. We might perhaps venture to add *Umbri* and *Sabini*. *Ausones* is the Greek form of *Auráni*, whence *Aurunici*, *Auranci*. The Latin language luxuriates in adjectival terminations. See Niebuhr, i. 69, note; and Buttmann's *Lexilogus*, in v. ἀπὶν γὰρ, note.

† See Niebuhr, i. 78 and 371.

‡ It was the old Roman custom to omit the copulative between words which usually appeared in union, as *empti venditi*, *locati conducti*, *socii Latini*, *accensi velati*. Like Gothic among ourselves, *Cascus* and *Priscus* came to signify *old* or *old-fashioned*.

§ In the Latin the terms relating to agriculture and the gentler modes of life are akin to the Greek; those belonging to war and the chase are of a different character. Of the former we may instance *bos*, *taurus*, *sus*, *ovis*, *agnus*, *canis*, *ager*, *silva*, *vinum*, *lac*, *mel*, *sai*, *oleum*, *malum*; of the latter, *arma*, *tela*, *hasta*, *ensis*, *gladius*, *arcus*, *sagitta*, *clupeus*, *cassis*, *balteus*. Niebuhr, i. 82. Müller, i. 17.

numents in the Oscan and Umbrian languages present exactly the same appearance, and the foreign element seems to be the same in all. Hence it may without presumption be inferred, that kindred tribes speaking the same, or dialects of the same, language, conquered and coalesced with the Pelasgians, and new languages were formed by intermixture, just as the English arose from the Anglo-Saxon and the Norman-French.

The people who are supposed to have given to the Cascans and Oscans the impulse which drove them down on the Pelasgians, are the Sabines, who dwelt about Amiternum in the higher Apennines. The Sabellian race (under which name we include the Sabines and all the colonies said to have issued from them) was evidently akin to those above-mentioned, for there can be little doubt of their language being the non-Pelasgic part of the Latin and Oscan. This race spread rapidly on all sides. The Sabines properly so called, having occupied the country of the Cascans, gradually pushed on along the valley of the Tiber into Latium; the Picenians settled on the coast of the Adriatic; the four allied cantons of the Marsians, Marrucinians, Vestinians, and Pelignians dwelt to the south of them and the Sabines; and below this federation were the Samnites, divided into the four cantons of the Frentanians, Hirpinians, Pentrians, and Caudines, who conquered the mountain-country of the Oscans, thenceforth named Samnium. At a later period (about the year of Rome 314), the Samnites made themselves masters of Campania and the country to the banks of the Silarus. Under the name of Lucanians, they also conquered, much about the same time, the country south of Samnium, the more southern part of which was afterwards wrested from them by the Bruttians, a people which arose out of the mercenary troops employed by the Lucanians and Italian Greeks in their wars, and the Cœnotrian serfs of the latter*. Another Sabellian people were the Hernicans, who possessed a hilly region south of Latium in the midst of the Æquian and Volscian states, and like their Sabellian kindred, their political division was fourfold†.

Different in origin, language and manners from all the tribes already enumerated were the people named by themselves

* In Oscan, and perhaps in old Latin, *brutus* signified a runaway slave, a maroon. Names of reproach have often been acquiesced in by peoples and parties; witness our *Whig* and *Tory*.

† Niebuhr, ii. 84.

Rasena, by the Romans Etruscans and Tuscans, who occupied the country between the Tiber and the Arno, and also dwelt in the plain of the Po. The common opinion was that they were a colony from Mæonia or Lydia in Asia, who landed on the coast of Etruria, where they reduced the inhabitants to serfship, and afterwards crossing the Apennines conquered the country thence to the Alps. Against this it was urged* that there was not the slightest similarity in manners, language, or religion between them and the Lydians, and that the latter retained no tradition whatever of the migration. It has been further remarked† that the Rætians and other Alpine tribes were of the Tuscan race; and it is so highly improbable that the owners of fruitful plains should covet the possession of barren mountains, that it is more reasonable to suppose them to have dwelt originally among, or northwards of, the Alps, and that being pressed on by the Germans, Celts, or some other people, they descended and made conquests in Italy‡. Their language, as far as it is understood, has not the slightest resemblance to any of the primitive languages of Europe or Asia; their religious system and their science were peculiar to themselves; the love of pomp and state also distinguished them from the Greeks and other European peoples. Taken all together, they are perhaps the most enigmatic people in history.

The Tuscan political number was twelve. North of the Apennines twelve cities or states formed a federation: the same was the case in Etruria Proper§. Each was independent, ruling over its district and its subject towns. The Tuscan *Lucumons* or nobles were, like the Chaldæans, a sacerdotal military caste, holding the religion and government of the state in their exclusive possession, and keeping the people in the condition of serfs. In some of their cities, such as Veii, there were elective

* Dionysius, i. 28.

† Niebuhr, i. 111, 112. This author is inclined to extend the original seats of the Tuscans far north even to Alsatia.

‡ Müller would fain reconcile the two opinions. He regards the Rasena as an original Italian people of the Apennines and plain of the Po, who, when they proceeded to conquer Etruria from the Umbrians and Ligurians, leagued themselves with the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians from the coast of Asia, who had settled on the coast. Hence he explains the use of flutes, trumpets, and other usages, common to the Tuscans with the people of Asia.

§ These last, Niebuhr says, are Cære, Tarquinii, Rusellæ, Vetulonium, Volaterræ, Arretium, Cortôna, Clusium, Volsinii, Veii, and Capêna or Cossa; of the former he can only name Felsina or Bononia, Melpum, Mantua, Verôna, and Hatria. He denies that the Tuscans ever settled in Campania, as was asserted by the ancients. Müller maintains the converse.

kings. The Lucumons learned the will of heaven from the lightning and other celestial phenomena; their religion was gloomy, and abounding in rites and ceremonies. Both the useful and the ornamental arts were carried to great perfection in Etruria. Lakes were let off by tunnels, swamps rendered fertile, rivers confined, huge Cyclopien walls raised round towns. Statues, vessels, and other articles were executed in clay and bronze with both skill and taste. These arts, however, may have been known and exercised by the subject people rather than by the Tuscan lords.

The Ligurians, a people who dwelt without Italy from the Pyrenees to the maritime Alps, also extended into the peninsula, reaching originally south of the Arno and east of the Ticinus. They were neither Celts nor Iberians, but of their language we have no specimens remaining.

Such were the peoples of Italy in the ages antecedent to history. About the time of the Dorian migration, the Greeks began to colonise its southern part. The Chalcidians and Eretrians of Eubœa founded Cumæ, Parthenope and Neapolis on the west coast, and Rhegium at the strait; Elea, called by the Latins Velia, was built on the same coast by the Phocæans. On the east coast Locri was a colony from Ozolian Locris; and it founded in its turn Medma and Hipponium on the west coast; the Achæans were the founders of Sybaris, Crotôn, and Metapontum; and Sybaris having extended her dominion across to the Lower Sea, founded on it Laos and Posidonia: the Crotonians built Caulôn on the Upper, Terina on the Lower Sea; and Tarentum, in the peninsula of Japygia, was a settlement of the Lacedæmonians. The ancient Enotria became so completely Hellenised (its original population being reduced to serfship) that it was named Great Greece—*Magna Græcia*. The flourishing period, however, of these Grecian states was anterior to that which our history embraces, and we shall have occasion only to speak of them in their decline.

The religion of the two original portions of the Italian population was, as far as we can conjecture, of a simple rural character. It does not seem to have known the horrors of human sacrifice; and though polytheistic, it related no tales of the amours of its gods, and no Italian princes boasted an affinity with the deities whom the people worshiped. Partly from this, partly from other causes, the tone of morals was at all times higher in Italy, especially among the Sabellian tribes, than in Greece. A remarkable feature of the old Italian religion was

the immense number of its deities* ; every act of life had its presiding power ; a man was ever under the eye, as it were, of a superior being : the true doctrine of the omnipresence of the one God was thus, we may say, resolved into the separate presence of a multitude, and the moral effect, though far inferior, was, we may hope, similar. Finally, the ancient Italians are perhaps not to be esteemed idolaters, as images of the gods were unknown among them till they became acquainted with Grecian art.

The prevailing political form of ancient Italy was that of aristocratic republics united in federations. The hereditary monarchy of the heroic age of Greece was unknown, and the pure democracy of its historic period never developed itself in Italy. Political numbers are to be found here as in Greece and elsewhere ; four, for example, was the Sabellian number ; thirty, or rather perhaps three subdivided by ten, that of Latium†. This principle extended even to the Tuscans, whose number, as we have seen, was twelve.

CHAPTER II‡.

Æneas and the Trojans.—Alba.—Numitor and Amulius.—Romulus and Remus.—Building of Rome.—Reign of Romulus.—Roman Constitution.—Numa Pompilius.—Tullus Hostilius.—Ancus Marcius.

ON the left bank of the river Tiber, at a moderate distance from the sea, lies a cluster of hills§, which were the destined seat of the city, whose dominion gradually extended until it embraced the greater portion of the then known world ; and whose language, laws, and institutions have given origin to those of a large portion of modern Europe.

* When, therefore, Varro spoke of 30,000 gods he must have meant the Italian, not the Grecian system ; for the Olympian deities, even including the Nymphs, never extended to any such number.

† The thirty Latin and thirty Alban towns, the thirty patrician curies in three tribes, and the thirty plebeian tribes at Rome.

‡ Livy, i. 1–33. Dionysius, i.—iii. 45. Plutarch, Romulus and Numa, the Epitomators. See Appendix (A).

§ See Appendix (B).

The origin and early history of this mighty city have been transmitted to us by its most ancient annalists in the following form*.

When the wide-famed Troy, after having held out for ten years against the Achæan arms, was verging toward its fall, Ænêas, a hero whom the goddess Venus (*Aphrodite*) had borne to a Trojan prince named Anchises, resolved to abandon the devoted town. Led by the god Mercurius (*Hermes*), and accompanied by his father, family, and friends, he left Troy the very night it was taken, and retired to Mount Ida, where he remained till the town was sacked and burnt and the Achæans had departed. The god, continuing his care to the fugitives, built for them a ship, in which they embarked: an oracle (some said that of Dodôna, others that of Delphi,) directed them to sail on westwards till they came to where hunger would oblige them to eat their tables, and told them that a four-footed animal would there guide them to the site of their future abode. The morning-star shone before them day and night to guide their course, and it never ceased to be visible till they reached the coast of Latium in Italy†. They landed there on a barren sandy shore; and as they were taking their first meal, they chanced to use their flat cakes for platters; and when at the conclusion of their repast they began to consume their cakes also, Æneas' young son cried out that they were eating their tables. Struck with the fulfilment of a part of the oracle, the Trojans, by order of their chief, brought the images of their gods on shore; an altar was erected, and a pregnant white sow led to it as a victim. Suddenly the sow broke loose and ran into the country. Æneas with a few companions followed her till she reached an eminence about three miles from the sea, where, exhausted by fatigue, she laid her down. This then Æneas saw was the site designated by the oracle; but his heart sank when he viewed the ungenial nature of the surrounding soil, and the adjacent coast without a haven. He lay that night on the spot in the open air; and as he pondered, a voice from a neighbouring wood came to his

* "I insist," says Niebuhr, "in behalf of my Romans, on the right of taking the poetical features wherever they are to be found, when they have dropt out of the common narrative." The circumstances in the following narrative differing from those in Livy and Virgil will be found in Dionysius, Cato (in Servius on the *Ænêis*), and Ovid, and other poets. We would qualify the position of Niebuhr by observing, that some of the poetic features may have been imparted by the poets in whose works they occur.

† Varro *ap. Serv. Æn.* ii. 801.

ear, directing him to build there without delay : broad lands, it was added, awaited himself, and wide dominion his descendants, who within as many years as the sow should farrow young ones, would build a larger and a fairer town. In the morning he found that the sow had farrowed thirty white young ones, which with herself he offered in sacrifice to the gods. He then led his people thither, and commenced the building of a town*.

The country in which the Trojans were now settling was governed by a prince named Latinus, who on hearing that strangers were raising a town, came to oppose them. He was however induced to allow them to proceed, and he granted them seven hundred *jugers* of land around it†. The harmony which prevailed between them and the natives was however soon disturbed, by the Trojans wounding a stag that was the favourite of king Latinus. This monarch took up arms : he was joined by Turnus, the Rutulian prince of Ardea ; but victory was with the strangers ; Latinus' capital, Laurentum, was taken, and himself slain in the storming of the citadel‡. His only daughter Lavinia became the prize of the victor, who made her his wife, and named his town from her Lavinium§.

Turnus now applied for aid to Mezentius, king of Cære in Etruria. The Tuscan demanded as the price of his assistance half the produce of the vintage of Latium in the next year, and the Rutulians readily agreed to his terms||. Their united arms encountered those of the Latins, led by Æneas, on the banks of the Numicius : Turnus fell, but the Latins were defeated. Æneas plunged into the stream and never more was seen, and after-ages worshiped him on its banks as Jupiter Indiges. The Tuscans then beleaguered Lavinium ; but Iulus, the son of Æneas, having vowed the half-produce of the vine-

* According to Cato (*Serv. Æn.* i. 6. vii. 158.), the town first built by Æneas and Anchises (who also reached Italy) was not on the future site of Lavinium, and it was named *Troja*. In Latin *troja* is a *sow*, hence probably the legend ; *alba* (white) refers to Alba, the thirty young to the Latin political number.

† Supposing that, according to the Roman custom hereafter to be noticed, this was 7 jugers a man, the Trojans, according to this tradition, were but 100 in number. Other accounts made the quantity of land only 500 jugers. *Aur. Victor, Origo Gentis Romanæ*, 12.

‡ Cato *ap. Serv. Æn.* iv. 620. ix. 745.

§ The reader will observe how this differs from the narrative in Virgil. We may take it as a rule, that the rudest and most revolting form of a legend is its most ancient one.

|| Cato *ap. Macrob. Sat.* iii. 5. *Plin.* xv. 12. *Ovid, Fasti*, v. 879 *seq.*

yards claimed by Mezentius to Jupiter, led forth his troops to battle. The favour of the god was with the pious youth, and Mezentius fell by his hand.

After thirty years Iulus left the low sandy coast, and led his people to a mountain twelve miles inland, on the side of which he built a town named Alba Longa*, from its appearance, as it stretched in one long street along the lofty margin of a lake. During three hundred years his successors (named the Silvii) reigned at Alba, the lords of the surrounding country, but tradition spake not of their deeds. Procas, one of these kings, when dying left two sons, named Numitor and Amulius; the former, who was the elder, being of a meek, peaceful temper, his ambitious brother wrested from him the sceptre of the Silvii, leaving him only his paternal demesnes, on which he allowed him to live in quiet; but fearing the spirit of Numitor's son, he caused him to be murdered as he was out a-hunting; and he placed his daughter Silvia, his only remaining child, among the Vestal virgins, who were bound to celibacy. The race of Aphrodite and Anchises seemed destined to become extinct, for Amulius was childless, when a god interposed to preserve it and give it additional lustre. One day when Silvia was gone into the sacred grove of Mars to draw water for the use of the temple, a wolf suddenly appeared before her; the terrified maiden fled for refuge into a cavern; the god descended and embraced her. When retiring he assured her that she would be the mother of an illustrious progeny. Silvia told not her secret, and at the due time the pains of labour seized her in the very temple of Vesta. The image of the virgin goddess placed its hands before its eyes to avoid the unhallowed sight, and the perpetual flame on the altar drew back amidst the embers†. She brought forth two male children, whom the ruthless tyrant ordered to be cast, with their mother, into the river Tiber. Silvia there became the spouse of the god of the stream, and immortal; the care of Mars was extended to his progeny. The bole or ark in which the babes were placed floated along the river, which had overflowed its banks, till it reached the woody hills on its side‡, at the foot of one of which, the Palatine, and close to the Ruminal fig-tree, it overturned on the soft mud. A she-wolf, the sacred beast of Mars, which came to slake her thirst, heard the whim-

* i. e. *Long-white*. In England we should probably have termed such a town Long Whitton.

† Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 45 *seq.*

‡ Varro, *L. L.* v. 54. Conon, *Narr.* 48.

pering of the babes ; she took and conveyed them to her den on the hill, licked their bodies with her tongue, and suckled them at her dugs. Under her care they thrive ; and when they required more solid food it was brought them by a woodpecker (*picus*), an animal sacred, like the wolf, to their sire ; and other birds of augury hovered round the cave to keep off noxious insects*. At length this wonderful sight was beheld by Faustulus, the keeper of the royal flocks : he approached the cave ; the she-wolf retired, her task being done ; and he took home the babes and committed them to the care of his wife, Acca Larentia, by whom they were carefully reared along with her own twelve sons in their cottage on the Palatine hill.

When the two brothers, who were named Romulus and Remus, grew up, they were distinguished among the shepherd-lads for their strength and courage, which they displayed against the wild beasts and the robbers, and the neighbouring swains. Their chief disputes were with the herdsmen of Numitor, who fed their cattle on the adjacent Aventine, and whom they frequently defeated ; but at length Remus was made a prisoner by stratagem, and dragged away as a robber to Alba. The king gave him up for punishment to Numitor, who, struck with the noble appearance of the youth, inquired of him who and what he was. On hearing the story of his infancy, he began to suspect that he might be his grandson, but he confined his thoughts to his own bosom. Meantime Faustulus had revealed to Romulus his suspicions of his royal birth, and the youth resolved to release his brother and restore his grandsire to his rights. By his directions his comrades entered Alba at different parts, and there uniting under him, fell on and slew the tyrant, and then placed Numitor on the throne of his ancestors.

The two brothers, regardless of the succession to the throne of Alba, resolved to found a town for themselves on the hills where they had passed the happy days of childhood. Their old rustic comrades joined them in their project, and they were preparing to build, when a dispute arose between them, whether it should be on the Palatine and named Roma, or on the Aventine and called Remoria†. It was agreed to learn the

* This last circumstance is mentioned by Niebuhr, but we have been unable to discover his authority.

† Dionys. i. 85. "Certabant urbem Romamne Remamne vocarent." Ennius ap. Cic. Div. i. 48.

will of Heaven by augury. Each at midnight took his station on his favourite hill*, marked out the celestial temple, and sat expecting the birds of omen. Day came and passed; night followed: toward dawn the second day Remus beheld six vultures flying from north to south; the tidings came to Romulus at sunrise, and just then twelve vultures flew past. A contest arose; though right was on the side of Remus, Romulus asserted that the double number announced the will of the gods, and his party proved the stronger.

The Palatine was therefore to be the site of the future city. Romulus yoked a bullock and a heifer to a plough, whose share was copper, and drove it round the hill to form the *po-mærium*, or boundary-line. On this line they began to make a ditch and rampart. Remus in scorn leaped over the rising wall, and Romulus enraged slew him with a blow, exclaiming, "Thus perish whoever will leap over my walls!"† Grief however soon succeeded, and he was not comforted till the shade of Remus appeared to their foster-parents, and announced his forgiveness on condition of a festival, to be named from him, being instituted for the souls of the departed‡. A throne was also placed for him by Romulus beside his own, with the sceptre and other tokens of royalty§.

As a means of augmenting the population of his new town, Romulus readily admitted any one who chose to repair to it; he also marked out a spot on the Tarpeian hill as an *asylum* to receive insolvent debtors, criminals and runaway slaves. The population thus rapidly increased, but from its nature it contained few women, and therefore the state was menaced with a brief duration. To obviate this evil, Romulus sent to the neighbouring towns, proposing to them treaties of amity and intermarriage; but his overtures were everywhere received with aversion and contempt. He then had recourse to artifice; he proclaimed games to be celebrated at Rome on the festival of the Consualia, to which he invited all his neighbours. The Latins and Sabines came without suspicion, bringing their wives and daughters; but in the midst of the festivities, the Roman youth rushed on them with drawn swords, and carried

* Another account makes Remus select a place five miles further down the river. Ennius (*ut supra*) makes Romulus take his augury on the Aventine:

At Romulu' pulcer in alto

Quærit Aventino, servans genus altivolantum.

† Those who would soften the legend said he was slain by a man named Celer.

‡ The *Lemuria*, Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 461 *seq.*

§ Serv. *Æn.* i. 276.

off a number of their maidens. The parents fled, calling on the gods to avenge the perfidious breach of faith, and the neighbouring Latin towns of Cænina, Crustumerium, and Antemnæ, joined by Titus Tatius, king of the Sabines, prepared to take up arms. But the Latins, impatient of the delay of the Sabines, and acting without concert among themselves, singly attacked and were overcome by the Romans. At length Tatius led his troops against Rome. The Saturnian or Tarpeian hill, opposite the town, was fortified and had a garrison; but Tarpeia, the daughter of the governor, having gone down to draw water, met the Sabines, and dazzled by the gold bracelets which they wore, agreed to open a gate for them if they would give her what they bore on their left arms. She kept her promise, but the Sabines cast their shields from their left arms on her as they entered, and the traitress expired beneath their weight. The hill thus became the possession of the Sabines.

Next day the armies encountered in the valley between the two hills. The advantage was on the side of the Sabines, and the Romans were flying, when Romulus cried aloud to Jupiter, vowing him a temple under the name of Stator (*Stayer*) if he would stay their flight. The Romans turned; victory was inclining to them, when suddenly the Sabine women came forth with garments rent and dishevelled locks, and rushing between the two armies, implored their fathers and their husbands to cease from the impious conflict. Both sides dropped their arms and stood in silence; the leaders then advanced to conference, a treaty of amity and union was made, and Romulus and Tatius became joint sovereigns of the united nation, the Romans taking the name of Quirites from the Sabine town of Cures. As a mark of honour to the Sabine women, Romulus named from them the thirty curies into which he divided his people.

Some years after, when Laurentine ambassadors came to Rome, they were ill-treated by some of Tatius' kinsmen; and as he refused satisfaction, he was fallen on and slain at a national sacrifice in Lavinium. Romulus henceforth reigned alone; he governed his people with justice and moderation, and carried on successful wars in Latium and Etruria. At length, when he had reigned thirty-seven years, the term assigned by the gods to his abode on earth being arrived, as he was one day reviewing his people at the place named the Goat's Marsh (*Palus Capræ*), a sudden storm came on; the people fled for shelter; and amid the tempest of thunder, lightning, wind, and rain, Mars descended in his flaming car, and bore

his son off to the abode of the gods*. When the light returned, the people vainly sought for their monarch; they bewailed him as their father, as him who had brought them into the realms of day†; and they were not consoled till a senator named Proculus Julius came forwards, and averred that as he was returning by moonlight from Alba to Rome, Romulus had appeared to him arrayed in glory, and charged him to tell his people to cease to lament him, to cultivate warlike exercises, and to worship him as a god under the name of Quirinus.

As the founder of the state, Romulus had necessarily been its lawgiver. The chief features of his legislation were as follows:—

He divided the whole people into three Tribes (*Tribus*), named Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres, each of which contained ten Curies (*Curiae*), and each cury consisted of a decad of Houses (*Gentes*). The tribe was governed and represented by its Tribune (*Tribunus*), the cury by its Curion (*Curio*), the house by its Decurion (*Decurio*). The territory of the state, with the exception of what was set apart for religion and the public domain, was divided into thirty equal portions, one for each cury. Romulus again divided the whole people into two orders. The first was composed of the persons most distinguished for merit, birth, and property; these were called Patres (*Fathers*), and their descendents Patricians, as a mark of reverence, or as they resembled fathers in their care. The other order was named the Plebes or Plebs (*People*)‡; they were placed under the care of the patricians, whence they were also called Clients (*Clientes*, i. e. *Hearers* or *Obeyers*)§. All the offices of the state were in the hands of the patricians; the plebeians served in war and paid taxes in return for the protection they received. A hundred of the elders of the Patres formed a Senate (*Senatus*), to deliberate with the king in affairs of state. Three hundred young men, selected from the curies and named Celeres, guarded his person; and twelve

* Horace, Carm. iii. 3. 15. Ovid, Fasti, ii. 496. Met. xv. 805. Dionys. ii. 56.

† *Pectora dia tenet desiderium; simul inter
Sese sic memorant: O Romule, Romule, die,
Qualem te patriæ custodem dii genuerunt!
Tu produxisti nos intra luminis oras.
O pater! o genitor! o sanguen dis oriundum!*

Ennius *ap.* Cic. de Rep. i. 41.

‡ *Plebes* is probably akin to the Greek *πληθος*.

§ These relations and their true nature will be explained in Chapter V.

Lictors (*Lictores*)* or sergeants, bearing axes in bundles of rods (*fusces*), attended to execute his commands. Romulus also gave dignity to his royal authority by splendour of attire and imperial ensigns.

After the assumption of Romulus, Rome remained an entire year without a king; the senators, under the title of Interrexes (*Between-kings*), governing in rotation. At length the people becoming impatient, they proceeded to elect a king. It was agreed that the Romans should choose from among the Sabines; and the choice fell on Numa Pompilius of Cures, who had married the daughter of Tatius, and had been the pupil of the Grecian sage Pythagoras. He was brought to Rome, and as Romulus had learned the will of the gods by augury when founding the city, this pious prince would not ascend the throne without obtaining their consent in the same manner. Led by the augur he mounted the Saturnian hill, and sat on a stone facing the south. The augur sat on his left, his head veiled, and holding the *lituus*† in his right hand; then marking out the celestial temple, he transferred the *lituus* to his left hand, and laying his right on the head of Numa, prayed to Jupiter to send the signs he wished within the designated limits. The signs appeared, and Numa came down, being declared king.

The new monarch set forthwith about regulating the state. He divided among the citizens the lands which Romulus had conquered, and founded the worship of Terminus, the god of boundaries. He then proceeded to legislate for religion, in which he acted under the direction of the Camēna‡ Egeria, who espoused him, and led him into the grove which her divine sisters frequented. Numa appointed the Pontiffs to preside over the public religion; the Augurs, to learn the will of heaven; the Flamens, to minister in the temples of the great gods of Rome; the Vestal Virgins, to guard the sacred fire; and the Salians, to adore the gods with hymns, to which they danced in arms. He also built the temple of Janus, which was to be open in time of war, closed when Rome was at peace. At a time when the anger of heaven was manifested by terrific lightning, Numa, instructed by the rural gods Picus and Faunus

* That is, *Ligatores* (Binders), from their office of binding criminals. Gell. xii. 3.

† "Virga brevis, in parte, qua robustior est, incurva, qua augures utuntur." Gell. v. 8.

‡ The Camēnaæ answer to the Grecian Muses.

whom he had caught by pouring wine into the fount whence they drank, caused by conjurations Jupiter to descend on the Aventine to tell him how his lightnings might be averted. The god, thence named *Elicius*, also sent from heaven the *Ancile**, as a pledge of empire. Thirty-nine years did Numa reign in tranquillity, and then the favourite of the gods fell asleep in death, full of years and of honours.

After an interreign of a short time, the royal dignity was conferred on Tullus Hostilius, a Roman, and more allied in character to Romulus than to Numa. He sought and soon found an occasion for war. The Roman and the Alban country-folk had mutually plundered each other; envoys were sent from both towns to demand satisfaction: but the Albans, beguiled by the hospitality of the Roman king, remained idle at Rome, while the Romans had made their demand and been refused. As by the maxims of Italian law the Romans were now the injured party, war was formally declared. Preparations were made on both sides, and at length the Alban army came and encamped within five miles of Rome, where the deep ditch named the Cluilian (from the name of their king Cluilius) long informed posterity of the site of their camp. Here Cluilius died, and the supreme command was given to Mettius Fuffetius. Meantime king Tullus had entered the Alban territory, and Mettius found it necessary to quit his entrenched camp, and advance to engage him. The two armies met, and were drawn out in array of battle, when the Alban chief demanded a conference. The leaders on both sides advanced to the middle, and Mettius then showing how the Tuscans, their common enemies, would take advantage of their mutual losses, and destroy them both, proposed to decide the national quarrel by a combat of champions to be chosen on each side. The Roman monarch assented, though he would have preferred the shock of two numerous hosts.

There were in each army three twin brothers, whose mothers were sisters; the Romans were named the Horatii, the Albans the Curiatii†. To these the fates of their respective countries were committed. The treaty was made in due form, and that state whose champions should be vanquished was to submit to the rule of the other. The brothers advanced on each side;

* The sacred shield borne by the Salii; lest it should be stolen Numa had several others made like it. See Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 259 *seq.*

† According to some, the Horatii were the Albans. The Horatian *gens* at Rome belonged to the Luceres. Dionys. v. 23. Nieb. i. 533.

both armies sat down in their ranks to view the important combat; the signal was given, the champions drew their swords, and engaged hand to hand; dread and expectation bound the spectators in silence. At length two of the Romans were seen to fall dead, the third was unhurt; the Albans were all wounded. A shout of triumph rose in the Alban army; hope fled from the Romans. The surviving Horatius, unable to cope with his three adversaries, though enfeebled, feigned a flight. They pursued, but, owing to their weakness, at different intervals. Soon he turned, and slew the first. The Albans vainly called to his brothers to aid; they fell each in turn by the sword of the Roman, and Alba submitted to Rome.

When the dead on both sides had been buried, the two armies separated. Horatius, bearing the spoils of the slain Curiatii, walked at the head of the Romans. At the Capene gate, when about to enter the city, he was met by his sister, who had been betrothed to one of the Curiatii; and recognising her lover's surcoat, which she had woven with her own hands, she let fall her hair, and bewailed his fate. The victor, enraged, drew his sword and struck it into her bosom, crying, "Such be the fate of her who bewails an enemy of Rome!" Horror seized on all at the atrocious deed: the murderer was taken for trial before the king; but Tullus shrank from the office, and the affair was committed to the ordinary judges in such cases*, by whom he was sentenced to be scourged, and to be hung with a rope from the fatal tree with his head covered. The lictor, approached, and was placing the halter on him, when, at the suggestion of the king, he appealed to the people. His father pleaded for him with tears; the people were moved, and let him go free. Purgative sacrifices were performed, and he was made to walk with covered head under a beam placed across the way.

The treaty thus sealed with kindred blood did not remain long unbroken. The Albans, weary of subjection, sent secretly to excite the people of Fidênæ to war against Rome, promising to go over to them in the battle. The Fidenates, joined by their allies the Veientes of Etruria, declared war, and Tullus having summoned an Alban army to his standard, crossed the Anio, and took his post at its confluence with the Tiber. The Romans were opposed to the Veientes, the Albans to the Fidenates. Mettius, cowardly as treacherous, would neither stay nor go over to the enemy. He gradually drew off to the

* The *Duumviri* or *Quæstores paricidii*.

hills, and there disposed his troops. The Romans, finding their flank thus left exposed, sent to inform the king; but Tullus, telling them that the Albans were acting by his order, desired them to fall on. The Fidenates, hearing these orders, and deeming that Mettius was a traitor to them, turned and fled. Tullus then brought all his forces against the Etrurians, and drove them with great slaughter into the river. The Albans came down, and their general congratulated the king on his victory. Tullus received him kindly, and directed that the two armies should encamp together, and a lustral sacrifice be prepared for the morrow. Next morning he called a general assembly; the Albans with affected zeal came first, and stood unarmed around the king, by whose directions they were encompassed by the Romans in arms. Tullus then spoke, reproaching Mettius with his treachery, and declaring his intention of destroying Alba, and removing the inhabitants to Rome. Resistance was hopeless; Mettius was seized; and to suit his punishment to his crime, two chariots were brought, to which his limbs were tied, and one was driven toward Rome, the other toward Fidenæ, and the traitor's body was thus torn asunder. Meantime the horsemen had been sent to Alba to remove the people to Rome; the infantry followed, in order to demolish the town. The people, yielding to necessity, quitted with tears the homes of their infancy and the tombs of their fathers; all the buildings, both public and private, were destroyed; the temples of the gods alone were left standing. At Rome the Albans were favourably received, and their nobles admitted among the patricians. The Cælian hill was added to the city for their abode, and the king himself dwelt on it among them.

The warlike king next engaged in hostilities with the Sabines, on the pretext of their having seized some Roman traders at the fair held at the temple of Feronia. The Sabines hired mercenary troops in Etruria, but victory was on the side of Rome in a battle fought at the Evil Wood (*Silva Malitiosa*). Tullus was now at peace with mankind, but a shower of stones on the Alban Mount announced the displeasure of heaven. At the mandate of a celestial voice heard on the mount, a nine-day festival was instituted, and the prodigy ceased. Soon after a pestilence came on, and Tullus, broken in mind and body, gave himself up to superstition. Having read in the books of Numa of the sacrifices to Jupiter Elicius, he resolved to perform them; but erring in the rites, he offended the god, and the lightnings

descended and destroyed himself and his house. Tullus had reigned thirty-two years.

The next king, Ancus Marcius, was of the Sabine line, being the son of Numa's daughter. His character was a mean between those of his grandsire and Romulus. Like the former, he applied himself to the revival of religion; and he caused the ceremonial law to be transcribed and hung up in public. But the Latins, despising his pacific occupations, soon provoked him to war, where he showed a spirit not unworthy of the founder of Rome. He took the towns of Politorium, Tellêna, and Ficana, and having given the Latin army a total defeat under the walls of Medullia, he removed the people of this and the other towns to Rome, where he assigned them the Aventine for their abode.

Ancus also won from the Veientes some of the land beyond the Tiber, where he fortified the Janiculan hill and united it to the city by a wooden bridge (*Pons Sublicius*). To secure Rome on the land side he dug a deep ditch (*Fossa Quiritium*) before the open space between the Cælian and Aventine hills. He extended his dominion on both sides of the river to the sea, where he built the port of Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber. After a useful and a prosperous reign of twenty-four years king Ancus died in peace.

CHAPTER III*.

L. Tarquinius Priscus.—Servius Tullius.—L. Tarquinius Superbus.—Tale of Lucretia.—Abolition of Royalty.—Conspiracy at Rome.—Death of Brutus.—War with Porsepna.—Battle of the Regillus.

HITHERTO the kings had been Romans and Sabines alternately; the sceptre now passes into the hands of a stranger.

When Cypselus overthrew the oligarchy of the Bacchiads at Corinth†, a member of that family named Demarâtus resolved to emigrate. He fixed on Tarquinii in Etruria for his abode, as, being an extensive merchant, he had formed many

* Liv. i. 34.—ii. 20. Dionys. iii. 46.—vi. 13. Plut. Poplicola, the Epitomators.

† See History of Greece, p. 67, 2d edit. p. 65, 4th edit.

connexions in that city; and he came thither accompanied by the sculptors Euchir (*Good-hand*) and Eugrammus (*Good-drawer*), and the painter Cleophantus (*Deed-displayer*)*, whose arts and that of writing he communicated to the Etruscans. He married a woman of the country, who bore him two sons, named Aruns and Lucumo. The former died a little before his father, leaving his wife pregnant; but Demaratus, unaware of this fact, bequeathed the whole of his wealth to Lucumo, and the new-born babe, who was therefore named Egerius†, was left entirely dependent on his uncle.

Lucumo espoused an Etruscan lady named Tanaquil, and finding on account of his foreign origin all the avenues to honour and power closed against him, he listened to the suggestions of his wife, and resolved to emigrate to Rome, where there was no jealous aristocratic caste to contend with. He therefore quitted Tarquinii and set out for that city. As he and Tanaquil were sitting in their chariot taking their first view of Rome from the top of the Janiculan hill, an eagle came flying, and gently descending took off his bonnet, and with a loud noise bore it into the air; then returning placed it again on his head. Tanaquil, as a Tuscan skilled in augury, joyfully received the omen, and congratulated her husband on the fortune it portended. Elate with hope they crossed the Sublician bridge and entered Rome, where Lucumo assumed the name of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, and by his polished manners and his liberality soon won the affections of the people. He became ere long known to the king, Ancus, who employed him in both public and private affairs of importance, and when dying appointed him guardian to his sons.

But Tarquinius now deemed himself sufficiently strong in the favour of the people to aspire to the vacant throne. Having sent the young Marcii out a-hunting, so that they should be away at the time of the election, he offered himself as a candidate; the people unanimously chose him king, and the senate confirmed their choice. To gratify his friends he forthwith added one hundred members to the senate, and then to augment his fame engaged in war with the Latins, from whom he took the town of Apiolæ; and with the plunder, whose amount exceeded what might have been expected, he gave the people a spectacle of horse-racing and boxing superior to any they had yet seen. A war with the Sabines soon followed,

* Pliny, xxxv. 5.

† *Lackland*, like our English king John.



and before the Romans were aware of it the Sabine army had crossed the Anio. The battle that ensued was bloody but undecided; and Tarquinius, finding that his deficiency in cavalry had alone prevented the victory, prepared to add three new tribes, to be named from himself and his friends, to the tribes or equestrian centuries of Romulus. But the augur Attus Navius forbade to change without auspices what had been instituted with them. The king, annoyed, to put him to shame desired him to augur, if what he was then thinking on could be done. Attus having observed the heavens replied in the affirmative; "Then," cried the king triumphantly, "I was thinking that you should cut a whetstone through with a razor." Attus took the razor and stone and cut it through; the king gave up his project, but he doubled the amount of the old centuries without interfering with the original names.

The Sabines meantime remaining on the hither side of the Anio, Tarquinius caused a large heap of timber which lay on the banks of the stream to be set on fire and cast into it, and it floated along and burned the wooden bridge behind them; he then attacked and routed them with great slaughter, and their arms being carried along the stream into the Tiber gave the first tidings of the victory at Rome. Tarquinius passed the Anio and received the submission of the town of Collatia, over which he set his nephew Egerius. He afterwards made war on the Latins and reduced several of their towns. We are also told that all Etruria was forced to submit to his supremacy.

Tarquinius, at peace and abounding in wealth, now devoted his thoughts to the improvement of the city. As the valleys between the hills were mostly under water from the overflowing of the Tiber, he embanked that river, and built huge-sewers to drain the swamps and pools it had formed. The ground thus gained between the Tarpeian and the Palatine hills he laid out as a place for markets and the meetings of the people: the space between the Palatine and the Aventine was made a race-course, and named the Circus Maximus. Tarquinius also commenced building a wall of hewn stone around the city, and he levelled and enlarged by extensive substructions the area of one of the summits of the Saturnian hill for a temple which he had vowed to Jupiter.

The king had reigned thirty-eight years in glory, when his life was terminated by assassins hired by the sons of his predecessor. The occasion was as follows. When the Latin town

of Corniculum was taken, one of the captives, named Ocrisia, was placed in the service of the queen. As she was one day, according to usage, placing cakes on the hearth to the household gods, an apparition of the fire-god appeared over the fire. She told the king and queen, and Tanaquil instantly arrayed her as a bride and shut her up alone in the apartment. She became pregnant by the god, and in due season brought forth a son, who was named Servius Tullius. One time the child fell asleep during the heat of the day in the porch of the palace, and suddenly, to the surprise of the beholders, his head was seen enveloped in flames, which played innocuously, and departed when he awoke. Tanaquil, who saw in this the favour of his divine sire, had him brought up with the greatest care. When he attained to manhood, he displayed the utmost valour in the field; the king bestowed on him the hand of his daughter, and entrusted him with the exercise of the royal authority, and it was expected that he would appoint him his successor. The sons of Ancus had hitherto borne patiently their exclusion from the throne, expecting to obtain it on the death of Tarquinius, who was now eighty years old; seeing however the favour shown to Servius, they resolved to wait no longer, but to kill the king and seize the regal dignity. They therefore engaged two ferocious peasants to accomplish the deed, and these ruffians proceeding to the palace pretended to quarrel; the noise they made attracted the attention of the royal servants, and as they mutually appealed to the king for justice, they were led before him. Here as Tarquinius was listening to the one, the other gave him a deadly wound with an axe on the head. The murderers fled, but were pursued and taken. The dying monarch was brought into the palace, which Tanaquil ordered to be shut; and then telling Servius that now was his time to secure the succession, went up to a window, whence she addressed the people, telling them that the king's wound was not fatal, that he would soon recover, and that meantime Servius was to exercise the functions of royalty. The gate was then opened, and Servius issued forth with the royal insignia. He took his seat, and administered justice, in some cases at once, in others he feigned that he would consult the king. After some days the death of Tarquinius was made known, and without an interreign the royal dignity was conferred on Servius. The Marcii, having gained nothing but infamy by their crime, retired in despair to the town of Suessa Pometia.

The reign of Servius was, like that of Numa, one of peace, and only distinguished by internal legislation. Like Numa, too, he was favoured with the love of a deity. The goddess Fortuna loved him and used to visit him in secret; and when one time, at a later period, the temple which he had raised to her was burnt, the flames, mindful of his origin, spared the wooden statue of the king which stood in it*.

Servius, the poor man's friend, paid out of his royal treasure the debts of such as were reduced to poverty, he redeemed those whose labour was pledged for debt, and he assigned the people portions out of the conquered lands. He also divided all the people into classes, regulated by property, so that each person should contribute to the support and defence of the state in proportion to the stake he had in it†. This able prince, moreover, brought about a federal union with the thirty Latin towns in which the supremacy was accorded to Rome; and, as was usual in such cases, a common temple was built to the moon-goddess Diana on the Aventine. The Sabines also joined in the worship at this temple. Among the cattle of a Sabine husbandman was an ox of prodigious size, and the soothsayers declared that the supreme power would be with that people, by one of whom this ox was sacrificed to Diana of the Aventine. The Sabine drove his beast to the temple on a proper day, and was preparing to sacrifice, when the Roman priest who had heard the response, cried out, "What, with unwashed hands! The Tiber runs down below there." The Sabine, anxious to perform the sacrifice duly, went down to the river, and the crafty Roman offered up his beast while he was away. The huge horns were nailed up in the vestibule, where they remained the wonder of succeeding ages.

Warned by the fate of his predecessor, Servius endeavoured to disarm the resentment of those who might fancy they had a claim to the throne. The late monarch had left two sons‡, Lucius and Aruns, and Servius gave these youths his two daughters in marriage. But the youths were different in temper, one being mild and gentle, the other proud and violent; the king's daughters likewise were of opposite dispositions, and chance or the king's will had joined those whose tempers differed. The haughty Tullia soon despised her gentle mate Aruns, and placed her love on the haughty Lu-

* Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 625.

† This constitution will be developed in Chapter V.

‡ Those who saw the difficulty in the poetic narrative said grandsons.

cius. An adulterous intercourse succeeded, which was speedily followed by the sudden deaths of those who stood in the way of their legal union, to which a reluctant consent was extorted from the king, now far advanced in years.

Urged on by his unprincipled wife, Tarquinius now openly aspired to the kingdom. A large portion of the Patricians, offended at the wise and beneficent laws of the king, readily entered into a conspiracy against him, and Tarquinius, in reliance on their support, at length ventured one day to enter the market surrounded by armed men, and placing himself on the royal seat in the senate-house, ordered the herald to call the senate to king Tarquinius. The senators came, some through fear, others already prepared for the event; and he addressed them, setting forth his claims to the throne. Just then Servius arrived, and demanded why he had dared to take his seat; the rebel made an insolent reply, a shout was set up by their respective partizans. Tarquinius, seeing that he must now dare the utmost or fail, seized the aged king by the waist and flung him down the stone-steps. He then returned into the senate-house; the king, whose adherents had fled, rose sorely bruised and slowly moved toward home; but at the foot of the Esquiline (on which he resided) he was overtaken and slain by those sent after him by the usurper.

Tullia, regardless of female decorum, drove in her chariot to the senate-house, called her husband out, and was the first to salute him king. He prayed her to return home; as she drove she came to where the corpse of her father was lying; the mules started, the driver paused in horror and looked his mistress in the face. "Why do you stop?" cried she. "See you not the body of your father?" replied the man; she flung the footstool at his head, he lashed on the mules, and the wheels passed over the monarch's body, whose blood spirted over the garments of the parricide. Ever after the street was named the Wicked (*Vicus Sceleratus*). When some time afterwards Tullia ventured to enter the temple of Fortune, the statue of her father was seen to place its hands before its eyes and cry, "Hide my face! that I may not behold my impious daughter*."

Thus after a reign of forty-four years perished this best of kings, and with him all just and moderate government at Rome.

L. Tarquinius, named the Proud (*Superbus*), resolved to

* Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 613.

rule by terror the empire he had acquired by crime. He deprived the people of all the privileges conferred on them by Servius; he put to death or banished such of the senators as he feared or disliked, and, like the Greek *tyrants*, surrounded himself with a body-guard of mercenaries. He rarely called together the diminished senate. To strengthen himself by external alliances, he gave one of his daughters in marriage to Octavius Mamilius of Tusculum, the leading man among the Latins.

As the head of the Latin nation, Tarquinius summoned a congress to the grove of Ferentina (the usual place of meeting) to deliberate on matters of common weal. The deputies met at dawn, and waited all the day in vain for the appearance of the Roman monarch. Turnus Herdonius of Aricia, one of them, then loudly inveighed against the insolence and pride which this conduct denoted, and advised them to separate and return to their homes. In the evening, however, Tarquinius arrived, and excused his delay under the pretext of his having had to make up a quarrel between a father and a son. Turnus treated this as a flimsy excuse, and the council was put off till the next day. During the night, Tarquinius, who was resolved to destroy Turnus, had his slave bribed to convey a great number of swords secretly into his lodging, and a little before day he summoned a meeting of the deputies. His delay the preceding day he declared had been most providential, for he had since discovered that Turnus had planned to kill both him and them, and thus become the ruler of Latium. He had, he understood, collected arms for that purpose, and he now prayed them to come and try if the intelligence was true. Their knowledge of Turnus' character induced them to give credit to the charge; they awoke him from his sleep, the house was searched, the arms were found, Turnus was laid in chains and brought before the council; the swords were produced, he was condemned untried, taken to the fount of Ferentina, cast in, a hurdle placed over him laden with stones, and thus drowned. The league with Latium was then solemnly renewed, and Tarquinius declared head of the confederacy, which was also joined by the Hernicans; and a common festival, to be annually held at the temple of Jupiter Latiâris on the Alban Mount, was instituted.

The arms of the confederates were soon turned against their neighbours, and Suessa Pometia, a flourishing town of the Volscians, was the first object of attack. The town was

taken by storm, the inhabitants sold, the tithe of the booty reserved for building the temple of Jupiter, and the remainder distributed among the soldiers.

The city of Gabii, which lay about twelve miles from Rome, relying on the strength of its walls, would not be included in the treaty of federation. It gave an asylum to the Roman exiles, and for some years the Romans and Gabines carried on a harassing warfare, wasting and plundering each other's lands. At length treachery effected what force could not achieve. Sextus, the youngest son of the tyrant, in concert with his father, fled to Gabii to seek a refuge as he alleged from his father's cruelty, which menaced his life. The simple Gabines believed the lying tale; they pitied and received him. Soon they admitted him to their councils, at his impulsion they renewed the war which had languished; Sextus got a command, fortune everywhere favoured him; he was at length made general, the soldiers adored the chief who always led them to victory, and his authority in Gabii finally equalled that of Tarquinius at Rome. He now sent a trusty messenger to his father to ask him how he should act. Tarquinius received the messenger in his garden, and as he walked up and down he struck off the heads of the poppies with his staff, but made no reply. The messenger returned and told of the strange behaviour of the king, but Sextus knew what it meant; he accused some of the leading men to the people, others he caused to be assassinated, others he drove into exile; in fine, he deprived the Gabines of all their men of talent and wealth, and then delivered up the city, void of defence, to his father.

Tarquinius now turned all his thoughts to the completion of the temple on the Saturnian hill. As since the time of Tattius it had been covered with the altars and chapels of various deities, it was requisite to obtain by augury the consent of each for their removal. All save Terminus and Youth readily gave it, whence it was inferred that Rome would flourish in perpetual youth, and her boundaries never recede. The fresh bleeding head (*caput*) of a man was also found as they were digging the foundation; whence the temple, and from it the hill, was named the Capitolium, and it was announced that Rome would be the head of Italy. Artists came from Etruria, task-work was imposed on the people, and at length the united fanes of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, crowned the summit of the Capitolium.

One day a strange woman appeared before the king with nine books, which she offered to sell for three hundred pieces of gold. Tarquinius declined the purchase; she went away, burned three of them, came back and demanded the same price for the remainder. She was laughed at, she burned three more, and still her price was the same. The king, suspecting some mystery, consulted the augurs, who blamed him for not having purchased the whole, and advised him to hesitate no longer. He paid the money, the woman delivered the books and vanished. These books, which contained Sibylline oracles*, were placed in a stone chest in an underground cell in the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, under the custody of two men of noble birth, and it was directed that they should be consulted in emergencies of the state.

But prodigies sent by Heaven soon came to disturb the tyrant's repose. While a sacrifice was being offered one day in the palace, a serpent came out of the altar, put out the fire and seized the flesh that was on it†. Tarquinius, appalled at such an event, sent his two eldest sons, Titus and Aruns, to Greece to consult the Delphic oracle then so renowned. The royal youths were accompanied by their cousin L. Junius, surnamed Brutus (*Fool*); for when the tyrant put the elder brother of the Junii to death for his wealth, Lucius, to save his life, had counterfeited folly; eating in proof of it wild figs and honey‡.

The Pythia, on hearing the prodigy, replied that the king would fall when a dog spake with a human voice§. The Tarquinii then asked which of them should reign at Rome. "He who first kisses his mother," was the response. They agreed to keep this a secret from Sextus, and to decide by lot between themselves. But Brutus who had offered to the god his staff of cornel-wood, which he had secretly filled with gold emblematic of himself, divined the meaning of the oracle; as they came down the hill he pretended to stumble and fall, and as he lay he kissed the earth, the common mother of all.

In the palace garden stood a stately plane-tree in which two eagles had built their nest. One day, in the absence of the parent-birds, vultures came and threw the eaglets out of

* That is, of the prophetic women named Sibyls by the Greeks. The Sibylline books of the Romans were in Greek.

† Ov. Fasti, ii. 711.

‡ The annalist Postumius Albinus ap. Macrob. Sat. ii. 16.

§ Zonaras, ii. 11.

the nest, and drove off the old birds on their return. The king also dreamed that two rams were brought to him at the altar; he chose the finer for sacrifice, the other then cast him down with its horns, and the sun turned back from east to west*. In vain was the tyrant warned to beware of the man who seemed stupid as a sheep; fate would tread its path.

Tarquinius had laid siege to Ardea, a city of the Rutulians built on a steep insulated hill. As from its situation it could only be reduced by blockade, the Roman army lay in patient inactivity at its foot. The king's sons diverted their leisure by mutual banquets, at one of which given by Sextus, they and their cousin Collatinus, son of Egerius of Collatia, fell into a dispute respecting the virtues of their wives. Collatinus, who warmly maintained the superiority of his Lucretia, proposed that they should mount their horses and go and take their wives by surprise. Warm with wine the youths assented; they rode to Rome, which they reached at nightfall, and found the royal ladies revelling at a banquet; they thence sped to Collatia, and, though it was late in the night, Lucretia sat spinning among her maidens. The prize was yielded at once to her, and with cheerfulness and modesty she received and entertained her husband and his cousins.

Unhappy Lucretia! thy simple modesty caused thy ruin. Sextus, inflamed by the sight of such virtue and beauty united, conceived an adulterous passion, and a few days afterwards he came, attended by a single slave, to Collatia. Lucretia entertained him as her husband's kinsman, and a chamber was assigned him for the night. He retired; and when all was still he rose, took his drawn sword, and sought the chamber of his hostess. He awoke her, told his love, prayed, besought, then menaced to slay her, and with her his slave, and to declare that he had caught and slain her in the base act of servile adultery. The dread of posthumous disgrace prevailed where that of death could not, and she yielded to his wishes. In the morning, Sextus, elate with conquest, returned to the camp. Lucretia rose from the scene of her disgrace, and sent trusty messengers to Ardea and to Rome to summon her husband and her father Sp. Lucretius. The latter came, and with him P. Valerius; Collatinus was accompanied by L. Junius Brutus, whom he met by chance on the way. They found her sitting

* Attius *ap.* Cic. de Div. i. 22. We feel inclined to regard this as a fiction of the dramatic poet.

mournful in her chamber ; she told the direful tale, she implored them to avenge her, she declared her resolve to die. They sought to console her, urging that she was stainless in thought, and therefore free from guilt ; but she drew a concealed knife, and, ere they were aware, she had buried it in her heart. The husband and father gave a loud cry of grief ; but Brutus, bursting forth from the cloud of folly which had hitherto enveloped him, drew the reeking weapon from her heart and swore on it eternal enmity to Tarquinius and his race. He handed the knife to the others, and all, amazed at the change, took the same oath. Grief gave place to rage ; the body of Lucretia was brought out into the market ; Brutus, pointing to her wound, excited the spectators to vengeance ; the youth ranged themselves at his side, and leaving a sufficient number to guard the town he hastened at their head to Rome. By virtue of his office as Tribune of the Celeres, he called an assembly of the people, he told his own story, he told the more afflicting tale of Lucretia's fate, he dwelt on the crimes, the cruelty, and the oppression of the tyrant. The multitude took fire, they declared royalty abolished, and Tarquinius and his family exiles. Leaving Lucretius to take charge of the city, Brutus then hastened with a select body of men to the camp at Ardea. Tarquinius meantime, hearing of what had occurred, was on his way to Rome ; Brutus avoided meeting him, and was received with acclamations by the troops ; the tyrant, finding the gates of Rome closed against him, retired with his family to Cære in Etruria. Sextus went to Gabii, which he esteemed his own, but he was there slain by the relations of those whom he had caused to be put to death.

Thus, after a duration of twenty-five years, ended the reign of L. Tarquinius, the last king of Rome, in the two hundred and forty-fourth year from the building of the city. The anniversary of it, under the name of King's-flight (*Regifugium*), was till remote times celebrated on the 24th of February in each year.

A truce was made with Ardea, and the army led back to Rome. An assembly was then held, the city was purified by sacrifices, and the people all swore upon the victims never to re-admit the Tarquiniæ or to endure a king in Rome. Two annual magistrates under the name of Consuls, were placed at the head of the state, and the just laws of Servius were restored. Brutus and Collatinus were appointed to be the first consuls.

Tarquinius meantime had not resigned all hopes of recovering his power. The exiles of his party were numerous, many in the city were in his favour, and if he could obtain the aid of some powerful state he yet might enter Rome a conqueror. He therefore applied to the Tarquinians, as his family had originally come from their city. They received him favourably, and ambassadors were sent to Rome to demand his restoration, or at least the property there belonging to himself and his friends. The senate would not listen to the former proposal, but they agreed to give up the moveable property. The ambassadors tarried at Rome under the pretext of collecting the property and getting vehicles for its conveyance, but in reality to organise a plot in favour of the tyrant. They had brought letters to that effect from the exiles to their friends and relatives; and a great number of the young nobility, who could ill bear the authority of law and the power given to the people, and who regretted the licence of the days of the tyrant, readily entered into a conspiracy to restore him. Among these were the two Aquilii, the nephews of Collatinus, and the Vitellii, the nephews of Brutus, whose own two sons, Titus and Tiberius, were induced to engage in the foul conspiracy to undo the glorious work of their father.

The ambassadors required from them letters to the tyrant sealed with their signets. They met for this purpose at the house of the Aquilii under pretext of a sacrifice. After the solemn banquet they ordered the slaves to retire, and then with closed doors composed and wrote the letters. But one of the slaves, named Vindicius, suspecting what they were about, remained outside and through a slit in the door beheld all their proceedings. He sped away and gave information, and all the conspirators were seized in the fact.

Early in the morning the consuls took their seats of justice in public; the conspirators were led before them; Brutus, in right of his paternal authority, condemned his sons to death; the lictors stripped and scourged them according to usage, the consul's features remained unmoved, and he calmly saw the axe descend and deprive his offspring of life. No mercy could be expected for the others; all bled in turn. Liberty, a gift from the treasury, and citizenship were the reward of the loyal slave. The rights of nations were respected in the ambassadors, but the property of the tyrant was given up to pillage to the people. A large field which he possessed outside of

the city, by the Tiber, was consecrated to the god Mars. There was on it at this time a ripe crop of spelt; and religion forbidding it to be used for food, it was cut and cast into the Tiber. As the river was then low the corn stopped on the shallows, and from the addition of other floating matter it gradually formed an island before the city.

The jealousy of the people now extended to the whole Tarquinian house, and even Collatinus had to yield to the remonstrances of his colleague and quit Rome. He retired with all his property to Lavinium, where he ended his days. Valerius was chosen consul in his stead, and a decree was passed declaring the whole Tarquinian house exiles.

Tarquinius, convinced that his return could only be effected by force, addressed himself to the Veientes, whom by large promises he induced to arm in his cause. Their troops, united with those of the Tarquinians and the Roman exiles, entered the Roman territory on the Tuscan side of the Tiber; the Romans advanced to meet them, Valerius commanding the foot, Brutus the horse. The enemy's horse was led by Tarquinius' son Aruns, who recognising the consul spurred his horse against him. Brutus did not decline the combat, rage stimulated both, they thought not of defence, the spear of each pierced his rival's shield and body, and both fell dead to the earth. A general engagement, first of the horse then of the foot, ensued; the Veientes, used to defeat, turned and fled; the Tarquinians routed those opposed to them. Night ended the conflict; neither side owned itself vanquished; but at the dead hour of night the voice of the wood-god Silvanus was heard to cry from the adjacent forest of Arsia that the Tuscans were beaten, as one more had fallen on their side. At dawn no enemy was to be seen, the Romans counted the slain and found 11,300 Tuscans, 11,299 Romans on the field. Valerius collected the spoil, and returned in triumph to Rome. Next day the obsequies of Brutus were performed; the matrons of Rome mourned a year, as for a parent, for the avenger of violated chastity. In after-times his statue of bronze, bearing a drawn sword, stood on the Capitol in the midst of those of the seven kings*.

Valerius delayed the election of a successor to Brutus; he was moreover building for himself a house of stone on the

* Plutarch, Brutus 1. See also Dion Cassius, xliii. 45. Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 624.

summit of the Velia* above the Forum, and a suspicion arose that he was aiming at the kingly power. When he heard of this he stopped the building; the people then gave him a piece of ground at the foot of the hill to build on, and the privilege of having his doors to open back into the street. The honour of precedence at the public games was accorded to him and his posterity, as also was that of burying their dead within the walls. These honours were the reward of the public spirit of Valerius. His object in delaying the election had been that he should not be impeded by a colleague in the good measures he proposed. He convoked the curies†, before whom he lowered his *fascēs* in acknowledgment that the consular power proceeded from them‡, and proposed a law outlawing any person who should usurp the regal power. He assembled the centuries§, and caused the right of appeal from the consuls||, which the patricians had to their peers in the curies, to be extended to the plebeians in their tribes, and as an evidence of this right directed that no axes should be borne in the *fascēs* within the city. He then held the consular election; Sp. Lucretius was chosen, but he dying shortly after, M. Horatius Pulvillus was elected. As the temple of Jupiter was now finished, the lot was to decide which consul should dedicate it; and fortune favoured Horatius. Valerius then went to war against the Veientes, but his kinsmen, vexed that such an honour should fall to Horatius, sought to impede the ceremony. He had laid hold of the door-post, according to usage, and was pronouncing the prayer, when one came crying, "Thy son is dead, thou canst not dedicate it;" one word of lamentation had broken the ceremony; "Let the corpse be brought forth," replied he calmly, and concluded the prayer and the dedication.

The banished tyrant now applied to Lars Porsenna, lord of Clusium (*Chiusi*), the most powerful prince of Etruria. The Tuscan, fired at the idea of extending his sway beyond the

* The Velia was the ridge running from the Palatine to the Esquiline, above the Forum. The arch of Titus marks its summit.

† "Vocato ad concilium populo," Liv. ii. 7. For the meaning of *populus* see below, Ch. V.

‡ Hence he was named *Poplicola*, i. e. Publicus. "The right understanding of the word *populus* dissipates the fancy that *Poplicola* was the designation of a demagogue like Pericles, who courted the favour of the multitude." Niebuhr, i. p. 521.

§ Cicero de Rep. ii. 31.

|| The right of appeal for both only extended to a mile from the city; the unlimited *imperium* began there.

Tiber, set his troops in motion. He suddenly appeared at the Janiculan; those who guarded it fled over the Sublician bridge into the city; the Tuscans pursued, and reached the bridge; but Horatius Cocles, who had the charge of guarding it, and two other heroes, Sp. Lartius and T. Herminius, there met and withstood them. At the command of Horatius those behind broke down the bridge, he forced his two brave mates to retire, the Tuscans raised a shout and sent a shower of darts, which he received on his shield; they rushed on to force the passage, a loud crash and a shout behind told that the bridge was broken; Horatius, calling on Father Tiber to receive his soldier, plunged into the stream, armed as he was; in vain the Tuscans showered their darts, he reached the further side in safety. The citizens, though suffering at the time from famine, gave him each a portion of his corn, and the republic afterwards bestowed on him as much land as he could plough round in a day, and erected his statue in the Comitium.

Porsenna encamped along the Tiber; the famine pressed heavily at Rome: then a noble youth named C. Mucius conceived the thought of delivering his country. He went to the senate, and craved permission to pass over to the Tuscan camp. Leave was granted; he concealed a dagger beneath his garments and crossed the Tiber. He entered a crowd collected around the king, who was issuing pay to his troops; at the side of Porsenna, habited nearly as the king, sat his secretary busily engaged. Mucius, fearing to inquire which was Porsenna, struck his weapon into the secretary, whom he took for the king. He turned, and tried to force his way through the throng, but he was seized and dragged before Porsenna's judgement-seat. He told his name and country boldly, adding, that many noble youths were prepared to act as he had done. Porsenna, terrified, threatened to burn him alive if he did not make an ample confession. There was a fire on an altar close by, Mucius thrust his right hand into it, and held it there with an unmoved countenance. The king in amaze leaped from his seat, had him removed from the altar, and gave him his life and liberty. Mucius then told him that he was one of three hundred youths who had sworn his death; the lot had first fallen on him, but each would take his turn. He returned to Rome, and he was afterwards rewarded by a grant of land, similar to that of Horatius Cocles. He and his posterity bore the name of Scaevola (*Left-handed*), to commemorate his daring deed.

Ambassadors from Porsenna came soon after to propose a

peace. The interests of Tarquinius were neglected by his ally, who only required that the Romans should give the Veientes back their lands. These terms were accepted, and ten patrician youths, and as many maidens, were sent as hostages into the Tuscan camp. But Clœlia, one of the maidens, urged her companions to attempt escape; and she and they eluding their guards, plunged into the Tiber and swam across. Porsenna sent to demand their restoration; the senate sent them back, and the admiring monarch gave Clœlia leave to select such of the hostages of the other sex as she wished, and presented her with a horse and trappings; and the Romans afterwards raised an equestrian statue in her honour. When Porsenna was departing, he presented the Romans with his well-stored camp on the Janiculan. The senate in return sent him an ivory throne, a sceptre and crown of gold, and a triumphal robe, such as their kings were wont to wear.

Some time after Porsenna sent his son Aruns with an army against Aricia, one of the chief towns of Latium. The Aricines were aided by the other Latins and by the Greeks of Cumæ in Campania; and the Tuscans were defeated and their general slain. The fugitives met with such kind treatment at Rome, that many of them remained there, and built the Tuscan Street (*Vicus Tuscus*): and Porsenna, not to be outdone in generosity, gave back the hostages and the lands beyond the Tiber.

Tarquinius had finally taken refuge with his son-in-law at Tusculum, and he at length succeeded in inducing the Latin federation to arm in his cause. As the two nations had long been closely connected, a year's truce was agreed on to arrange all private affairs; and permission was given to the women of each people, who had married into the other, to return to their friends. All the Roman women came to Rome, and but two of the Latins departed from it.

The shores of the lake Regillus in the lands of Tusculum witnessed the last effort in the cause of the Tarquini. The Romans were commanded by the dictator, A. Postumius, and the master of the horse*, T. Æbutius Helva; the Latins were led by Octavius Mamilius. King Tarquinius, regardless of his advanced age, headed the Roman exiles; and as soon as he beheld the dictator, he spurred his horse against him, but a wound in the side from the spear of Postumius forced him to retire. On the other wing Æbutius ran against Mamilius;

* These offices will be explained in the sequel.

the former had an arm broken ; the Latin was struck in the breast, but uninjured by the blow, he brought up the corps of exiles, and the Romans began to give way. M. Valerius, the brother of Poplicola, ran at the younger Tarquinius ; the prince drew back, Valerius rushed among the exiles, and fell pierced by a spear ; the two sons of Poplicola perished in the attempt to recover his body. The dictator now falls on the exiles, and routs them ; Mamilius brings troops to their aid ; he is met and slain by T. Herminius, who himself receives a mortal wound as he is stripping the body of the slain. The dictator flies to the horse and implores them to dismount and restore the battle ; they obey ; fired by their example, the foot charge once more ; the Latins turn and fly ; the Roman horse remount and pursue, and the Latin camp is taken. During the battle the dictator vowed a temple to Castor and Pollux. Two youths of great size were seen mounted on white horses in the van of the fight, and ere the pursuit was over, they appeared at Rome, covered with blood and dirt, washed themselves and their arms at the fount of Juturna, by the temple of Vesta, and having announced the victory, disappeared. Afterwards beheld on a basaltic rock, by the lake Regillus, the print of a horse's hoof*.

Tarquinius fled to Cumæ, whose tyrant Aristodêmus gave him a friendly reception. He died in that town, and with him expired all hopes of re-establishing royalty at Rome.

CHAPTER IV.

The Regal Period of Rome, according to the views of Niebuhr.

SUCH are the earlier events of the history of Rome, as they were sung in the poetic Annals of Ennius, and related by Fabius Pictor, the father of Roman history. That they are mythic and semimythic must be at once discerned by every one who is acquainted with the character of early home-sprung history ; but we are not thereby entitled to view them with contempt,

* Cicero de Nat. Deor. iii. 5. Val. Max. i. 8, 1.

and fling them away as useless. They have been closely interwoven into the institutions and literature of the state, and therefore must be known, and it is only by means of them that the real history can be divined; nor should the delight which they afford the imagination, and the exercise which they furnish for the powers of the mind in general, be overlooked. We therefore make no apology for having lingered among them.

Nearly a century ago this character of the early Roman history was discerned by Beaufort, who however carried his scepticism somewhat too far. The fullest and most satisfactory examination of it was reserved for our own days; and the learning, the labours, and the sagacity of Niebuhr have altered the whole face of the early Roman story. We will now briefly give his views of the portion of the history above narrated*.

The war of Troy is so completely mythic, that we cannot with safety regard any portion of it as strictly historical. The voyage of Æneas to Latium is therefore entitled to little more credit than the tale of his divine birth; yet, in the opinion of Niebuhr, it is no Grecian invention, but a domestic Roman tradition. It is, he thinks, indebted for its origin to the circumstance of the original population of both Troy and Latium being Pelasgian. As the religion of the whole of this race was the same, and the sacred isle of Samothrace a place of common pilgrimage, those who met there, such, for example, as the Lavinians of Latium and the Gergethians of Mount Ida, may have easily accounted for their similarity of faith and institutions, by supposing the more distant peoples to be colonies from Asia; and the destruction of Troy and dispersion of its inhabitants offered a ready derivation of the colonies. It was, then, no difficult matter to make an ignorant people like the early Romans believe in an origin thus calculated to do them honour.

The succession of Alban kings† from Iulus to Numitor is a pure fiction, intended to fill up the space which the Greek chronology gave between the fall of Troy and the building of Rome. Alba stood at the head of thirty towns (*Populi Al-*

* In the text of this and the next chapter we confine ourselves to Niebuhr's views. Our own remarks and those of others will be placed in the notes.

† The names of these kings in Livy are, Silvius, Æneas, Latinus, Alba, Atyr, Capys, Capetus, Tiberinus, Agrippa, Romulus, Aventinus, Procas, Numitor, and Amulius. The lists in Dionysius and Ovid (*Met.* xiv. 609. *Fasti*, iv. 41.) differ slightly from this.

benses), and was in union with the confederation of the thirty Latin towns. She had the supremacy, and all shared in the flesh of a victim, annually slain on the Alban mount. Lavinium was founded by settlers sent from the thirty Alban and thirty Latin towns (ten from each), and, like the Panionion, it was so named as being the seat of congress of the Latins, who were also called Lavines*.

The Siculans, Tyrrhenians, Aborigines, or however the early Pelasgian inhabitants of Latium may have been named, dwelt in villages on eminences which might be easily defended. Thus beyond the Tiber there was Vaticanum, or Vatica†, and another, whose name is unknown, stood on the summit of the Janiculum. On the Palatine was a town named Roma, and on the Cælian another, which we have reason to think was named Lucer or Lucerum; and further down the river ‡ probably another called Remuria, while on the Quirinal and Tarpeian above Roma, being separated by a swamp and marsh from the Palatine, was another town named Quirium. This last belonged to the Sabines, who had extended themselves thus far along the Tiber. Roma was probably one of the towns that acknowledged the supremacy of Alba, and warfare of course was frequent between it and Quirium, and the former would appear to have at length become subject to the latter. The tale of the rape of the Sabine maidens§, and the consequent war, may represent how at one time there had been no right of intermarriage (*connubium*) between the two towns, and how the subject one, by force of arms, raised itself to an equality in civil rights, and even acquired the preponderance. When the two were united, they built the double Janus on the road leading from the Quirinal to the Palatine, with a door facing each. It was open in time of war for mutual succour, shut in time of peace to prevent quarrels, or in proof of the towns being distinct though united.

For some time each town had its own king, senate, and popular assembly, and they used to meet on occasions of common interest on the *Comitium*||, in the valley between the

* Turnus, Latinus and Lavinia are nothing but personifications of Tyrrhenians, Latins and Lavines.

† For there was an *ager Vaticanus*, and as numerous examples show, this infers a town.

‡ Not on the Aventine, for then Roma could have had no territory.

§ In the more ancient form of the legend there are but thirty maidens, who are, therefore, nothing but personifications of the names of the Curies.

From *comire*, to come together.

Tarpeian and Palatine hills. At length, as the two peoples coalesced more and more, and the danger from Etruria or Alba became more pressing, they agreed to have but one senate, one assembly, and one king, to be chosen alternately by one people out of the other. On all solemn occasions the two combined peoples were now styled *Populus Romanus et Quirites**.

In early antiquity almost every state was divided into tribes, resulting from conquest or from difference of origin. We might therefore expect to find this the case in the present instance; and accordingly we learn that the Romans formed a tribe named Ramnes, and the Sabines one named Titienses. But we meet a third, the Luceres, whose origin it is much more difficult to ascertain. Another form of the name however, Lucertes, leads to the supposition of their being the inhabitants of a town named Lucer or Lucerum which is to be sought on the Cælian, (which belonged to Roma in the time of Romulus, that is, before its union with Quirium †,) for it was there that Tullus Hostilius placed the Albans, and a branch of the Roman people is assigned to Tullus, as the Ramnes and Titienses are to Romulus and Numa, and the Plebs to Ancus, and none remains for him but the Luceres. These were of Latin origin, and were subject to the Romans, for Tullus' father was said to have been a native of the Latin town of Medullia, which infers a conquest of that town and a removal of its inhabitants. They long continued inferior to the other two, and were not admitted to the deliberations on the Comitium.

The whole legend of Romulus and Remus is purely mythic. When Rome became a state of some importance, its people naturally looked back and sought to trace its origin. It is probable that at this time they had some knowledge of Grecian literature; and as the Greeks had adopted the practice of deriving the names in their topography from those of supposed kings and princes, the Romans inferred that their city must have been founded by a Romus or Romulus ‡. If, as is

* Or, after the old Roman manner, *Populus Romanus Quirites*, which was afterwards corrupted to *Populus Romanus Quiritium*: see above, p. 4. The fixedness of the Roman character showed itself even in the retention of old names and forms; a name was never let go out of use so long as an object to apply it to could be found. Thus, when the distinction between the two original component parts of the Roman people had ceased, the term *Quirites* was retained, and applied to the Plebs!

† Dionys. ii. 50.

‡ One acquainted with Grecian mythology will not be easily led to believe

above hinted, there was a town named Remuria in the neighbourhood, whose people were of the same race as themselves, and had been sometimes at peace, sometimes at war with them, and had finally been overcome, they might have inferred that Remus, its founder, had been the twin brother of Romulus, and was slain by him in a fit of anger. The notion of their city having been founded by twins would gather strength from the circumstance of their state having all along developed itself in a double form. That the legend grew up on the spot is proved by the wolf's den, the Ruminal fig-tree, and the other local circumstances. Gradually, as is always the case, the story received various additions, and the legends of other countries were perhaps transferred to it, and it thus assumed the form in which it has been transmitted to us*.

Numa, like Romulus, is an ideal personage, the symbol of the early religious institutions of the state. As these were chiefly Sabine, he was made to be of that nation, but in the original legend he must have been a native of Quirium, and not of the distant Cures.

The purely mythic portion of Roman story terminates with Numa. The dawn of reality begins to glimmer with the reign of Tullus Hostilius. That Alba was destroyed, and that a portion of its population migrated to Rome, are historic facts; but the probability is, that the Romans and Latins in conjunction took Alba and divided its territory and people; for it was the Italian law of nations that the lands of the vanquished became the property of the conqueror, and we find the territory about Alba belonging to the Latins, not to the Romans. Or

that, in remote antiquity, countries and towns were named from persons. The logographers gave vogue to this notion, of which no trace appears in Homer or Hesiod: the first town of which we read in Grecian history really named after a man was Philippi, after Philip of Macedonia. See *Mythology of Greece and Italy*, p. 411, 2nd edit. The practice would seem to have been different in the East. See *Gen. iv. 17. 1 Kings, xvi. 24.*

* The tale of the exposure of the twins, and their preservation, reminds us at once of the legend of Cyrus, and of those of Asclepius, Paris and others in Grecian mythology. It more closely resembles the Iberian legend of Habis (*Justin, xlv. 4.*), which last is extremely similar to that of Orson in the Romance. It is remarkable that many names in the early Roman legends seem to be of Greek origin. Thus we have Evander (*Good-man*), Cacus (*Bad*), Amulius (*Cunning, αἰμύλος*), Numitor and Numa (*Lawful, νόμος*). It does not, however, hence follow that the legendary history of Rome was the invention of the Greeks; the Romans themselves may have had a fondness, even in the early ages, for using Greek names.

Alba may have been destroyed by the Latins alone, and its people have sought refuge at Rome.

The reign of Ancus offers none of the features of poetry; the events which it contains are all historical, though they may not all belong to that time.

With Tarquinius Priscus the poetic history re-appears. The Corinthian, and even the Etruscan origin of this prince, is apparently mere fiction; while his surname of *Priseus*, *Caia Cæcilia* the name of his wife in an old legend, and the fact of there being a Tarquinian *house* at Rome, testify strongly for his Alban, that is, Latin origin. For, as has been shown above*, the Priscans were a people united with the Latins, like the Quirites with the Romans; and as the names *Aurun-cus*, *Siculus*, and others, affixed to those of persons in the early ages of Rome, denote from what people they sprang, that of *Priscus* could only have been attached to a person of Priscan origin†. Moreover, as the *Servilli*, with whom *Priscus* was a surname, were one of the Alban houses on the *Cælian*, and therefore belonged to the *Luceres*, it seems to follow that the *Tarquini* also belonged to this tribe, and of this sufficient proofs appear. *Caia Cæcilia's* name for instance refers us to *Præneste*, said to have been built by *Cæculus* the *Eponymus*, or heroic founder of her house. If, moreover, *Tarquinius* was of Alban extraction, the worship of the Grecian gods at the Roman games, said to have been introduced by him, and so inexplicable on the theory of his being an Etruscan, becomes easy of solution; for the *Albans*, though mixed with *Priscans*, were mainly *Tyrrhenians*, and the religion of Rome had been hitherto chiefly *Sabine*.

The poetic legend of *Servius Tullius* is utterly at variance with the following passage in a speech of the emperor *Clau-dius*, who was well acquainted with Etruscan literature‡. "According to our annals," says he, "*Servius Tullius* was the son of the captive *Ocrisia*; if we follow the *Tuscans*, he was the faithful follower of *Cæles Vivenna*, and shared in all his fortunes. At last, being overpowered through a variety of disasters, he quitted *Etruria* with the remains of the army that

* See p. 4.

† To us it appears more probable that *Priscus* and *Superbus* were first used in after-times, and after the former had gotten the signification of *old*, to distinguish the *Tarquini*. If *Priscus* was a *cognomen*, it would probably have adhered to the family.

‡ It was on two brazen tables, found at Lyons in the 16th century.

had served under Cæles, went to Rome, and occupied the Cælian hill, calling it so after his former commander. He exchanged his Tuscan name Mastarna for a Roman one, obtained the kingly power, and wielded it to the great good of the state." Still the truth of this statement is not to be at once acquiesced in. Claudius was a man of no judgement; Etruscan annals continued to be written down at least to the time of Sulla, when Etruria lost her independence; each annalist, without having any new sources of knowledge, expanded and enlarged the accounts of his predecessors; there may have been an old tale of a chief named Mastarna retiring to and settling at Rome, and some annalist may have chosen to assert that he was Servius Tullius. It moreover does not follow that this account gained general credence even in Etruria. It is to be remarked, that among the Luceres there was a house of the Tullii, which would seem to make Servius, like Tarquinius, one of them.

"The legends of Tarquinius and Servius, however," says Niebuhr, "clearly imply that there was a time when Rome received Tuscan institutions from a prince of Etruria, and was the great and splendid capital of a powerful Etruscan state." Perhaps Veii, or one of the adjoining Tuscan states, conquered Rome; perhaps Cæles or Mastarna, or some other Tuscan leader, got the government into his hands; possibly it may have been the transient dominion of Porsenna, presently to be noticed*.

The tragic fate of Servius and the crimes of Tullia are, perhaps, purely imaginary events; this much, however, is certain, that the noble system of legislation which bears his name was rendered abortive by a counter-revolution; whether it was attended with bloodshed and atrocities or not is a matter of little importance.

The whole poetic tale of the last Tarquinius is full of inconsistencies and contradictions. Thus Brutus, we are told, was of the same age with the king's sons, and was regarded as an idiot. We may therefore suppose him not to have been more than five-and-twenty at the time of the revolution, yet he had grown-up sons at that time, and though a natural, was invested with one of the highest offices in the state, the tribunate of the Celeres, and could therefore convene assemblies and exercise sacerdotal functions! His name probably gave occasion to the tale of his idiotcy, which tale knew nothing of

* See Appendix (C).

his office, and the annalists, as usual, heedlessly combined the two accounts.

The narrative of the taking of Gabii is evidently made up from two stories in Herodotus*, and is quite irreconcilable with the fact of the treaty with that town which existed even in the time of Augustus, written on a bull's hide stretched on a shield. In like manner the war with Ardea must be a baseless fiction; for, as will appear, it was at the time of the expulsion a Latin town subject to Rome. The tale of Lucretia may or may not be a fiction; but the oath of the four Romans is plainly symbolical of the union between the three Patrician tribes and the Plebs against the tyrant; Lucretius being a Ramnes, Valerius a Titiensis, Collatinus a Lucer, and Brutus a plebeian†. The consulate of Collatinus, a Tarquinius, looks like a compromise with the powerful house to which he belonged, allowing that one of them, to be chosen by the people, should share in the supreme power; but the whole house was banished shortly afterwards‡.

Of the war with Porsenna, not a single incident can be regarded as a portion of real history; Porsenna himself was a mythic hero of Etruria, probably belonging to the ante-historic times, possibly connected in the Roman tradition with the war in which Rome fell before the Tuscan arms. For Rome actually had to surrender to a Tuscan power, and to give back all the lands beyond the Tiber, and her citizens were prohibited the use of iron except for agricultural purposes§. But when the Tuscans were defeated before Aricia, the Romans rose and recovered their independence, but not the ceded lands. Then it may have been that property belonging to the Tuscan lord in the city was sold by auction, which may have given rise to the symbolic custom which long prevailed at Rome, of selling the goods of king Porsenna.

The battle of the Regillus is thoroughly Homeric, with its

* That of Zopyrus (iii. 154.), and the counsel given to Periander by Thrasylbulus (v. 92.). A Spanish abbot gave the same counsel to Ramirez king of Aragon (Mariana, x. 16.), and pope John VIII. gave it to Charles the Bald of France, and Theodoric, count of Holland. (Scrivenius, *Bataria Vetus*.) The pope and abbot had no doubt read Livy.

† The Junii were always a plebeian house. Niebuhr (iii. 41, German) would seem to have regarded Brutus as the tribune of the plebeian knights.

‡ Varro *ap.* Nonium, v. *reditio*. The story of the slave Vindicius, we may add, is a fiction, to give a historical origin to the custom of emancipating slaves by the *Vindicta*.

§ Tacitus, *Hist.* iii. 72. Pliny, *H. N.* xxxiv. 39. Comp. 1 Sam. xiii. 19.

single combats of heroes, and gods sharing openly in it. It closes the *Lay of the Tarquins**; the whole generation who had been warring with each other since the crime of Sextus† perish in it; “the manes of Lucretia are appeased, and the men of the heroic age depart out of the world, before injustice begins to domineer, and gives birth to insurrection in the state which they had delivered‡.”

CHAPTER V.

The Origin and Progress of the Roman Constitution, according to Niebuhr.

IN the preceding chapter we have given a sketch of Niebuhr's views of the history of Rome in the regal period. We now proceed to give some of his ideas on the origin and development of the constitution during the same time.

No institution in ancient times was more general than that of the division of a people into tribes§. These were either genealogical or local; the former were the more ancient kind, and mostly arose from a difference of origin antecedent to their political union. These tribes were divided into a certain number of Houses (*Gentes*), each of which again was composed of a greater or lesser number of Families (*Familie*). The territory of the state was divided among the tribes, and thus the genealogic tribes must have been local ones also at the time of their formation: but this local position was not their bond of union.

To apply this principle to Rome. When Roma and Quirium united, their inhabitants, under the name of Ramnes and Titienses, formed two tribes, equal in all respects, save that the former had the precedence in rank; the third tribe (for there must have been three)|| was the Luceres, who, as pre-

* So Niebuhr names it after the *Nibelungen Lied*, i. e. Lay of the Nibelungs, a celebrated German poem.

† According to one account Sextus was killed in this battle.

‡ Niebuhr, i. 548.

§ For both Sparta and Athens see History of Greece, Part I. c. v. & vii.

|| The word *tribus*, equivalent to the Greek *phyle*, evidently comes from *tres*, and, like the Attic *τριτὴς*, indicated the original number of the tribes of Rome. In like manner *century* originally indicated 100 (*centum*) houses or individuals. They both became in the course of time mere terms of division, and we read of 20, 21, 30, 35 tribes, and centuries of even 30 persons.

vously subordinate to the Romans, were not yet placed on an equality with the former two. This inferiority of the Luceres is proved by the circumstance of the original number of the Vestals, the Pontiffs, the Flamens, and the Augurs being four, two for each of the superior tribes, and by other similar divisions in the state. Hence the members of the first two tribes were called those of the Greater Houses (*Majorum Gentium*),—those of the latter, of the Lesser Houses (*Minorum Gentium*)*.

Each tribe was divided into ten Curies (*Curie*), and each Cury contained ten Houses (*Gentes*). Each tribe was presided over by its Tribune (*Tribunus*), who was its leader in the field, its priest and magistrate at home. Each Cury had in like manner its Curion (*Curio*), whose title in the field was Centurion, as he commanded a hundred (*centum*) men in the original Roman army.

The members of a house, though bearing the same name, are not to be regarded as kinsmen†. Their union was solely a political one; it was kept up by common sacred rites, at stated times and places, to the expense of which they all contributed. The Gentiles (*i. e.* the members of the house or *gens*) were bound to aid one another in paying fines, ransoms, etc.; and if a man died without kin and intestate, his property went to his Gentiles. These members of the houses of the three tribes formed the burghers or original citizens of Rome‡. Their common name seems to have been Celeres§: they were also called Patres, Patroni and Patricians, from the following cause.

The states of antiquity were extremely jealous of their civic rights, and slow to communicate them to strangers; there moreover was not in them that equal law for the citizen and the stranger, to which *we* are accustomed. When therefore for the sake of trade, or from some other cause, a man wished to settle in a town which was at amity or in a federal relation with his native place, he was obliged to choose some citizen of his

* The equestrian centuries of Tarquinius or the *Conscripti* of Brutus were thought by some to be the Lesser Houses.

† Thus the Lentuli and the Scipiones were both of the house of the Cornelii, but they were never regarded as kinsmen.

‡ "Patricios Cincius ait eos appellari qui nunc ingenui vocantur." Festus, v. Patricios.

§ *Celer* seems to be akin to the Greek κελης, a single horse or rider. See Suidas, Hesychius and Phavorinus, s. v. The Roman Celeres or Patricians answered to the ιππεῖς or ἵπποβοται of the Greeks.

new abode as his legal protector and guardian. In Greece a sojourner of this kind was named a *Metœc*, at Rome he was called a *Client*; the *metœc* relation however might be dissolved at will, that of clientship descended to the posterity of the first client. The relative term to *client* was *patron*, with which *Pater* (*Father*) and *Patricius* (*homo*) may be regarded as synonymous; it denoted the paternal care which a Roman burgher exercised over his children, servants and clients.

If the client did not exercise a trade, keep a shop, or so forth, the patron usually granted him on his estate, two *jugers* of arable land, with space to build a cottage on, which he held as tenant at will. The patron was bound to relieve his client when in distress, to expound to him the law, both civil and religious, and to appear for him in courts of justice*. The client on his side was to be obedient to his patron, to aid him in paying fines to the state, and in bearing public burdens, to contribute to ransom him if made a prisoner, and to help to make up the marriage-portion of his daughters. Altogether this relation has a striking similarity to that of *lord* and *vassal* in the feudal times, which in all probability was derived from it.

The Patricians or burghers formed the general assembly or *Populus*†. They met on the place called the *Comitium*, and they voted by *curies*, whence the assembly was named *Comitia Curiata*. The votes taken in the *curies* were those of the houses, not of individuals. The matters laid before them were the election of magistrates, the enactment or repeal of laws, and the making of war or peace. All these questions were previously considered in the senate.

No state in antiquity was without its senate; that of Rome was composed of representatives, one for each of the houses, and consequently contained at first one, then two, and finally three hundred members. It was divided into *decuries*, corresponding to the number of the *curies*, and therefore gradually increasing in number from ten to thirty. The *Ramnes* had the superiority in the senate also; ten persons, one from each of their *decuries*, were named the *Ten First* (*Decem primi*) of the senate. On the death of a king, these ten formed a board, each member of which enjoyed for five days, as *Interrex* (*Between-king*), the royal power and dignity. If at the end of fifty days no king was elected, the rotation of *Interrexes* commenced anew.

* Hence lawyers still call those who employ them their *clients*.

† See Appendix (D).

When the King (*Rex*) was to be elected, the senate agreed among themselves on the person whom the Interrex should propose to the curies. If they accepted him, the sanction of the gods was sought by augury, and the signs being favourable, the new king had himself to propose a law for investing him with the full regal power (*imperium*) to the curies, who might then if they pleased annul their former decision*. It was probably thought, that in a matter of such importance it was prudent to deliberate twice, or, like the Athenian magistrates, the Roman king may have had to undergo a *dokimasy*†, or scrutiny.

The regal office at Rome very much resembled that of the heroic ages in Greece, but it differed from it in being elective, not hereditary. The king had the absolute command of the army; he offered the sacrifices for the nation; he convoked the senate and people, and laid laws before them; he could punish by fines and corporal penalties, but an appeal from his sentence lay for the citizens (*i. e.* the patricians) to the assembly of the curies; his power over sojourners and others not belonging to the houses was unlimited. The king moreover sat every ninth day, and administered justice himself or assigned a judge. He could dispose of the booty and the land acquired in war, and a large portion of the conquered territory belonged to the crown, which was cultivated by the king's clients, and yielded him a large revenue.

Such was the constitution of Rome in the period designated by the first three kings. With Ancus the state received a new element, the Plebes, or Plebs.

In every state regulated on the principle of houses, there naturally grows up a *Demos*, *Plebs*, or commonalty, the members of which are free, under the protection of the law, may acquire real property, and make by-laws for themselves, but, though bound to serve in war, are excluded from the government‡. This commonalty is composed of various elements, and in some cases, as at Athens, it has acquired such a preponderance of strength as to draw all political power to itself, and thus convert the state into a democracy. But destiny favoured Rome in this respect; for though her Plebs was the

* Cicero de Rep., ii. 13. 17. 18. 20. 21. For the general principle of a double election of magistrates see Cicero, Rullus, ii. 11.

† History of Greece, p. 65, 2nd edit. p. 63, 4th edit.

‡ Compare the Peræcians of Laconia and the Demos of Attica before the time of Solón.

most respectable commonalty that ever existed, the *Populus* always had sufficient strength to balance it, and thus the development of the constitution was gradual and beneficent*.

The Roman Plebs was thus formed. In the early part of the period which we have just described, there was probably at Rome some kind of a commonalty, consisting of emancipated clients, and of persons who had not entered into the client-relation, but it was of no account. When, however, on the destruction of Alba, a division of conquests and a new arrangement of territory took place between the Romans and the Latins, the Plebs, which had been already augmented by the inhabitants of those Latin towns which had been conquered before that time, received a great accession to its body. King Ancus, after his victories over the Latins, assigned the Aventine for the abode of such of them as chose to remove to Rome, and it became the site of the plebeian city†. The greater part of the Plebs, however, who were mostly landowners, stayed on their lands away from Rome. It was, moreover, the Italian law of nations, that when a town was taken or surrendered, its territory fell to the conqueror: the Roman kings had always re-assigned a part of it to the old possessors, and the Plebs therefore contained all the people, gentle and simple, of such Latin towns as fell to Rome: many of its members might consequently vie with the patricians in nobleness of descent, and equalled them in wealth; though the jealousy of these last would not allow them to intermarry with them, and most legal relations were to the disadvantage of the plebeians.

The Romulian constitution, which we have been describing, received its complete development by the calling up of the *Luceres* into the senate, but the time when this occurred is uncertain. The great change of this constitution commenced with Tarquinius Priscus in the following manner.

It is the nature of an exclusive aristocracy to diminish with great rapidity, and eventually to die away, if it refuses to replace the houses which become extinct. Such appears to have been the case with that of Rome at this time; the *curies* did not on an average contain more than five houses apiece. Tar-

* The real cause of this difference was probably that the Romans were an agricultural, the Athenians a trading people.

† The Aventine, though included within the wall of Servius Tullius, was outside of the *pomerium*, and remained so till the time of the emperor Claudius. (Gell. xiii. 14.)

quinius therefore proposed to form three new tribes of houses out of his own retainers and the plebeians, and to name them from himself and his friends. As this would be making six instead of three tribes, and thus be altering the form of the constitution, the augur Navius was put forward to oppose it, and even Heaven, as we have seen, called to aid. It would appear that a compromise was effected between the king and the patricians, as he in reality did what he proposed, for he doubled the number of the houses, but left that of the tribes untouched; each tribe therefore now consisted of two parts or centuries.

The Plebs, meantime, advanced daily in numbers, wealth, and power by the various accessions which it received. The legislator whom we name Servius Tullius saw the advantage of giving it more organisation than it had yet obtained, and he accordingly divided it into local tribes. The number of these tribes was thirty, answering to that of the patrician curies and of the Latin towns; four of them were civic or in the city, the remaining twenty-six were rural; of these, ten lay beyond the Tiber in Etruria. These tribes being local, each had its separate *region*, which bore the same name with itself. Each tribe had its tribune, who was its captain in war, its chief magistrate in peace; he apportioned the tax (*tributum**) which the tribe had to pay among the tribesmen (*tribules*), regulated their contingent in the army, and inspected the condition of every family. The plebeian tribes when they met in assembly elected their tribunes and other magistrates, made laws for their own regulation, imposed rates for common objects, etc.

Rome now consisted of two united but distinct peoples, governed by one prince, with a common public interest, but yet without even the right of intermarriage. These were the *Populus* or burghers, and the *Plebs* or commonalty; equally free, but with the advantage in point of honour on the side of the former†. But the legislator saw danger in this separation, and he sought to obviate it by an institution in which both should be comprised, and by which birth and wealth should have their due and full influence in the state. This he proposed to effect by arranging the whole population in Classes, subdivided

* *Tributum* comes from *tribus*, not the reverse.

† The assemblies (*comitia*) of the *Populus* were held on the Comitium, those of the *Plebs* in the Forum; the Suggestum (afterwards named Rostra), or pulpit from which the magistrates spoke in public, separated these two places, which lay on the same level, and which were, in common use, included under the name Forum.

into Centuries. The form in which we must conceive the people in this arrangement is that of an Army (*Exercitus*), as it was called, composed of cavalry, infantry, artillery, and its baggage-train, and it met on the Campus Martius without the city*.

The three original tribes or centuries of Romulus, with the three of Tarquinius, contained all the patricians without distinction of property: they were named the Six Votes or Suffrages (*Sex Suffragia*). To these Servius added twelve centuries of plebeian *notables*, or men of superior wealth, a kind of plebeian nobility whose honours descended to their posterity; these centuries were open, and any plebeian might be raised to them. The eighteen centuries, under the name of Knights or Horsemen (*Equites*), formed the cavalry of the Roman army. If any member of them was so reduced in circumstances as not to be able to purchase a war-horse for himself, and a slave and horse to attend and follow him to the field, the state assigned him a sum of 10,000 asses for that purpose, and for their maintenance an annual rent-charge of 2000 asses on the estates of single women and orphans, who were thus made to contribute to the defence of the state which gave them protection†. If a knight was degraded, as sometimes occurred, his horse was sold to reimburse the state, and his pension was assigned to another.

After the eighteen equestrian Centuries came the infantry, composed entirely of plebeians, arranged in five Classes in the order of their property, and armed in the same proportion, as the following table will show:—

Class.	Property.	Centuries.	Arms.
I.	100,000 asses and upwards.	40 of old, 40 of young men=80	{ Helmet. Shield. Corselet. Greaves. Sword. Spear.
II.	75,000 asses and upwards.	10 of old, 10 of young men=20	{ Helmet. Shield. Greaves. Sword. Spear.
III.	50,000 asses and upwards.	10 of old, 10 of young men=20	{ Helmet, shield. Sword, spear.
IV.	25,000 asses and upwards.	10 of old, 10 of young men=20	{ Spear and dart.
V.	12,500 asses and upwards.	15 of old, 15 of young men=30	{ Slings.

* "Centuriata comitia intra pomerium fieri nefas esse quia exercitum extra urbem imperari oporteat," Lælius Felix *ap. Gell.* xv. 27.

† According to Cicero (*De Rep.* ii. 20), who no doubt followed Polybius, the same practice prevailed at Corinth. At Athens the Horsemen received pay for the keep of their horses, Boeckh, *Pub. Econ. of Athens*, i. 334 *seq.*

Those whose property was under 12,500 asses were arranged in centuries out of the classes. Of these centuries there were four, as will thus appear. All in the centuries taken together were divided into *Assiduans* or *Locupletans* and *Proletarians*, the former containing all down to those who had 1500 asses, the latter those who had less than that sum. Now the *Assiduans* below the classes were divided into *Accensi*, or those who had from 7000 to 12,500 asses, and *Velati*, who had from 1500 to 7000; and the *Proletarians* were again divided into *Proletarians*, or those who had from 375 to 1500 asses, and *Capite Censi*, or those who had less than 375 asses, thus making four in all. The corporations of carpenters (*fabri*), trumpeters (*liticines*), and horn-blowers (*cornicines*) formed three centuries, of which the first stood and voted with the first class, the last two with the fifth. The entire number of centuries therefore was 195*, viz.

Equestrian	18
Classes	170
Assiduans	2
Proletarians	2
Mechanists	3

195

When the centuries were assembled on the Field of Mars, their place of meeting, they voted on elections, laws, or any other matters previously prepared in the senate. Their power to reject was absolute, but their assent required to be confirmed by the patricians in their curies. They voted in the following order. The Six Suffrages; the Plebeian equestrian centuries; the first class, and the carpenters; the remaining classes; the two centuries of musicians; the *Accensi*; the *Velati*; the *Proletarians*; the *Capite Censi*. If the first three divisions were unanimous, it was needless to call up the remainder; for, as we may see, they formed a majority of 99 to 96 of the whole. Hence the design of the legislator is apparent; he aimed at forming a mingled aristocracy and timocracy†, by placing the political power in the hands of the noble and the wealthy‡, and to stave off the evils of demo-

* This view depends on Niebuhr's (vol. i. p. 444.) emendation of a passage in Cicero de Republica.

† The timocracy of Solon (Hist. of Greece, P. I. c. vii.) was quite different from this. It related solely to eligibility to office, this of Servius to elections.

‡ "Curavit, ne plurimum valeant plurimi." Cicero de Rep. ii. 22.

crazy, while at the same time all should be content, no one being without a place in the constitution.

This principle of giving influence to the minority was also attended to in the division of the classes into centuries of old men and young men. The former contained those who were past forty-five years, and calculations show that their number could not have been more than one half of that of the latter ; yet, as we see, the number of their centuries, and therefore of their votes, was equal.

We must not let ourselves be misled by the word *century*, and suppose that because the first class had four times as many centuries as the second, it therefore contained four times the number of individuals. The real fact is, it had four times as many votes ; it being the legislator's design that the votes of each class should be to those of the whole five, as the taxable property of that class was to that of the five, and consequently the number of citizens in each be in inverse proportion to the sums designating their property ; therefore as

$$\begin{array}{l} 100,000 : 75,000 :: 4 : 3 \\ \text{---} : 50,000 :: 6 : 3 \\ \text{---} : 25,000 :: 12 : 3 \\ \text{---} : 12,500 :: 24 : 3 \end{array}$$

Three of the first must have had as much property as four of the second, six of the third, and so on ; while the centuries of the third, for instance, must have contained twice, those of the fifth eight times, as many citizens as those of the first. In like manner, the property of each of the three classes following the first must have been a fourth, that of the fifth three-eighths, of the property of the first class*. Multiplying, then, the centuries by the relative numbers of the properties of the classes, we find

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} 80 \times 3 = 240 \\ 20 \times 4 = 80 \\ 20 \times 6 = 120 \\ 20 \times 12 = 240 \\ 30 \times 24 = 720 \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{or dividing by 40, their} \\ \text{common measure,} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 6 \\ 2 \\ 3 \\ 6 \\ 18 \end{array} \right.$$

35

So that of thirty-five citizens six were in the first class, and had more influence in the state than the remaining twenty-

* For 80, 20, 20, 20, 30 (the numbers of the centuries) are to each other as 1, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{3}{4}$.

nine; the number of citizens in the second class was a third of those in the first; that of the third, a half, and so on. If then, as there is reason to suppose, the first class contained 6000 citizens, the whole five contained 35,000—the number of plebeians (exclusive of the knights) possessing property above 12,500 asses.

As we have above observed, the Centuries, when assembled on the Field of Mars, formed an army*: the eighteen equestrian centuries were the cavalry; the Classes the infantry; the Proletarians the baggage-train; there were also the artillerists (*fabri*) and the musicians. The first class usually sent forty centuries of thirty men each, (one from each tribe,) or 1200 men, to the field; the second and third together gave the same number, as did also the fourth and fifth; making a total of one hundred and twenty centuries, or 3600 men, consisting of three divisions of 1200 men each, one of hoplites or men in full armour, one of men in half armour, and one of light troops. This body, named a Legion†, was drawn up in *phalanx* after the manner of the Greeks, each century composed of the first two divisions being drawn up three in front and ten deep, the men of the first class forming the first five ranks; whence we see why the quantity of armour was diminished as the classes descended, those who stood behind being covered by the bodies and armour of those in front. The light troops, forming what was called a *caterva*, stood apart from the phalanx. The Accensi stood apart from both; it was their duty to take the arms and places of the killed or wounded, and as in such cases the man immediately behind stepped into the gap, and he was succeeded by the man behind him, the places of the Accensi were always in the rear, where they acted merely mechanically in giving weight and consistency to the mass.

In this system, therefore, men had to encounter danger in exact proportion to the stake they had in the state, and to the political advantages which they enjoyed; for the knights also purchased their precedence by being exposed to greater danger, as they were badly equipped, and riding without stirrups were easily unhorsed and disarmed, and were exposed to the missiles of the enemy's light troops‡.

* When the centuries were assembled, a red flag, the usual signal for battle, was raised on the Janiculan, and if it was taken down the assembly was *ipso facto* dissolved. See Liv. xxxix. 15, Dion. xlvii. 42.

† From *lego*, to select. We are not to suppose that one legion formed the whole army. This was only the rule by which the legions were raised.

‡ See Polybius, vi. 25, 3–10.

Another part of this legislation was the establishment of a regular system of taxation by the Census. Every citizen was bound to give an honest return of the number of his family, and of his taxable property. A registry of births was kept in the temple of Lucina, one of deaths in that of Libitina; the country-people were registered at the festival of the Pagana-lia. All changes of abode and transfers of property were to be notified to the proper magistrate. The *tribute* was paid by the Plebs; it was so much a thousand on the property given in at the census, varying according to the exigencies of the state, but unfair, inasmuch as debts were not deducted from the capital, so that a man paid in proportion to his nominal, not his actual property. This property consisted of lands, houses, slaves, cattle, money, and every other object of what was called Quiritary property, or *res mancipii*. None but As-siduans were thus taxed; the Proletarians were exempt from taxes. Sojourners and others, who were not in the Classes or Centuries, paid, under the name of *Ærarians*, such arbitrary sums as the state imposed for licenses to carry on trades, etc. The patricians paid, like the plebeians, for their property of the same kind with theirs, and they yielded the state a tithe of the produce of the public lands, which they held exclusively as tenants.

Though Servius thus gave form and consistency to the revenue, we are not to suppose that most if not all of these taxes did not exist before his time; there were these and port-duties and other charges, from which and the *manubiæ*, or spoils of war, the kings derived a large revenue, as is proved by the great works which they executed. These works were the Ca-pitoline temple, with its huge substructions, the sewers and the city-wall. Of the first we have already spoken: the Cloaca Maxima, or great sewer, which still exists, is composed of three vaults within one another, all formed of hewn blocks of stone, each $7\frac{1}{4}$ Roman palms long and $4\frac{1}{2}$ thick, put together without cement*; the innermost vault is a semicircle eighteen palms in width and as many in height. Other sewers carried the waters of other parts of the city into the Cloaca Maxima, which opens into the river by a gate-like arch in a quay; which quay, being of the same style of architecture, is evidently coeval with it. The wall of Servius, from the Colline to the Esqui-line gate, a distance of nearly a mile, was the third great work of the kings. This consisted of a mound of clay (for there is

* See Appendix (E)

no stone here), 50 feet wide and 60 high, faced with a skirting of flag-stones, and flanked with towers. It was formed of the clay raised from a moat or ditch in front of it, 100 feet wide and 30 deep. A similar wall extended from the Colline gate to the western steep of the Quirinal hill.

These works plainly prove, that Rome under her later kings was the capital of a powerful state. The greatness of Rome in her regal period is further shown by a commercial treaty with Carthage, made in the first year of the Republic*. In this treaty Rome stipulates for herself and her subject towns Ardea, Laurentum, Antium, Circeii, and Tarracina; and she also extends her protecting power to the independent Latins†. This dominion, as we shall presently see, she lost in consequence of her revolution; and nearly two centuries elapsed before she was able to regain it.

* Polybius, iii. 22. The consuls named in it are Brutus and Horatius; the first, he says, that were created after the dissolution of monarchy.

† See Arnold's History of Rome, i. 53 *seq.*



THE HISTORY OF ROME.

PART II. THE CONQUEST OF ITALY.

A.U. 244-488. B.C. 508-264.

CHAPTER I.*

Beginning of the Republic.—The Dictatorship.—Roman Law of Debt.—Distress caused by the Law of Debt.—Secession to the Sacred Mount.—The Tribunate.—Latin Constitution.—Treaty with the Latins.—War with the Volscians.—Treaty with the Hernicans.

IN the preceding Part we have carried the history down beyond the point at which the Regal Period properly speaking terminates; but we wished to give the poetic narrative complete and separate from that which may claim to be regarded as an approximation to the truth. We must now therefore go back to the origin of the Republic.

Be the acts recorded of the last Roman king true or false, there can be little doubt that he was a *tyrant* in the modern sense of the word, and as bad as the worst of those in Greece and her colonies at that period. The patricians who aided him to usurp the throne, in order that they might deprive the plebeians of the rights and liberties secured to them by the constitution of Servius, soon felt that they had only procured for themselves a harsh and cruel master, and they gladly joined with the plebeians to expel him (A.U. 244). A return was

* Livy, ii. 21-41, Dionys. vi. 14 to the end, the Epitomators.

made to the constitution of Servius. In agreement with the commentaries of that prince, two annual magistrates, at first named Prætors, afterwards Consuls*, possessed of all the regal authority, saving only the sacerdotal functions, were placed at the head of the state; and there is reason to think that at first they were chosen one from each of the orders†. The right of appealing to their peers in the curies which the patricians had always enjoyed, was extended by the Valerian law to the plebeians, who were now empowered to appeal to their tribes. The royal demesne lands were also distributed in small freeholds among a portion of the more needy plebeians. The senate, which had been greatly reduced by the cruelty of the tyrant, was completed to the original number of three hundred out of the plebeian equestrian centuries. These new members were named Conscripti (*Conscripti*), to distinguish them from the Patres, or patrician senators‡.

The loss of the lands beyond the Tiber, in consequence of the Tuscan conquest of Rome, greatly crippled the state. Advantage was taken of this by the Volscians and Sabines; but if we credit the annals, the arms of Rome met with uniform success against them. On occasion of a war with the latter people (250), a man of rank among them, named Attus Clausus, being menaced with impeachment for having opposed the war, resolved to go over to the Romans. Quitting Regillus, where he abode, he came with his *gentiles* and clients, to the number of five thousand, to Rome, where he took the name of Appius Claudius, and was admitted into the body of the patricians; land beyond the Anio was assigned to his followers, and they formed a tribe named the Claudian§. The house of the Claudii is eminent in Roman story; it produced many an able, hardly a great, and not a single noble-minded man. In-

* Liv. lili. 55. Dion, liii. 13. Zonaras, vii. 19. *Prætor*, i. e. *Prætor*, which the Greeks always rendered *σπαρτηγός*, evidently referred primarily to military command. *Consul* means merely *colleague*, or, as in *exul*, *præsul*, the syllable *sul* denotes *one who is*. The ordinary derivation from *consulo* cannot be received.

† For, as observed above, Brutus was a plebeian.

‡ *Patres Conscripti* is therefore *Patres et Conscripti*. Liv. ii. 1. See above, p. 4, note †.

§ Niebuhr thinks, that as by the peace which the consul Sp. Cassius concluded (252) with the Sabines (Dionys. v. 49), a portion of territory was ceded to Rome, it was thus that the Claudian *gens* and tribe were formed in lieu of the Tarquinian, which had been broken up. The tribes were but twenty till the year 259, when the Crustumine was formed.

domitable pride and opposition to the rights of the people were its characteristic qualities*.

In the year 253 a new magistracy, named the Dictatorship, was instituted. The name, and perhaps the office, is said to have been borrowed from the Latins†. The dictator was invested with the full regal authority for the space of six months; he was nominated by the consul or interrex on the direction of the senate, and he received the *imperium* from the curies. He was preceded by twenty-four lictors with axes in the *fascēs*, as no appeal lay from his sentence. The dictator always nominated an officer, named the Master of the Knights or Horsemen (*Magister Equitum*), who was to him what the tribune of the Celeres had been to the kings‡. T. Lartius is said to have been the first dictator§.

The dictatorship was ostensibly instituted against the public enemy, but the oppression of the plebeians was its real object. It was a part of the plan which the patricians had now formed for depriving them of all their rights and advantages, and reducing them to the condition of the Etruscan serfs, and thus, though its authors thought not so, depriving Rome of all chance of ever becoming great. The plebeians had been already justled out of the consulate: it was proposed to elude by the dictatorship the right of appeal given them by the Valerian law, and to re-establish the unlimited authority of the chief magistrate even within the city and the mile round it; and finally, by a rigorous enforcement of the law of debt, to reduce them to actual slavery.

At Rome, as in the ancient world in general, the law of debt was extremely severe. It was to this effect; a person wishing to borrow money entered into a *nexum*, or became *nexus*, when in the presence of witnesses, under the form of a sale, he pledged himself and all belonging to him for payment of a sum of money which he then received. If this money

* That is, the patricians: the plebeian family of the Marcelli were of a far better character.

† That the Latins had dictators is quite certain. It is not equally so that they gave them such power as is here spoken of. The Romans probably borrowed only the name to avoid that of *rex*. The dictator was also called *Magister populi*. Varro, L.L. v. 82. Cic. de Rep. i. 40, de Leg. iii. 3, 6. Senec. Ep. 108, 30.

‡ "*Dictatoribus Magistri Equitum injungebantur, sic quomodo Regibus Tribuni Celerum.*"—Pomponius Dig. lib. i. tit. ii. 1. quoted by the learned translators of Niebuhr's Hist. of Rome, i. 515.

§ See Arnold, i. 143.

was not repaid at the appointed time, the debtor was brought before the prætor, who assigned (*addicebat*) him as a slave to his creditor, whence he was termed *addictus*. Such of the debtor's children and grandchildren as were still under his authority shared his fate, and were led off in bonds with him to the creditor's workhouse.

The rate of interest was unlimited by law; loans were usually made for the year of ten months*, at the end of which period if the principal was not repaid, the interest was frequently added to it (*versura*), and the principal was often thus gradually raised to several times its original amount, and a debt accumulated which could never be discharged. The creditors were generally the patricians either in their own names or as the patrons of their clients, in whose hands were all branches of trade, banking included: the debtors were the plebeians, who were solely devoted to agriculture. For after the abolition of royalty, the patricians, having gotten the government into their own hands, ceased to pay the tithes off the public lands which they held; and all the booty acquired in war was reduced *in publicum*, that is, brought into the chest of the *populus*; they had also the money paid for protections, licenses, etc. by the clients, and consequently were rich. On the other hand, the *tribute* was rigorously exacted from the plebeians, whose little farms lying frequently at a distance from Rome, were exposed to the ravages of the enemy, their houses were burnt, their cattle carried off, their farming implements destroyed. Add to this, that the loss of the lands beyond the Tiber had reduced many families to absolute beggary, and further, that the patricians actually excluded their plebeian countrymen from all share in the public pastures. We may thus see how the bulk of the plebeians may have been deeply in debt and driven to a state of despair by the rigour of their creditors.

In such a state of things a spark will kindle a conflagration. When (259) Appius Claudius and P. Servilius were consuls, an old man, covered with filth and rags, with squalid hair and beard, pale and emaciated, rushed one day into the Forum and implored the aid of the people, showing the scars of wounds received in eight and twenty battles. Several recognising in

* Beside the ordinary lunar year of twelve months, the Romans used, for particular purposes, the cyclic year of ten months, borrowed from the Tuscans. See Niebuhr on the Secular Cycle, Hist of Rome, i. 270, and our Introduction to Ovid's Fasti, § 2.

him one who had been a gallant captain, eagerly inquired the cause of his present wretched appearance. He said, that while he was serving in the Sabine war, his house and farm-yard had been plundered and burnt by the enemy; the tributes had nevertheless been exacted of him; he had been obliged to borrow money; principal and accumulated interest had eaten up all his property; the sentence of the law had given himself and his two sons as slaves to his creditor. He then stripped his back and showed the marks of recent stripes. A general uproar arose; all, both in and out of debt (*nexi* and *soluti*), assembled and clamoured for some legal relief. With difficulty a sufficient number of senators (such was their terror) could be brought together. Appius proposed to employ force, Servilius was for milder courses. Just then news arrived that the Volscians were in arms; the people exulted, telling the patricians to go fight their own battles, and refused to give their names for the legions. The senate then empowered Servilius to treat with them. He issued an edict proclaiming that no one who was in slavery for debt should be prevented from serving if he chose, and that as long as a man was under arms no one should touch his property or keep his children in bondage. All the pledged (*nexi*) who were present then gave their names, the bound (*addicti*) hastened on all sides from their dungeons, and a large army took the field under the consul. The Volscians were defeated, their town of Suessa Pomertia was taken, and the plunder given up to the army. An Auruncan army which came to the aid of the Volscians was routed a few days after near Aricia. Servilius led home his victorious army full of hopes; but these hopes were bitterly deceived, when the iron-hearted Appius ordered the debtor-slaves back to their prisons and assigned the pledged to their creditors. But the people stood on their defence, and repelled the officers and those who went to aid them, at the same time calling on Servilius to perform his promises. The consul, by attempting to steer a middle course, lost favour with both parties, and the year passed away without anything being done.

The next year (260), when the consuls, A. Virginus and T. Vetustius, attempted to levy an army, the people refused to give their names. They now also held nocturnal meetings in their own quarters on the Aventine and Esquiline, to concert measures of resistance, and even went so far as to demand a total abolition of debts. A portion of the patricians were willing to purchase peace even on these terms; others thought

it might suffice to restore their liberty and property to those who had served the year before : Appius averred, that wantonness, not poverty, was the disease of the people, and that a dictator, from whom there was no appeal, would soon cure them. It was resolved therefore to try the effect of the dictatorship, and the more violent party would have risked the very existence of the state by placing Appius himself in the office ; but the milder and more prudent succeeded in appointing M. Valerius, in whom they knew the people would confide.

✓ The dictator issued an edict similar to that of Servilius ; the people in reliance on his name and power readily gave their names ; and ten legions* were raised, four for the dictator, three for each consul. Valerius marched against the Sabines, one consul against the Volscians, the other against the Æquians, who had joined their kindred people. Victory was everywhere with the Romans. Valerius, on his return, lost no time in bringing the affair of the pledged before the senate, and finding he could get no measure of relief passed, he laid down his office. The people, satisfied that *he* had kept his faith, received him with acclamations, and attended him in token of honour from the Forum to his house.

The dictator's army had been disbanded, but either one or both of the consular armies was still under arms. The plebeians who formed it, seeing no chance of legal relief, made L. Sicinius Bellûtus their leader, crossed the Anio, and encamped on an adjacent eminence in the Crustumine district, three miles distant from the city ; the consuls and the patricians who were among them were dismissed without injury. The plebeians of the city meantime occupied the Aventine, and there was every prospect of affairs coming to civil war and bloodshed : for we must bear in mind, that the patricians, the original *populus* of Rome, must have been still a numerous body ; they were of a martial character, like every body of the kind, and their numerous clients stood faithfully by them on all occasions ; they were also the government, and had the means of negotiating for foreign aid. Moreover the hills of Rome were all fortresses, like the Capitol, their sides being made steep and abrupt, and any attempt to carry the Palatine, for instance, might have cost much blood.

Both sides were aware that the issue of the conflict might be doubtful, and that the Æquians and Volscians or the Etruscans might take advantage of it to ruin Rome. A mutual wish

* This is incredible ; for at the Alia the Romans had only four legions.

for accommodation, therefore, prevailed; and the patricians, having strengthened themselves by an alliance with the Latins, deputed the Ten First of the senate to the plebeian camp to treat of peace. One of these, named Agrippa Menenius, is said to have addressed on this occasion the following apologue to the people:—

“In those times when all was not at unity, as now, in man, but every member had its own plans and its own language, the other members became quite indignant that they should all toil and labour for the belly, while it remained at its ease in the midst of them doing nothing but enjoying itself. They therefore agreed among themselves that the hands should not convey any food to the mouth, nor the mouth receive it, nor the teeth chew it. But while they thus thought to starve the belly out, they found themselves and the whole body reduced to the most deplorable state of feebleness, and they then saw that the belly is by no means useless, that it gives as well as receives nourishment, distributing to all parts of the body the means of life and health.”

Having propounded this fable, the meaning of which was obvious*, Menenius and his colleagues proceeded to treat, and a peace was made and sworn to by the two orders. By this treaty all outstanding debts were cancelled, and all who were in slavery for debt were set at liberty; but the plebs neither regained the consulate nor any other honours; for the senate, with the usual wisdom of an aristocracy, contrived to separate the interests of the lower order of plebeians from those of their gentry, by making individual sacrifices in the remission of debts, while they retained the solid advantages of place and power for their order. They also managed to have no alteration made in the law of debt. The plebeians, having offered sacrifice to Jupiter on the mount where they had encamped, which thence was named the Sacred Mount (*Mons Sacer*)†, returned to their former dwellings.

* By the belly must be understood the monied men, not the government; that would have been the head. T. Quinctius Flaminius seeing Philopœmen, the Achæan general, with plenty of hoplites and horsemen, but without money, said (alluding to his make), “Philopœmen has legs and arms, but no belly.” (Plut. *Apoph. Reg. et Imp.*, Opera, vol. viii. p. 144. ed. Hutten.) Shakespeare, by the way, has narrated this fable most admirably in the first scene of his *Coriolanus*.

† It is in truth the most hallowed spot in Roman topography. The Anio meanders at its foot as at the time of the secession, and no convent, church, or other dwelling is on it to disturb the association of ideas.

But the real gain of the plebeians, and, as it proved, of the patricians also, was the making the tribunate an inviolable magistracy. Hitherto it was with danger to themselves that the tribunes of the plebs had attempted to give the protection secured to the people by the Valerian law : now, in the solemn compact between the orders, it was declared that any one who killed or injured a tribune should be accursed (*sacer*, i. e. outlawed), and any one might slay him with impunity, and his property was forfeit to the temple of Ceres. The house of the tribune stood open night and day, that the injured might repair to it for succour. The number of tribunes in the new-modeled tribunate, and who were elected on the Sacred Mount, was two, C. Licinius and L. Albinus ; to these, three more, among whom was Sicinius, were afterwards added, and there thus was one for each of the Classes by which they were elected*. It is remarkable, as an instance of the efforts made by the patricians to keep up their power, that the election of the tribunes required the confirmation of the curies.

The tribunes were purely a plebeian magistracy, the representatives of their order, and its protectors against the supreme power. They could not act as judges, or impose penalties on offending patricians ; they could only bring them before the court of the commonalty. And here it must be remarked, as a peculiarity of the national law of ancient Italy, that a people who had been injured, either collectively or in the person of one of its members, had the right of trying the offender, whom his countrymen, if there was a treaty with them, were bound to give up for the purpose. For it was expected that sworn judges would be more likely to acquit him, if innocent, than his gentiles or tribesmen, to condemn him if guilty†.

Another plebeian office, said to have been instituted (more probably modified) at this time, was the *Ædileship*. The *ædiles* acted as judges under the tribunes, they kept the archives of the plebs in the temple of Ceres, which was under their care, and their persons were sacred like those of the tribunes‡.

* The right of electing the tribunes was afterwards transferred to the tribes.

† How much more consonant to justice is our own practice of trying by a mixed jury of natives and foreigners ! Yet perhaps it would not have answered in those times.

‡ Cato *ap.* Festus, v. *Sacrosanctus*.

The time of the consular election having come on during the secession, the populus had appointed Sp. Cassius Viscellinus and Postumius Cominius, who had already been consuls, and a treaty was forthwith concluded with the Latins, the existence of which enabled the patricians to make such advantageous terms with the plebeians. A sketch of the Latin constitution may here be useful.

We have more than once had occasion to notice the predilection of the ancients for political numbers. That of the Latins, the Albans, and the Romans was thirty, or rather three tens; and, therefore, as Rome had her thirty curies and tribes, so Latium consisted of a union of thirty towns. Each of these towns had its senate of one hundred members, divided into ten decuries, the decurion or foreman of each of which was deputed to the general senate of the nation, which assembled at the grove and fount of Ferentina, and thus, like that of Rome, contained three hundred members. The union among the Latin towns, though less close than that among the Roman tribes, was much more intimate than the Greek federations in general, and they always acted as one state, with a common interest. Each city had its dictator, one of whom always was dictator over the whole nation, and its head in war and in the performance of the great national religious rites.

The treaty, now made on terms of perfect equality between the two nations, shows how Rome had fallen from her power under her kings. It was to this effect:—"There shall be peace between the Romans and Latins as long as heaven and earth shall keep their place; and they shall neither war themselves against each other, nor instigate others to do so, nor grant a safe passage to the enemies; and they shall aid one another, when attacked, with all their might; they shall share equally between them the spoils and booty gained in common wars; private suits shall be decided within ten days, in the place where the engagement was made: nothing may be added to or taken from this treaty without the consent of the Romans and all the Latins*."

Among the spoils of war mentioned in this treaty was the territory won from conquered states, which was usually added to the public land, and the Latins had a demesne of this kind as well as the Romans. The Latins also had their equal share in the colonies which were planted. These Roman, or rather Italian colonies, were of a totally different nature from those

* Dionys. vi. 95.

of the Greeks*; they were garrisons placed in a conquered town to keep it in subjection. To these colonists, who were usually three hundred in number, a third of the lands of the conquered people was assigned, and the government was placed in their hands, they being to the original inhabitants, who retained the rest of their lands, what the *populus* at Rome was to the commonalty.

The Volscians, after the defeat they had sustained in the year 260, remained quiet for some time. Their elective king Attus Tullius, however, deeming that advantage might be taken of the divisions at Rome, which would prevent effectual aid being given to the Latins, resolved, if possible, to rekindle the war, and he used the following occasion for that purpose†.

In the year 263‡ the Great Games at Rome were celebrated anew. For, some time before, when they were commencing and the procession of the images of the gods was about to go round the Circus to hallow it, a slave, whom his master had condemned to death, was driven through it and scourged. No attention was paid to this circumstance, and the games went on; but soon after the city was visited by a pestilence, and many monstrous births occurred. The soothsayers could point out no remedy. At length Jupiter appeared in a dream to a countryman, named T. Latinus, and directed him to go tell the consuls that the *præluder* (*præsultor*) had been displeasing to him. Fearing to be laughed at by the magistrates, Latinus did not venture to go near them. A few days after his son died suddenly, and the vision again appeared, menacing him with a greater evil if he did not go to the consuls. The simple man still hesitated, and he lost the use of his limbs. He then revealed the matter to his kinsmen and friends, and they all agreed that he should be carried as he was, in his bed, to the consuls in the Forum. By their direction he was brought into the senate-house, and there he told the wonderful tale; and scarcely had he completed it, when lo! another miracle took place; vigour returned all at once to his limbs, and he left the senate-house on his feet.

The games were now renewed with greater splendour than ever. The neighbouring peoples, as usual, resorted to them; for in Italy, as in Greece and Asia, all solemn festivals were

* See History of Greece, Part I. chap. iv.

† The legend of Coriolanus, which will be related below, is assigned to this war by Livy and others.

‡ The year after that of the battle of Marathôn.

seasons of sacred peace*. Among those who came were numbers of Volscians. Attus Tullius went secretly to the consuls, and reminding them of the unsteady nature of his countrymen, expressed his fears lest, emboldened by their numbers, they should disturb the sanctity of the feast by some deed of violence. The senate in alarm had proclamation made for all the Volscians to quit Rome by sunset. They departed in deep indignation: at the spring of Ferentina they were met by Tullius, who had gone on before; he exaggerated the insult which had been offered them in the face of so many Italian peoples, and they retired to their several towns breathing vengeance.

The Volscians were joined by the Æquians, who were at that time more powerful than they. The Roman and Latin colonists were driven out of Circeii, and their place was taken by Volscians. The country thence to Antium (of which place the Volscians also made themselves masters) was conquered. The combined armies entered the Roman territory (266), but there a quarrel relative to the supreme command broke out between them, and they turned their arms against each other.

In the year 268 the consul Sp. Cassius concluded a league with the Hernicans similar to that with the Latins. As the political number of the Sabellians, to whom the Hernicans belonged, was four, and they were to receive a third of conquests and booty, it follows that four† Hernicans could only receive as much as three Romans or Latins. This close union among the three states was caused by their common apprehensions from the Ausonian peoples, who were now at the height of their power.

* Hence the Israelites are assured (Exodus, xxxiv. 24.) that no man should 'desire their land' when they went up to their three great festivals.

† The cohorts of the Hernicans contained 400 men (Liv. vii. 7.), those of the Samnites the same number (*Id.* x. 40.); the Samnite legion had 4000 men (*Id.* viii. 23; x. 38; xxii. 24.). The Marsian confederacy (see above, p. 5.) consisted of four states, so also did the Samnite; and that the Hernicans were so divided, is inferred by Niebuhr (ii. 84.) from the 1000 colonists sent to Antium by the three allied nations (Liv. iii. 5.); that is, he says 400 Hernicans, one hundred for each canton; 300 Romans for the three tribes of houses; 300 Latins for the three decuries of their towns. He further concludes that the number of the Hernican towns was forty. (*Ib.* 85.)

CHAPTER II.*

The Public Land.—Agrarian law of Spurius Cassius.—The Consulate.—Volscean wars.—Veientine war.—The Fabii at the Cremera.—Siege of Rome.—Murder of the tribune Genucius.—Rogation of Volero Publilius.—Defeat of the Roman army.—Death of Appius Claudius.

THE year 268 is also memorable in the annals of Rome as that of the agrarian law of Sp. Cassius Viscellinus, the demand for the execution of which proved for so many years a source of bitterness and anger between the two orders. To understand this matter aright, we must view the origin and nature of the Roman public land.

The small territory about the Palatine belonging to the city of Romulus was, as there is reason to suppose, equally divided among the ten curies of the Ramnes. The householders, of whom there were one hundred in each cury, had each a garden of two jugers (one of arable, one of plantation land), which was termed a *heredium*, and one hundred of these *heredia*, or two hundred jugers, formed the century or district of the cury. But these ten centuries did not compose the whole of the land; a part was assigned for the service of the gods and for the royal demesnes, and another portion remained as common or public land †. This last was all grass-land, and every citizen had a right to feed his cattle on it, paying so much a head grazing-money to the state. We may suppose the two communities which formed the remaining tribes of regal Rome to have had their lands similarly divided, if not originally, at least subsequently; for it was the maxim in ancient Italy, as all over the East, and even among ourselves ‡, that all landed property proceeded from the sovereign; and therefore whenever any community received the Roman franchise, it made a formal surrender of its lands to the state, and then received them back from it. Hence we hear of assignments of land by the early kings to the three tribes and to the plebs; for the Latin communities, which in the time of king Ancus began to form this last body, of course surrendered and received again their lands in the usual manner.

* Livy, ii. 41–61. Dionys. viii. 71.—ix. 54, the Epitomators.

† See above, p. 15.

‡ Blackstone, book ii. ch. 7.

The original property* of the three patrician tribes therefore consisted of the six thousand jugers which formed their *heredia*, of their original common land, and of all that had been acquired previous to the formation of the plebs; this was their property, and could not be affected by any law. But when the plebs was increased, and, as the infantry of the legion, was a chief agent in the acquisition of territory, it was manifest that it had a right to a share in what was won. Servius therefore enacted, that after every conquest a portion of the arable land which had been gained should be assigned in *property* to such plebeians as required it, in lots or farms of seven jugers apiece, and they were also to have the use of the public pastures in common with the patricians on the same conditions. The remainder of the arable land was the property of the state; the use or enjoyment of it under the name of *possession* (subject to resumption at any time) was given to the patricians exclusively; for this they were bound to pay the state annually a tithe or tenth of the produce of the corn-lands and two-tenths of that of vine-yards and olive-yards†. These possessions were transmitted by inheritance, and transferred by sale, as it was only in extreme cases that the state exercised its power of resumption; and though the plebeians could not originally *occupy* the public land, they might buy the *use* of portions of it from the patrician occupants.

To gain the commonalty, at the time of the expulsion of Tarquinius, the patricians decreed an assignment of seven jugers apiece to the plebeians out of the royal demesnes. But as soon as the cause of the tyrant had become hopeless, and they had monopolised the supreme power, they turned out of the public land those of the plebeians who had acquired the use of it in the way above described; and, what was still more iniquitous, they ceased to pay the tithes off the lands which they possessed; so that the *tribute* of the plebeians had to defray the expenses of wars, etc., while the booty acquired was usually sold, and the produce diverted to the public chest of the patricians (*in publicum*). Hence, as we have seen, came the distress of the plebeians and the secession.

It was to prevent the recurrence of this state of things that that excellent citizen and truly great man Sp. Cassius, who in

* The *property* of the patricians all lay within the circuit of five miles round the city.

† Appian, B. C. i. 7.

his first consulship had overcome the Sabines, in his second formed the treaty with the Latins, and in his third that with the Hernicans; in his third also brought forward an agrarian law, directing, that of the land acquired since the time of king Servius, a part should be assigned to the plebeians, the portion of the *populus* be set out, and tithe be paid as formerly off all the occupied land. This law was passed by the senate and the curies, but the execution of it was committed to the consuls of the following year, and the ten oldest *consulars** of the greater houses,—men the most apt to make it a dead letter, as they actually did. At the expiration of his office (269) Cassius was accused of treason before the curies, by the *quæstors*† Cæso Fabius and L. Valerius, and was condemned to death and executed *more majorum*, that is, scourged and beheaded; his house was razed, and its site left desolate‡, but his law remained, and, as we shall see, avenged him on his murderers.

It is a remarkable circumstance, (but one which seems to be clearly ascertained,) that the Ramnes and Titienses among the patricians seem to have aimed at excluding the Luceres as well as the plebeians from the government; for from the institution of the consulate to the year 253, M. Horatius is the only consul of the third tribe. In this year however they recovered their right, and when we call to mind that Sp. Cassius was consul the preceding year, we may feel inclined to regard that eminent man as the author of the change. The consul of the greater houses was named the *Consul Major*, and he took precedence of his colleague. This inferiority of the Luceres was marked on all occasions. In the senate none of them but the consulars were authorised to speak. The consulars of the greater houses were called on first to give their opinions, then those of the lesser houses, next the senators of the greater houses, and finally those of the lesser silently voted§.

* That is, those who had been consuls. The proper term here would be *prætorians*. See above, p. 58.

† The *quæstores paricidii*. See above, p. 18.

‡ The common account of his being condemned by the people (the *Plebs*) is quite erroneous. He had committed no offence against them; the *people* who tried and condemned him was, as Livy says, the *Populus*, though he meant the *Plebs*.

§ Cicero de Rep. ii. 20. Dionys. vi. 69, vii. 47. Niebuhr (ii. 112–114) has, we think, made this quite clear. It is this writer's opinion, that the *minores* and *juniores Patrum* of Livy, the *πρεσβύτεροι* and *νεώτεροι* of Dionysius, are in reality the lesser houses, and not the younger patricians. See his History of Rome, vol. ii. note 668, and the places there referred to.

The year 269, that of the execution of Sp. Cassius, was, as it would seem, also that of an attempt on the part of the major houses again to monopolise the consulate; for during seven successive years we find one of the consuls always a Fabius; a thing which could hardly have been the result of mere chance. It is therefore probable, that in reliance on their allies, the Latins and Hernicans, the elder houses thought they might venture on extending their power; and as the house of the Fabii was by far the strongest among them, they agreed to let them have for their co-operation one seat in the consulate in perpetuity*. As by one of the Valerian laws the centuries had the right of choice among the patrician candidates, which choice was then to be confirmed by the senate and curies, and as this course would never suit their present design, and they moreover feared the election of some one who might be disposed to avenge the murder of Sp. Cassius, the senate and curies in 269 boldly nominated Cæso Fabius and L. Æmilius to the consulate, and then convened the centuries to confirm the election; but these refused to consent to the abolition of their rights, and quitted the field without voting. It was fortunate for the commonalty that the grasping ambition of the patricians sought to exclude the lesser houses, the larger portion of their own body, from the consulate, and thus forced them to make common cause with the plebs, which gave these last time to discover their own strength, and to put it forth†.

Though the patricians had passed the agrarian law, nothing was further from their thoughts than to let it be executed, and they sought to keep up a continued state of war; for while the legions were in the field the Forum was empty, and the tribunes

* A similar agreement would seem to have been made with the Valerii at the beginning of the republic, as (omitting, as Livy does, the consuls of 248,) there was one of them in the consulate in each of the first five years. The Valerii and Fabii were both Titienses. See also p. 43.

† It was probably during the period contained in this Part of our history that the legendary portion of the Roman annals was invented. To assign, however, the exact age of any of these fictions is hardly possible; all must *emere conjecture*. Still we would venture to place the origin of the tale of Hercules and Cacus in the present time, and view it as a patrician invention. Thus we may observe, that Cacus, the *bad* one, dwelt on the Aventine, the plebeian quarters, while the abode of Evander, the *good* man, was on the Palatine, where the patricians chiefly resided. Cacus stole the oxen of Hercules, the patron of the Fabian gens, and the plebeians, according to the view of the patricians, were endeavouring to rob them, whose leaders were the Fabii, of the lands on which their oxen pastured. For the legend see Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 184 *seq.* Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 543 *seq.* Liv. i. 7.

had no auditors. The consul, Q. Fabius, therefore (269) led an army against the Volscians and Æquians; but he withheld the plunder from his victorious troops, and directed it to be sold, and the produce to be brought into the patrician chest. Next year (270) the consul, L. Æmilius, fought with indifferent success against the Volscians. The following year (271), when the consul, M. Fabius, was proceeding to enroll troops for the war, the tribune, C. Mænius, forbade the levies unless the agrarian law was executed. But the consuls went to the mile from the city, at the temple of Mars*, where the tribunician power ended, and erected their tribunal; they then summoned all who were bound to serve, and they seized the property and burned and plundered the farms of such as did not appear. These forced levies were led by the consul, L. Valerius, against the Volscians; but the soldiers, though they fought with courage, would not gain a victory and booty for the consul and the patricians, whom they hated, and Valerius returned without fame.

It would appear that the greater houses had now become aware of the danger of division in their order, and that they effected a permanent union with the lesser houses; for we find the senate in 271 appointing Appius Claudius†, with one of the Fabii, to the consulate. But the tribunes and the plebs were to a man against Claudius; the tribunes would not suffer the curies, the consuls would not allow the tribes, to assemble for the elections, and the year expired without any consuls being created. In the beginning of the next year (272) A. Sempronius Atratinus, the warden of the city‡, as interrex, assembled the centuries, who elected C. Julius, a member of the lesser houses, as the colleague of Q. Fabius, who was perhaps also their choice. A war with the Veientes commenced this year, but no event of importance occurred.

The year 272§ was marked by a formal compromise between the patricians and the commonalty, securing to the centuries the choice of one of the consuls, and leaving the appointment of the other with the senate and the curies, whose nominee was now the *Consul Major*||. The patricians made Cæso Fabius

* This temple was beyond the Capene gate. It stood on an eminence to the right of the future Appian Road.

† The Claudii, though of Sabine origin, were among the Luceres.

‡ *Custos* or *Præfectus Urbis*.

§ The year of the invasion of Greece by Xerxes.

|| He was first the consul of the Ramnes, then of the greater houses. See p. 70.

consul for the ensuing year (273), and the centuries gave him Sp. Furius for his colleague. The tribune, Sp. Licinius, attempted to stop the levies on account of the agrarian law, but the patricians had adopted the prudent expedient of procuring, by means of their clients in the classes, and by their own personal influence, the election of tribunes favourable to their order, and Licinius was accordingly opposed by his own colleagues. Two armies were levied; one was sent under Furius against the Æquians, the other under Fabius against the Veientes. The former army, under the consul of their choice, fought cheerfully; and their general, in return, divided the booty among them. The case was widely different with the troops of Fabius. They engaged the Veientes and put them to flight, but they would not pursue them or attack their camp; and in the middle of the night they broke up, and abandoning their own camp to the enemy, set out for Rome.

The consuls of the next year (274) were M. Fabius and Cn. Manlius; the former, of course, the nominee of the houses. But the Fabii had now seen the folly of attempting to govern the state on oligarchic principles, and they were therefore become sincerely anxious to conciliate the commonalty. The tribune, Ti. Pontificius, attempted in vain to oppose the levies, on account of the agrarian law; his four colleagues were unanimous against him; the armies were raised, and led by the two consuls into the Veientine territory; but, warned by the example of the preceding year, the consuls, fearing to engage the enemy, kept their men close in their camp. The Veientes, who had been largely reinforced by volunteers from all parts of Etruria, seeing the inactivity of the Romans, and aware of the cause, increased in confidence; they rode up to the ramparts of their camp, daring them to come forth, and upbraiding them with their cowardice. The Romans were filled with indignation; they sent their centurions to the consuls, entreating to be led to battle: the consuls, secretly well-pleased, affected to hesitate, and declaring that the proper time was not yet arrived, forbade any one on pain of death to leave the camp. This served, as they had expected, but to augment the ardour of the soldiers; the Etruscans grew more and more audacious: the patience of the Romans could hold out no longer; they pressed to the consuls from all parts of the camp, demanding the battle. "Swear, then," cried M. Fabius, "that ye will not return but as conquerors." Their spokesman, the centurion, M. Flavoleius, took the oath first, the rest followed him; they seized

their arms, issued from the camp, and soon stood displayed in array of battle. The Etruscans had hardly time to form when the Romans fell on them sword in hand. The Fabii were foremost in the attack. Quintus, the consul of the year 272, received a mortal wound; his brother, the consul, rushed forward, calling on his men to remember their oath; a third brother, Cæso, followed; the soldiers manfully obeyed the call, and drove back the troops opposed to them. Manlius was also victorious on the other wing; but as he was pressing on the yielding foe he received a wound, which obliged him to retire. His men thinking him slain, fell back; but the other consul, coming with some horse and crying out that his colleague was alive, restored the battle. Meantime a part of the Tuscan troops had fallen on the Roman camp; those left to guard it, unable to resist them, fell back to the *prætorium**, and made a stand there, sending to inform the consuls of their danger. Manlius hastened to the camp, and placing guards at all the gates, fell on the invaders, who, driven to desperation, formed into a close body and rushed on the consul. Manlius received a mortal wound; those around him were dispersed; a gate was then prudently opened, at which the Tuscans gladly hurried out, but they fell in with the troops of the victorious consul, and were most of them cut to pieces. The victory was complete; the honour of a triumph was decreed to Fabius, but he declined it on account of the death of his brother and his colleague; he distributed the wounded soldiers among the patricians (his own *gens* taking the larger number), by whom they were tended with the greatest care.

So perfect was the reconciliation now between the Fabii and the people, that at the next election (275) Cæso, the accuser of Sp. Cassius, was the choice of the centuries, the patricians nominating T. Virginius Tricostus. Without waiting for it to be urged by the tribunes, Cæso Fabius called on the senate to put the agrarian law into execution; but he and his house were reviled as traitors and apostates from their former principles, and his proposals treated with scorn. The plebeians, gratified by his conduct, cheerfully took the field under him against the Æquians, and having invaded and ravaged their territory, hastened to the relief of the other consul, who had been defeated and was surrounded by the Veientes.

The Fabian house, finding that there was no chance of in-

* That is the quarters of the consul, or more properly prætor. See above, p. 58.

ducing their order to act with justice towards the plebs, and that they were themselves become objects of aversion to their former friends, resolved to abandon Rome, and to form a separate settlement, where they might still be of service to their country. The place they fixed on was the banks of the Cremera, a stream in the Veientine territory. Led by the consul Cæso, to the number of three hundred and six, accompanied by their wives and children, and followed by a train of clients and friends, said to have amounted to four thousand, they issued on the ides of February through the right-hand Janus of the Carmental gate*, attended by the prayers of the people; and coming to the Cremera raised their fortress, whence they scoured without ceasing the whole Veientine territory, destroying the lands and carrying off the cattle. After some months the Veientes assembled a large army to assail the fortress of the Cremera; but L. Æmilius, one of the new consuls (276), led his troops against them, and gave them a defeat, which was followed by a truce for a year. On the expiration of the truce (277) the Fabii resumed hostilities. The Veientes, unable to cope with them in the field, had recourse to stratagem. They laid an ambush in the hills round a small plain, toward which they caused herds of cattle to be driven in view of the fortress. The Fabii instantly sallied forth, and while they were dispersed in pursuit of the oxen the Tuscans came down on them from the woody hills, where they had lain concealed, and surrounded them. The Fabii fought with desperation, and finally breaking through the enemies retired to the summit of a hill; but there they were again environed, and every one of them was slain. Their fortress, deprived of its defenders, was taken and dismantled†.

Another account said that the Fabii had set out unarmed for Rome to perform the annual sacrifices of their gens on the Quirinal. The Veientes collected a large army, and lay in ambush on the way; the Fabii, who were proceeding carelessly as in time of peace, were assailed on all sides by showers of missiles from their cowardly foes, and all fell with many wounds‡.

* In after-times it was considered unlucky to go out at this gate.

† See Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 195 *seq.*

‡ The whole gens it is said perished, except a child that was left at Rome. But as this Fabius was consul ten years after, he must have been a man at the time. From his subsequent history it would appear that he had adhered to the old politics of the family, and on that account did not share in the migration.

The 18th of July* of the year 277 was the day rendered memorable in the annals by the fall of the Fabii, about two years and five months from the time of their leaving Rome. That they were sacrificed by the oligarchy at home is highly probable, for the consul, T. Menenius, was encamped but four miles off, and he made no effort whatever to aid them. His treachery or inaction, however, did not avail him; the Tuscans came and attacked and defeated him; and if they had not delayed to plunder the camp, they might have destroyed the whole Roman army. The fugitives filled the city with consternation, the fort on the Janiculan was abandoned, the Sublician bridge broken down, and word sent to the consul C. Horatius, who was out against the Volscians, to hasten to the defence of the city.

The Etruscans, meantime, had encamped on the Janiculan, whence they frequently passed over the river and ravaged the country. The peasantry fled with their cattle into the city for safety, and famine now began to be felt. As was the usual practice in such cases, the cattle were driven out under a guard, into the fields on the side of the city away from the river; ere long the Etruscans crossed the Tiber, in the hope of being able to carry them off; but they fell into an ambush near the temple of Hope†, about a mile from the city, and received a severe check. Soon after their whole army passed over in the night on rafts, and attacked the camp of the consul Servilius before the Colline gate, but they there met with another repulse. The famine, however, was so urgent (for no supplies could be brought in), that it was of absolute necessity that something decisive should be done. Accordingly the two consular armies passed the river at different points; that of Servilius assailed the Janiculan, but was repulsed, and would have been driven into the river, but that his colleague, Virginius, came up and fell on the flank and rear of the Tuscans; the other army then turned, and the enemy was finally defeated, and forced to abandon the Janiculan. A truce for ten months was then concluded. At its expiration (279), the consul, P. Valerius, defeated the Veientes and a Sabine army under the walls of Veii. The following year a peace or rather truce for forty years was concluded; and it was probably at this time that the lands

* More properly the 16th (Postr. Id. Quinct.). See Niebuhr, ii. 531.

† This temple was without the walls, by the Emporium, beyond the Aventine.

beyond the Tiber were restored to the Romans, and not by the romantic generosity of Porsenna.

We must now take a view of the internal state of Rome during this time.

As soon as the Veientes had retired in 278, the tribunes impeached T. Menenius for suffering the Fabii to be destroyed. As they merely wanted to have him declared guilty, they laid the penalty at only 2000 asses; the curies condemned him, and grief and indignation at this desertion of him by his own order broke his heart, and he died*. Servilius was next impeached for having caused the loss of so many lives by his attack on the Janiculan; but he defended himself with spirit, and, as was just, was acquitted. In the year after the peace (281) the tribune Cn. Genucius summoned the consuls of the preceding year, L. Furius and C. Manlius, to answer before the plebs for not having carried the agrarian law into effect. The tribune offered sacrifice before the people in the Forum, calling down curses on his head if he did not proceed; the accused saw that the danger of their being outlawed, at the least, was imminent; and it was decided at a secret meeting of the patricians to do a deed which should strike terror into the hearts of the plebeians.

Early in the morning of the day fixed for the trial, the people were all assembled in the Forum, waiting for the appearance of Genucius. As he delayed, they began to suspect that he had been terrified into an abandonment of the prosecution; but presently his friends, who had gone according to custom to attend him to the Forum, arrived and told that he had been found dead in his bed, though without any marks of violence. His body was brought forth; the tribunes and the people were filled with terror, and fled from the spot; the patricians exulting in their success boasted openly of their deed; and with the hope of being able to carry their plans into effect, the consuls ordered a levy, that they might get the most offensive of their adversaries into their hands and put them to death. The tribunes feared to interfere, and had the consuls refrained from insult they might have succeeded.

Volero Publius Philo, who had served as a first centurion, was called out as a common soldier. As no charge could be made against him, he refused to serve in an inferior station. The lictors were sent to seize him; he appealed to the tribunes;

* He was the son of Agrippa Menenius, Dionys. ix. 27.

the consuls ordered the lictors to strip and scourge him. Volero, a powerful man, flung them from him, and rushed among the people, calling on them to aid him. The lictors were beaten and their fasces broken, the consuls fled into the senate-house; the people, however, used their victory with moderation, and quiet was restored in part through the prudence of the elder senators.

The next year (282) Volero was chosen one of the tribunes; and instead of avenging his private quarrel by impeaching the consuls, he devoted his energies to the procuring of permanent advantages for his order. He brought in a bill to give the appointment of the tribunes to the tribes instead of the centuries, where the patricians exercised so much influence by means of their clients. As two of his colleagues supported him, and a majority was decisive at that time in the college of the tribunes, the patricians found themselves obliged to have recourse to other means of stopping the measure.

A tribunician *rogation* resembled a bill in the British parliament in this circumstance, that if not carried through all its stages in the limited period, (in the latter case the session, in the former a single day,) it had to be commenced anew. The magistrates and senators had moreover the power of opposing any motion of the tribunes which concerned the whole republic; and thus, without any factious design, a debate might be prolonged to sunset. But the patricians had another mode of impeding the proceedings of the tribunes. They and their clients used to spread themselves over the Forum; and when it was necessary that the ground should be cleared, and the plebeians left alone to vote in their tribes, and they were therefore requested to withdraw, (that is, to walk over to their Comitium, on the other side of the Rostra,) they would refuse; this would cause a tumult, and so all proceedings would be stopped for the day. The military expeditions formed another impediment; for the clients, who were not required to serve, outnumbered the plebeians who remained at home.

By means of this kind the bill of Publilius was defeated time after time till the end of his year. But the people re-elected him (283), and gave him for a colleague C. Lætorius, a man of great energy and intrepidity. The patricians on their side raised the ferocious Ap. Claudius to the consulate: the choice of the centuries was T. Quinctius Capitolinus, a member of the greater houses, and a man of just and moderate sentiments.

The tribunes required that both the tribunes and the ædiles

should be chosen by the tribes; they further proposed a resolution declaring that the plebs, in their tribes, were entitled to deliberate on matters affecting the whole state. This the patricians resolved to oppose to the utmost; the tribunes on their side were as determined; and on the eve of the important day Lætorius thus concluded his address to the people:—"Since I am not so ready at speaking as at acting, be here tomorrow, Romans, and I will either die in your sight or carry the law." In the morning the tribunes entered the Forum; the consuls were also present; the patricians mingled with the plebeians, to prevent the passing of the law. Lætorius directed all to withdraw but those who were to vote: the patricians took no notice: he ordered the officers (*viatores*) to seize some of them; Appius, in an insulting manner, denied his right to do so; the intrepid tribune in a rage sent his officer to arrest the consul; Appius ordered a lictor to seize Lætorius; the plebs hastened to the defence of the tribune, the patricians to that of the consul. Blood would have been shed but for the efforts of the consulars, who forced Appius away to the senate-house, and of Quinctius, who appeased the people: they however went up and occupied the Capitol in arms.

There can be no doubt that the plebs passed the resolution before sunset. The senate, despite of the fury of Appius and his party, yielded to the suggestions of the more moderate and prudent, and silently adopted it as a law; though the more far-sighted saw that more was yielded by it than had been done at the Sacred Mount. Measures might now originate in the assembly of the tribes, where (not as in that of the centuries) there was freedom of debate; these were to be followed by a decree of the senate, and then to be ratified by the centuries.

It may appear strange that the patricians (a part of whom had so lately been able to lord it over the rest of their own body, as well as the plebs) should be now so feeble. But their allies, the Latins and Hernicaus, were at this time too hard pressed themselves to be able to give them any aid; and the preponderance which the lesser houses had acquired, had naturally excited jealousy in the older ones, and thus inclined them to the plebs. And doubtless there must have been among the patricians many men of liberal and elevated minds, who wished to see justice done; there were others also connected by marriage with plebeian families.

It being necessary to send armies against the Volscians and

Æquians in defence of their allies, the tribunes did not oppose the levies, though an opportunity would be thereby afforded to Appius of exercising his fury and revenge. He led therefore an army against the Volscians, while Quinctius advanced against the Æquians. It was a contest between Appius and his troops; *he* sought to drive them to despair by invectives and by intolerable commands; *they* resolved to show him that he could not bend them to his will. His orders were neglected, curses awaited him every time he appeared; and when at length he led his troops out to battle, they made no resistance to the foe, but turned and fled. The Volscians pursued them, slaughtering the rearmost, to their camp, which however they did not venture to attack. The consul called his troops to an assembly; the soldiers, fearing to go unarmed, as was the custom, refused to attend. His officers besought Appius, and he gave way, and issued orders for a retreat next day. At dawn the trumpet sounded; the Volscians, aroused by the sound, came forth and fell on the retiring army; a general panic seized the Romans, they flung away their arms and standards, and fled in confusion. On the Roman territory the consul held his court; want of arms, and the consciousness of having acted wrong, enfeebled the soldiers, and the patricians and the allies were at hand to assail them if they mutinied. At the command of Appius, every centurion who had left his place, and every tenth common soldier, was seized, scourged and beheaded.

The following year (284) the tribunes impeached Appius Claudius for his opposition to the interests of the people, his having laid violent hands on a tribune, and having caused loss and disgrace to his army. Appius disdained to use any of the usual modes of obtaining favour; he would not put on a mean dress, or personally supplicate those who were to try him; his language breathed, as ever, haughtiness and defiance; the people quailed before him; the tribunes put off the day of trial. But ere the day arrived, the haughty Appius was no more; his own hand had terminated his existence. The deed, which the Roman religion condemned, was concealed; his body was, according to custom, brought forth for interment: his son claimed to have the usual funeral oration pronounced over it; the tribunes attempted opposition, but the people would not carry their enmity beyond the tomb, and listened calmly to his praises, now that he had ceased from troubling.

CHAPTER III.*

Volscian War.—Legend of Coriolanus.—The Terentilian Law.—Seizure of the Capitol by the exiles.—Dictatorship of Cincinnatus.—The First Decemvirate.—The Second Decemvirate.—Sicinius Dentatus.—Fate of Virginia.—Abolition of the Decemvirate.

THE Volscians, the Æquians and the Sabines were now the constant opponents of the Romans, the Latins and the Hernicans. In 284 nothing of importance occurred ; but the next year, while the disputes were warm at Rome on account of the agrarian laws, the flight of the peasantry and the smoke of the burning farm-houses announced the approach of a Volscian army. Troops were hastily levied, the enemy retired, but was overtaken and routed near Antium, and the neighbouring seaport of Ceno came over to the Romans. The Sabines, who had meantime entered the Roman territory, were attacked and driven off with loss by the consular armies on their return.

The next year (286) the Sabines extended their ravages over the Anio, and to the very Colline gate ; but the consul Q. Servilius Priscus obliged them to retire, and wasted their territory in return. The other consul, T. Quinctius, had marched against the Volscians of Antium. After an indecisive battle, the Volscians, being joined by an Æquian army, surrounded the Roman camp in the night to prevent a retreat. The consul, having calmed the apprehensions of his men, set the trumpeters and horn-blowers on horseback out before the rampart, ordering them to sound all through the night. The enemy, expecting a sally, remained under arms while the Romans took their rest. At dawn the consul led out his army ; the Volscians, exhausted with watching, retired after a feeble resistance to the summit of a rugged hill ; the Romans, heedless of the missiles which were showered down on them, won their way up to the top, and the Volscians fled down the other side. The Volscian colonists at Antium then agreed to evacuate the town, and their place was taken by one thousand colonists from the three allied peoples†.

* Livy, ii. 61, iii. 59. Dionys. ix. 55.—xi. 46. the Epitomators.

† See above, p. 67, note †.

For some years there was a cessation of hostilities between the Romans and the Volscians; but the Æquians were still in arms, the expelled colonists of Antium and their exiled partisans fighting with the utmost zeal under their banners. In 289 the Æquians advanced as far as Mount Algidus, where they pitched their camp. The consul T. Quinctius came and encamped opposite them: but they made a sudden irruption into the Roman territory; the country-folk, who expected no such event, had not time to convey their property to the city, or to the strong *pagi**, and the invaders carried off a large booty.

The next year (290) the Volscians of Ecetræ joined the Æquians. At the urgent desire of the Hernicans, the consul Sp. Furius was sent with an army to their defence; but he was unable to oppose the superior forces of the enemy, and was even so closely cooped up by them in his camp, that it was only through the Hernicans that his situation could be made known at Rome. T. Quinctius was sent with an army to his relief; but Furius had meantime been himself wounded, and his brother with one thousand of the best men slain in a sally. Quinctius relieved the army of Furius, but the other consul A. Postumius Albus had been unable to prevent the enemy from ravaging the lands of Rome; the peasantry fled with their cattle into the city; the heat of the summer, joined with the want of pasture, caused a murrain among the cattle, which was followed by a dreadful pestilence among the people. The Volscians and Æquians came and encamped within three miles of Rome on the road to Gabii; but the country round, filled with ruins and the unburied dead, offered nothing to plunder; and fear of the pestilence, or of the resistance the people still might make, withheld them from attacking the city. They broke up at length, and proceeded to ravage all parts of Latium. The spreading of the pestilence probably caused a cessation of hostilities after this, which was followed by a truce; and in 295 the Romans, to dissolve the league which they found too strong for them, concluded a separate peace with the Volscians, giving up Antium and other towns, and entering into a municipal relation† with them. An advantage derived by Rome from this war, disastrous as it was, was the utter ruin and breaking-

* A *pagus* was a place on an eminence surrounded by a wall or ditch and rampart for the people to retreat to on such occasions as the present.

† The *municipium* answered to the *isopolity* of the Greeks; it conferred all civic rights but those of voting in the assemblies, or holding office.

up of the Latin union; several of whose towns were obliged to place themselves in a state of dependence under her.

It is in this war that the celebrated legend of Coriolanus, which has been thrown back to the year 263, probably finds its true place*.

Cn. Marcius, a gallant patrician youth, said the legend, was serving in the army which P. Cominius led in 261 against the Volscians of Antium. The Volscians were defeated, the towns of Longula and Polusca were taken, and siege was laid to Corioli. During a vigorous assault of the town, the Volscian army came from Antium, and fell on the Romans; the besieged at the same time made a sally, but they were driven back by a party headed by Marcius, who, entering the town pell-mell with them, set fire to the buildings next the wall; the Volscians, seeing the smoke and flames, thought that the town was taken, and retired. Corioli was thus won, and Marcius derived from it the name of Coriolanus. This and other exploits made him the darling of his order; but the plebs dreaded him, and refused him the consulate.

The next year Rome was visited by a grievous famine. Corn was sought in all quarters, even as far as Sicily, whence there came a large supply, part purchased, part the gift of a Greek prince of the island. It was proposed in the senate to distribute the gift-corn gratis among the people, and to sell the remainder at a low price; but Marcius said that now was the time to make them abolish the odious tribunate, and advised not to give them the corn on any other terms. When the people heard what he had proposed, they became furious, and would have torn him to pieces, but that the tribunes summoned him to appear before the assembly of the tribes. He treated their menaces with contempt, and abated nought of his haughtiness; but the other patricians supplicated for him. His condemnation however was certain; so he quitted Rome, and went into exile† to Antium, where he became the guest of Attius Tullius. He offered the Volscians his services against his country; they in return gave him the highest civil rights;

* Livy, ii. 33-35, 39, 40. Dionys. vii. viii. 1-62. Plut. Coriolanus.

† Banishment was unknown to the Roman law during the Republic. Cic. Cæcina, 34. Vat. 9. An *exul*, that is, *one who is out* (see above, p. 58), a *fuoruscito*, was a person who left his native city to reside in one with which it had a municipal relation. The *jus exulandi* might be used by any accused person up to the moment of the very last tribes voting his condemnation. He was then no longer a Roman citizen, and the interdiction of fire and water prevented his return.

and when Tullius had rekindled the war as above related*, Marcius was appointed to be his colleague.

Success everywhere attended the arms of the exile. He took the colony of Circeii; Satricum, Longula, Polusca and Corioli submitted; Lavinium, Corbio, Vitellia, Trebia, Lavici and Pedum opened their gates; he pitched his camp at the Cluilian Ditch, five miles from Rome†, whence he ravaged the lands of the plebeians, sparing those of his own order.

Fear and consternation reigned in the city, and resistance was not thought of: the senate, the curies and the plebs united in a decree restoring Marcius to his civic rights. Five consulars bore it to him; but he insisted that all the territory taken from the Volscians should be restored, the colonies be recalled, and the Volscian people received into a municipal relation. He gave them thirty days to consider, and led off his troops for that time. When they were ended, the Ten First of the senate waited on him; he gave them three days more, driving them from his camp with threats. Next day the flamens, the augurs and the other ministers of religion came in their sacred robes to try to move him, but they too sued in vain. And now the third day was come, and were the sun to go down on his wrath, he was to lead his troops against the defenceless city. But again Rome owed her safety to her women. A procession of her noblest matrons, headed by the exile's venerable mother Veturia and his wife Volumnia leading her two young children, was seen to approach the Volscian camp. They entered and came to his tent; the tears of his wife and the other matrons, the threatened curse of his aged parent, bent his haughty soul. He burst into tears: "Mother," cried he, "thou hast chosen between Rome and thy son; me thou wilt never see more; may they requite thee!" He embraced his wife and children, and dismissed them, and next morning he led off his army. He lived among the Volscians to a great age, and often was heard to say that exile was most grievous to an old man‡: when he died, the Roman matrons mourned a year as they had done for Brutus and Poplicola; and his praises, as those of a pious and upright man, were handed down to posterity.

* See p. 67.

† The patrician lands lay withinside of it. See above, p. 69, *note* *.

‡ Fabius in Liv. ii. 40, Zonar. vii. 16. Some said he was assassinated by the Volscians; others (Cicero, Brutus, 10,) that he put an end to himself like Themistocles.

We have called this tale a legend, and said that it is in its wrong place. The following are a few of the reasons for our so doing. There was no famine at Rome in 262; there was no prince, that is *tyrant*, in Sicily at that time; the tribunes had not the power here ascribed to them till after the year 280; the practice of naming persons from conquests they had made began with Scipio Africanus*. On the other hand, there was a famine in 278, at which time Hiero was reigning at Syracuse; and soon after there was a violent dissension between the orders, when the proposal ascribed to Cn. Marcius may have been made, and the plebs were then strong enough to punish any one who attempted to do away with any of the fundamental laws of the state. Finally, the conquests ascribed to Coriolanus are mostly the cessions made to the Volscians at the peace of 295.

Yet the story of Coriolanus is no mere fable. It is probable that he was at the head of a body of Roman exiles†, serving in the Volscian army in the hopes of re-entering Rome as victors, and that he demanded their recall as well as his own. But as these would have reclaimed their property and have sought vengeance of their enemies, nothing could have been more dreaded by all parties than their return. If then Coriolanus, to save his country from this affliction, consented never to see it more, and returned to exile when he might have entered Rome as a conqueror, he was every way worthy of the fame he acquired, and his name should ever be held in honourable remembrance as that of a true patriot.

We now return to the internal history. The pestilence had committed dreadful ravages; it had carried off the two consuls, three of the tribunes, and a fourth of the senate, and, as is always the case, had produced great dissoluteness of manners. The patricians, as being a close body, suffered more loss of political strength than the plebeians; many of their houses seem to have died off, whose clientry mostly joined the plebs. Internal and external calamities combined to make men aware of the defects of the existing institutions, and to induce them to favour a constitutional reform.

In the year 292 the tribune C. Terentilius Arsa took the

* Liv. xxx. 45.

† The *φυγάδες* of the Greeks (see History of Greece, Part II. *passim*) the *fuorusciti* of the republics of middle age Italy. The above is only Niebuhr's hypothesis, but it is so extremely probable that it is difficult not to embrace it.

opportunity of the absence of the consuls and the legions to propose a bill of reform, of which the object was threefold; to unite the two orders, and place them on a footing of equality; to substitute a limited magistracy for the consulate; to frame a code of laws for all classes of Romans without distinction. This bill was passed by the plebs on the return of the consul Lucretius, but it was rejected by the senate and the curies.

The next year (293) the Terentilian law was brought forward by the whole college of the tribunes. The consuls to impede them commenced a levy; the tribunes resisted it; the patricians and their clients on their side prevented by their usual manœuvres * the voting of the tribes. They were headed in these attempts by Cæso Quinctius, a young man of great bodily size and strength, equally distinguished by valour and eloquence, and they frequently beat the plebeians and drove them off the Forum. At length A. Virginus, one of the tribunes, impeached Cæso under the Icilian law †. The patricians now awoke from their dream and saw their danger, the leading men among them descended to the humblest entreaties to save their champion, but all was vain. To augment the odium against him, M. Volscius Fictor, a former tribune, came forward and declared that in the time of the plague, as he and his elder brother, who was only just recovering from it, were passing through the street named the Subûra, they met a party of riotous youths headed by Cæso, who picked a quarrel with them; his brother was knocked down by Cæso, and he died shortly after of the blow; he had himself applied to no purpose for justice to the consuls of the year. This tale roused the people to fury, and it was with difficulty that the tribunes could save the accused from them. Cæso, who had given ten sureties (each bound in 3000 asses), seeing his condemnation certain, retired secretly that very night into Etruria, and his sureties had to pay the money to the temple of Ceres ‡.

The elder patricians began now to think that resistance was useless, and they were anxious for an accommodation: not so the juniors; they were more embittered than ever, but they

* See above, p. 78.

† Passed in the year 262; its object was the imposition of a fine on any one who should impede a tribune when addressing the people. Dionys. vii. 17.

‡ "The money," says Livy, (iii. 13) "was cruelly exacted from his father." If so, it must have been by the sureties; but this is a mere fiction to account for the narrow circumstances in which we shall find Cincinnatus.

adopted a new system of tactics. On court days they and their clients occupied the Forum and impeded the measures of the tribunes in the usual way, taking care that no one should make himself conspicuous; on other days they vied with each other in kindness and courtesy toward the individual plebeians. The tribunes, however, saw or affected to see a conspiracy against themselves and their order, and in the next year (294) a report was spread that Cæso had been in the city, and that a plan was laid for murdering them and the leading plebeians, and bringing back the republic to what it had been before the secession. While the minds of the people were thus kept in a state of uncertainty, cries of *To arms!* and *The enemies are in the city!* were heard one night, raised by persons who were flying for their lives down from the Capitol to the Forum, and averring that the citadel was seized by a body of men who were putting to death all who would not join them. Terror prevailed all through the night, and guards were placed on the Aventine and Esquiline, and the streets leading to them.

The morning revealed the truth. A body of exiles and runaway slaves with the clients of Appius Herdonius, a powerful Sabine who had placed himself at their head, had come down the river by night in boats, and entering the city by the Carmental gate, (which, from a religious motive, was never closed,) had mounted to the Capitol, that was at hand, and made themselves masters of it. At dawn Herdonius called aloud on the slaves, but in vain, to rise for their liberty; the consuls, on their side, having secured the gates and walls against an attack from without, which they apprehended, wished to assail the Capitol at once, and began to administer the military oath. But the tribunes, who maintained that the whole was only a device of the patricians, and that those on the Capitol were nothing but their friends and clients, opposed the levy, saying that now was the time to pass the bill, while the plebs were under arms, and that then those above would go off as quietly as they came. In this confusion the consul P. Valerius saved his country; he implored the people to consider the danger if their enemies were to learn that the Capitol was occupied, and he pledged himself that when the danger was over no hindrance should be given to the voting of the assembly, and that if the bill was passed it should be made law.

The word of a Valerius sufficed; the plebeians took the oath, but the day was far spent, and the assault had to be deferred to the morrow. In the morning, being joined by the Tuscu-

lans, whom their dictator L. Mamilius had brought to their aid, they began to ascend. The outlaws fought with desperation, but they were driven back; a part of them defended the temple, and the consul Valerius, who led the attack, was slain in forcing the vestibule. At length all were killed or taken. Herdonius, and most probably Cæso Quinctius*, was among the slain; all the prisoners were executed. The plebs assessed themselves to defray the expenses of a solemn funeral for the patriotic consul.

The tribunes now called on C. Claudius, the remaining consul, to perform the promise of his deceased colleague; but he refused to act by himself, and the senate and curies made L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, the father of Cæso, consul, who breathing vengeance against the plebeians, resolved to take advantage of the military oath they had taken to Valerius, and leading them away from Rome force them to pass what laws the senate pleased. He ordered them to repair in arms to the lake Regillus, whither the augurs were sent to consecrate a field for the *comitia*. But the courage of the patricians again failed them; the measure was abandoned, on condition of the law not being agitated that year; they tried also, but to no purpose, to prevent the re-election of the tribunes, and they were obliged to give up an attempt at making Cincinnatus consul for the ensuing year.

The following year (295) was that of the peace with the Volscians. The Æquians were still in arms, and in 296 the consul Minucius was defeated by them and besieged in his camp on Mount Algidus. An army sent from Rome relieved him; but as he had lost the battle through his own fault, he was obliged to resign the command to Q. Fabius.

This event was transmitted in the poetic legendary form, and being associated with a celebrated name, it has come down to us in the following manner.

The Æquians, who had been parties to the peace of the preceding year, now broke out, and led by Gracchus Clælius ravaged the lands of Latium. They encamped with their booty on Mount Algidus, whither Roman ambassadors came to complain of this breach of faith. The Æquian general insolently desired them to make their complaint to the oak beneath whose capacious shade he was seated. The Romans took the oak

* Two years after (Livy, iii. 25.) he is spoken of in a manner which shows that he was not then living.

and the gods to witness of the justice of their cause, and departed. The consul Minucius led his army to the Algidus; but fortune favoured the misdoers, and he was shut up by them, with a rampart raised round his camp. Five horsemen who escaped ere the enemy's lines were completed, brought the tidings to Rome; it was resolved to create a dictator; the choice fell on L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, who was living on a small farm of four jugers in the Vatiean land beyond the Tiber*. The officer (*viator*) sent to inform him of his appointment† found him guiding his plough with nothing on but an apron‡, it being summer-time; he bade him clothe himself to hear the message of the senate and the Fathers. Cincinnatus called to his wife Racilia to fetch him his *toga*§ out of the cottage. When he was dressed, the officer saluted him as dictator; a boat lay ready to convey him across the river; at the other side he was received by his three sons and several of his friends and kinsmen and a number of the patricians, and was conducted by them to his abode.

Before dawn next morning he entered the Forum, and having appointed L. Tarquinius, a man brave but poor, to be master of the horse, he ordered all the shops to be closed, all business to be suspended||, and every one able to serve to appear by sunset without the city with food dressed for five days, and with twelve palisades. While those who were to march were cutting their pales and preparing their arms, those who were to remain dressed the victuals for them. At night-fall, all being ready, the dictator set forth at their head, and at midnight they had reached the Algidus, where they halted near the camp of the enemy. The dictator, having ridden forward to take a view of it, directed his officers to make the men lay down their baggage, and with their arms and palisades alone to resume their order of march, and having surrounded the enemy to raise a loud shout and begin to cast up a ditch and rampart. His orders were obeyed; the shout pealed over the

* The Prata Quinctia opposite the Navalia, which lay beyond the Aventine. Of these Julius Cæsar formed his garden.

† Pliny, H. N. xviii. 4. Dionysius (x. 17. 24.) and Livy (iii. 26.) send a solemn deputation from the senate.

‡ The *campestre*, an apron or rather petticoat, like the philibeg of the Scottish Highlanders. It may be seen in the figures on ancient monuments. Hence the *Nudus ara, sere nudus*, of Virgil, Geor. i. 299.

§ The toga was a large white woollen shawl of a semicircular form. Nothing can be more erroneous than rendering it gown.

|| This was called a *Iustitium*.

camp of the Æquians to that of the Romans, filling those with terror, these with joy and hope. The besieged burst forth from their camp, and fought with the Æquians till the dawn. Meantime the dictator's army had completed their works, and the Æquians, thus shut in and now assailed from within and without, sued for mercy. The terms granted were the surrender of Clælius and the principal officers, and of their town of Corbio with all the property in it; the rest, having passed under the yoke, might then depart unarmed. Clælius and his officers were then laid in chains; an opening was made in the Roman line; two spears upright and one across (the *jugum*, or yoke,) were set up in it, under which the Æquian soldiers, each with only a single garment *, marched out, their camp and all in it remaining in the hands of the victors. The spoil was divided among the liberating army; the liberated called the dictator their patron, and gave him a golden crown of a pound in weight. He entered the city in triumph; tables were spread with provisions before all the doors as the soldiers passed, and joy and festivity everywhere prevailed. The dictator at the end of sixteen days laid down his office, and declining all the gifts that were offered him returned to his farm.

Pity that so pleasing a legend will not pass the ordeal of criticism! Five palisades being counted a heavy load for a soldier used to duty, how could men called out on a sudden levy carry twelve? and how could they march thus laden twenty miles from sunset to midnight? Each soldier to use so many, must have had a fathom of ground to intrench, and would the Æquians make no effort to break through so thin a line? The manner in which Cincinnatus learned his elevation to the dictatorship is also told of his consulate, and fifteen years after Clælius is taken just in the same way near Ardea; the giving up of Corbio is a pure invention of the annalists; and finally, the Æquians were not included in the peace of 295, and so could not have been guilty of perjury.

But the dictatorship of Cincinnatus appears in reality to have had a much less noble origin. In 295 the quæstors, A. Cornelius and Q. Servilius, accused M. Volscius before the curies †, for having by perjury caused the ruin of one of their order; the tribunes, however, prevented the patricians from going on with the trial, and nothing could be done in it that year. Next year (296) the tribunician power had to give way

* Probably only the *campestre*.

† See above, p. 64.

before that of the dictator, and Cincinnatus had the satisfaction of seeing the accuser of his son driven into exile. He then laid down his office, and retired to his farm.

Under the mild and equitable form of government which we enjoy, it is difficult for us to conceive the bitter ruthless spirit which animated the oligarchies and democracies of antiquity. On the present occasion, the patricians scrupled at no means of offence; they not only impeded the assemblies of the plebeians, but they caused the most active and daring of them to be assassinated*. But all would not avail: the same tribunes were re-elected every year, and in 297 their number was increased to ten, two from each of the classes; and the next year the senate and curies were obliged to confirm a law, proposed by the tribune Icilius, for assigning the whole of the Aventine to the plebeians. At length (300) the patricians gave way on the subject of the Terentilian law, and agreed to a revision of the laws; and three senators were sent to Athens, then flourishing under Pericles, to gain a knowledge of its laws and constitution.

In the year 301 Rome was again visited by the pestilence, and one of the consuls, his successor, four tribunes, an augur, one of the three great flamens, many senators, half the freemen, and all the slaves are said to have died of it. It fell with equal fury on the Volscians, Æquians, Sabines, and other peoples of Italy.

At length (302) the plague ceased, and the envoys having returned from Greece, a board of ten patricians, one half to be elected by the centuries, (the plebeians having given up their original demand of a share in it †,) was appointed to draw up and enact a general code of laws. As in cases of this kind in antiquity the lawgivers were entrusted with all the powers of the state ‡, the consulate and the other magistracies were all merged in the decemvirate, and the decemvirs were thus invested with nearly absolute power. Being in effect a decury of interrexes, they exercised the supreme power by turns: he who held it was named *Custos Urbis*; he was attended by the twelve lictors, and presided over the senate and the whole republic; his colleagues acted as judges, each being attended by a beadle (*Accensus*).

* Dion. Exc. de Sent. 22., and Zonaras, vii. 17.

† Terentilius had required that of the ten commissioners to be appointed, five should be plebeians.

‡ As in the case of Solon and the Thirty at Athens. See History of Greece.

It was not the desire of the Romans to have an entirely new constitution: a selection was to be made out of their existing laws and usages, with such improvements as might be derived from those of other nations. The decemvirs applied themselves sedulously to their task, and having drawn up a code in ten laws or tables, they made them public, in order to receive such suggestions as might be offered for their improvement. After some time they laid the amended code before the senate, and, on their approval, before the centuries, whose assent was solemnly ratified by the curies. The laws were then cut on tables of brass, and hung up in the Comitium.

By this celebrated code the two orders were placed on an equality, as far as was possible at the time. The patricians, with their clients and the ærarians, were admitted into the plebeian tribes, and all thus united in one civic body, in which the patricians were to form a numerous nobility. The supreme power was to be annually confided, not to consuls, but to a board of ten civil and military officers, one half of whom were to be plebeians. Among the patricians the old distinction of greater and lesser houses seems to have been done away with, for we find soon after the votes taken in the senate without any certain order*.

The law of debt enacted or retained was rigorous in the extreme. In case of a *nexum*, the creditor could arrest his debtor after thirty days, and if he did not discharge his debt or give security, he might take him home and put him in irons, which at the most were to weigh fifteen pounds; if he could not supply himself with food, his creditor was to allow him a pound of corn a day. If after sixty days no arrangement had been made, the debtor was brought before the prætor on three successive market-days, and the amount of his debt proclaimed; and if no one came forward to pay or secure it, the creditor was authorised to kill him or sell him beyond the Tiber. If there were several creditors, they might divide his body among them, and no one could be punished for cutting off more or less than his exact share†.

* Dionys. xi. 16. See above, p. 70.

† Gellius xx. 1. *Si plus minusve secuerunt se [sine] fraude esto.* This proves that it could not have been a *sectio bonorum* as some humane critics suppose. Shylock, as Niebuhr observes, would have found no difficulty here. The real object of the law was to conquer the avarice and the stubborn obstinacy of the Roman character. For the Roman love of money see Polyb. xxxii. 12, 9; 13, 10, 11.

When the time for creating the new magistrates came, the patricians, doubtless with a design of enfeebling, if not overthrowing, the new constitution, sought to have L. Cincinnatus, T. Quinctius, and C. Claudius Sabinus elected. But Appius Claudius Crassus, the decemvir, who, from the moment the reform was resolved on, had courted the people, and had now completely won their confidence, was determined to retain the power he had acquired. His colleagues, to impede him, chose him to preside at the election, thinking he would not have the hardihood to put himself in nomination. But they were deceived; he did so, and was elected with four patrician and five plebeian colleagues.

On the ides of May (304), the day they were to enter on their office, the decemvirs, to the amazement of the people, came forth each preceded by twelve lictors with the axes in their fasces. Appius, by his force of character, gained a commanding influence in the college; the government was despotic, but during this year not unjust; no assemblies were held, the senate had little or nothing to do, and most of the senators retired to their farms; externally, there was peace. Toward the end of the year the decemvirs promulgated two new tables of laws, making the whole number twelve, and these, under the name of the Twelve Tables, became the source and foundation of the future Roman law. The decemvirs, like most men when possessed of uncontrolled power, soon began to abuse it. They at first oppressed both orders alike, but they speedily tyrannised almost exclusively over the plebs, now divested of the protection of the tribunate. In this they were supported by the patrician youth, who were eager to gratify their feelings of hatred against the people.

The ides of May (305) came; but the decemvirs gave no indication of an intention to lay down their power, and liberty seemed to have fled from Rome. At length the Æquians and Sabines renewed hostilities; and the former encamped as usual on the Algidus, the latter at Eretum. The decemvirs were then obliged to convene the senate to give orders for the levies; and when it met, L. Valerius and M. Horatius, the grandsons of the liberators, boldly but to no purpose inveighed against their tyranny. The senate did as they required; the plebeians, having nowhere to appeal to, gave their names though with reluctance, and two armies were formed and led by the military decemvirs against the enemies, while Appius and Sp. Oppius, one of his plebeian colleagues, remained in

charge of the city. But each army let itself be beaten; the one on the Algidus even abandoned its camp and sought refuge at Tusculum, the other fled by night from near Eretum and encamped on an eminence between Fidenæ and Crustumeria.

In this army there was a distinguished veteran named L. Sicinius Dentatus, formerly a tribune of the people. It is said* that he had fought in one hundred and twenty battles, had forty-five scars in front, had gained spears, horse-trappings, and other rewards of valour without number, and had attended the triumphs of nine generals under whom he had served. This man awaked in the army the remembrance of the adjacent Sacred Mount, where forty-five years before the people had gained their charter, and chid them for not imitating their gallant fathers. The generals being resolved to put him out of the way sent him with a party to choose a spot for encampment, giving orders to those under him, who were their own creatures, to fall on and slay him. These men executed their mandate; in a lonely spot they assailed the veteran hero, who placing his back against a rock perished not unavenged, for fifteen were slain and double the number wounded by his hand. The rest fled back to the camp, crying out how they had fallen into an ambush of the enemy, who had slain their leader and several of their comrades. A party was sent to bury the slain; but they could perceive no traces of an enemy: the body of Sicinius lay unspoiled in his armour; all the slain were Romans, and were turned toward him, and consequently must have fallen by his hand; that he perished by the treachery of the decemvirs therefore was evident. The soldiers were incensed, but a splendid military funeral given to Sicinius by the generals pacified them in some measure.

But a more atrocious deed was done in the city. Appius Claudius, as he sat in the Forum to administer justice, was in the habit of seeing a lovely and modest plebeian maiden go daily, attended by her nurse, to one of the schools which were held about it, to learn the art of writing. She was named Virginia, and was the daughter of L. Virginius, one of the noblest plebeians, and betrothed to L. Icilius, who had been tribune. The decemvir cast an eye of lust on the innocent maiden; he vainly tried the effect of promises and bribes; difficulty only augmented his passion, and he scrupled at no means to gratify it. He therefore directed M. Claudius, one of his clients, to claim her as his slave: his orders were obeyed; and as Virginia was

* Varro, Fr. p. 352. (Bip.) Pliny, H. N. vii. 28. Gell. ii. 12.

crossing the Forum on her way to the school, Claudius laid hold on her as his property. At the loud cries of her nurse a crowd collected to oppose him; Claudius coolly said he needed not force, as his claim was a legal one. All went before the tribunal of Appius, who was sitting in the Comitium. The plaintiff, as had been agreed on, averred that she was the offspring of one of his female slaves, who had given her to the childless wife of Virginus, and he now claimed her as his slave. The friends of Virginia prayed, that as her father was absent on the affairs of the state, being a centurion in the army on the Algidus, a delay of two days might be given, and that meantime, by the decemvir's own law, security should be taken for her appearance. Appius, pretending that his law did not apply to the present case, decided that she should be delivered up to the claimant on his giving security to produce her when required. A cry of horror was raised at this iniquitous sentence, and P. Numitorius and L. Icilius, the uncle and the lover of the maiden, came forward and spoke with such firmness, and the people seemed so determined, that Appius gave way and deferred the decision of the matter till the following day, leaving Virginia meantime in the hands of her friends.

It was the design of the tyrant to send off to his colleagues in the camp, directing them to confine Virginus, and to surround himself next day with a strong body of his partisans and their clients, and carry his point by violence if needful. To conceal his share in the present transaction, he sat some time longer in court; and Icilius and his friends, who having seen through his design had secretly directed two active young men to mount and ride off with all speed to the camp, purposely wore away the time in arranging the securities. Their messengers therefore arrived long before the one sent by Appius; and Virginus, pretending the death of a relative, obtained leave of absence and came to Rome.

At day-break the Forum was full of people; Virginus and his daughter in the garb of woe came among them imploring their aid: Icilius also addressed them: the women who were with them wept in silence. Appius came forth attended by an armed train and took his seat: the plaintiff, as instructed, gently reproached him with not having done him justice the day before. Appius, without listening to him or Virginus, gave sentence that Virginia should be consigned to the claimant till a judge should decide the matter. This horrible decree filled all with silent amazement. M. Claudius advanced

to lay hold on the maiden ; the women and their friends repelled him. Virginius menaced the decemvir : Appius declared that he knew there was a conspiracy to resist the government, but that he would put it down by force ; then, " Go, licitor !" he thundered forth, " disperse the crowd, and make way for the master to take his slave." The people fell back ; Virginius, seeing no hope, apologised for his vehemence, and craved permission to take his daughter and her nurse aside and examine them about the matter. Leave was granted ; he drew them near a butcher's stall, and snatching up a knife plunged it into his daughter's bosom. Then looking toward the tribunal, " With this blood," he cried, " Appius, I devote thee and thy head." The tyrant called out to seize him ; but brandishing the reeking blade he reached the gate, no one daring to stop him, and proceeded to the camp, followed by a number of the people.

Ilcius and Numitorius harangued the people over the corpse of the hapless maiden ; Valerius and Horatius joined in the call to freedom ; the lictors were repelled, and their *fascées* broken. Appius vainly called on the patricians to stand by him ; then in terror for his life he covered his head, and fled into an adjacent house. His obsequious colleague Sp. Oppius, seeing that force would not avail, convened the senate, but it came to no decision. Some zealous patricians were however sent to the camp to try to keep the army in its duty.

But vain were the hopes of the oligarchs ; the soldiers at the call of Virginius plucked up their standards, marched for Rome, and posted themselves on the Aventine. The senate sent three deputies charging them with rebellion, and offering pardon to all but the ringleaders on their return to their duty. They were told to send Valerius and Horatius if they desired an answer. These, on being required to go, insisted that the decemvirs should previously abdicate ; this the patricians, still relying on their strength, refused to allow. Meantime M. Duilius, a former tribune, convinced the people, that as long as they stayed in Rome, the patricians would never believe they were in earnest ; but that if, like their fathers, they retired to the Sacred Mount, they would soon bring them to reason. Instantly the army was in motion ; leaving a sufficient number to guard the Aventine, they marched unmolested across the city, out by the Colline gate, and, followed by numbers of men, women and children from the Esquiline and other parts, they encamped on the Sacred Mount. Here they were

joined by the other army, who had revolted at the call of Icilius and Numitorius. They acknowledged twenty tribunes, one for each tribe, as their magistrates, at the head of whom were M. Oppius and Sextus Manlius.

The patricians, seeing themselves left nearly alone in the city, found that they must yield. Valerius and Horatius came from them to the camp, to learn the demands of the plebeians. Icilius as spokesman required that the tribunate and the right of appeal should be restored; that no one should be accounted criminal for having urged the people to the secession; that the decemvirs should be given up to be burnt alive. The deputies replied, that the two first conditions were so reasonable that they should have proposed them themselves; they prayed them to recede from the last demand. All was then left to their own discretion; and on their return, the senate passed a decree, that the decemvirs should abdicate and consuls be chosen, the chief pontiff preside at the election of the tribunes, and none be molested for their share in the secession. The plebs then returned, ascended the Capitol in arms*, and thence proceeded to the Aventine.

The pontiff presiding, the people chose their tribunes, among whom were, as they well merited, Virginius, Icilius, Numitorius, and Duilius. On the motion of Duilius, the plebs then ordered that the interrex should hold the election of patrician consuls†, with the right of appeal; and the centuries when assembled bestowed the consulate on L. Valerius and M. Horatius. These popular consuls forthwith passed laws for the security of the plebs, the senate and curies giving a reluctant consent (306). The first was, that a measure passed by the tribes should be of equal force with one passed by the centuries, and if confirmed by the patricians, should be the law of the land; the second menaced with outlawry whoever procured the election of a magistrate without appeal; the third enacted the penalty of outlawry and confiscation of property against any one who injured the tribunes, the ædiles, the judges, or the decemvirs‡. It was further enacted that the decrees

* *Inde armati in Capitolium venerunt.* Cic. pro Cornel. l. 24. Hence it is inferred that the Capitol was given up to them: see above, p. 79, but see Hist. of Greece, p. 300, 2nd edit. p. 291, 4th edit.

† It was on this occasion the word *consul* was first employed, Zonaras, vii. 19. The office now was only provisional.

‡ By the judges Niebuhr understands the centumvirs; Arnold the consuls; they agree in recognising in the decemvirs the military tribunes, of which we shall presently have occasion to speak.

of the senate should be deposited in the temple of Ceres under the care of the ædiles, to preserve them from falsification or suppression. The legislation was terminated by a bill of the tribune Duilius denouncing death by fire against any one who should leave the people without tribunes, or create a magistrate without appeal.

Vengeance for Virginia was now to be exacted. Virginius summoned Appius and his client Claudius before the tribunal of the tribes. Instead of seeking safety in exile, the haughty decemvir appeared in the Forum surrounded by a band of patrician youths. Virginius ordered him to be seized and laid in chains; the officer approached; Appius claimed the protection of the tribunes; no one stirred; he appealed to the people: the officer dragged him away to prison. His uncle C. Claudius, who having vainly sought to induce him and his colleagues to lay down their office in the hands of the senate, had retired to his paternal abode at Regillus, came to Rome, and with his gentiles and clients all in mourning went about the Forum supplicating for his release. Virginius, on the other hand, called on the people to remember his and their wrongs. The prayers of the Claudii were of no avail. Appius died in prison, probably by his own hand, before the day of trial came.

Numitorius then impeached the plebeian decemvir Sp. Oppius for not having given protection to Virginia. A veteran who had served in seven-and-twenty campaigns came forward and exhibited the marks of a scourging inflicted on him by Oppius without a cause. *He* too was sent to prison, where he died also by his own hand. The other decemvirs were suffered to go into exile, but their property was confiscated. M. Claudius was tried and found guilty; but Virginius remitting the capital punishment, he was allowed to go into exile to Tibur. "The manes of Virginia, more happy in her death than in her life, having roamed through so many houses exacting vengeance, rested at length when no guilty person remained *."

To calm the alarms of the patricians, Duilius now declared prosecution to be at an end, and that no one should be molested for his acts during the decemvirate.

* Liv. iii. 58.

CHAPTER IV.*

Victories of Valerius and Horatius.—Canuleian Law.—Censorship and Military Tribunate.—Feud at Ardea.—Sp. Mælius.—Æquian and Volscian war.—Capture of Fidenæ.—Volscian war.—Murder of Postumius by his own soldiers.—Veientine war.—Capture of Veii.—Siege of Falerii.—Exile of Camillus.

WHEN all was settled in the city the consuls commenced their levies for the Æquian and Sabine campaigns. The young men gave their names readily, the veterans came forward as volunteers. Valerius marched to Mount Algidus; and after a series of manœuvres to raise the confidence of his men, he fell on and defeated the Æquians, and took their camp. Similar good fortune attended Horatius, who had gone against the Sabines; and the two armies returned to Rome at the same time. The consuls, as was the usage, summoned the senate to the temple of Mars without the Capene gate, to give an account of their campaign and demand a triumph. The senate, alleging that they were there under the control of the soldiery, adjourned to the Flaminian Mead, and there refused them the honour, as being traitors to their order. The plebs, hearing of this indignity, on the motion of Icilius overstepped their legal powers, and voted them a triumph; and thus the patricians by their malignant folly lost one of their privileges.

The victory of Horatius over the Sabines is memorable for having put an end to the wars of this people with Rome. For a century and a half amity prevailed between the two states, grounded probably on treaties, of which no memorial remains. The cause which inclined the Sabines to peace appears to have been the emigration of their warlike youth, who went to join their kindred tribes of Samnium, who were now beginning to appear as conquerors in Campania.

Four years now passed away without any event of much importance. In 310, nine of the tribunes concurred in bringing in a bill for electing one of the consuls from each order; and C. Canuleius, the other tribune, introduced one for granting the *connubium*, that is, legalising marriage between the two orders. Both these propositions gave great offence to the

* Liv. iii. 60.—v. 32. Dionys. xi. 47. to the end. Plut. Camillus 1-12, the Epitomators.

patricians; the usual expedient of foreign war and levies was resorted to, but in vain; the tribunes were resolute. At length the patricians agreed to pass the Canuleian law; for their good sense must have shown the more prudent, that the patricians as the smaller body were the real sufferers by the prohibition; and in fact these mixed marriages had all along prevailed*, and the families arising from them, and therefore belonging to the plebeians, were the most violent enemies of the patricians. From the debate on this subject we learn that the tribunes were now present at the deliberations of the senate, but without the right of voting. Their seats were placed before the open door, so that they might hear the decrees that were made, and give or refuse their assent to them†. Their *veto* was absolute.

The other bill was altered, so as to allow of the consuls being taken from the two orders without distinction. Though this was a concession to the patricians, it did not content them. Scenes of violent altercation took place: the heads of the senate held secret deliberations, in which C. Claudius is said to have actually proposed the murder of the tribunes; but even to the two Quinctii this seemed too violent a course, and it was resolved to come to an accommodation with them.

By this compact the constitution assumed a new form; the decemvirate was resolved into its three component parts, which were separated from each other,—the censorship, the quæstorship of blood, and the military tribunate with consular authority,—of which the former two were reserved for the patricians, the first to be conferred by the centuries, the other by the curies; the tribunate was open to both orders, and came in place of the consulate. The business of the censors, who were two in number and were elected every five years, was to manage the revenues of the state, and to keep a registry of the citizens according to their ranks and orders. They let the tolls and customs and other taxes, and they enrolled members in the senate, the equestrian order, and the tribes, or excluded such as were unworthy. The power of the censors was therefore very considerable‡.

By the power which the censorship gave them of packing, as we may term it, the centuries, the patricians were in general

* Hence so many patrician and plebeian families of the same name.

† Valerius Maximus, li. 2, 7. Zonar. vii. 15.

‡ A few years after, the exercise of the censorian power was confined to the first eighteen months of the period.

able to keep the military tribunate in their own order; nevertheless at the first election, L. Atilius Longus, one of three chosen, would seem to have been a plebeian*. On account of this, perhaps, it was pretended that the election had been irregular, and they were obliged to resign before the end of three months. It is not unlikely that they may have refused to resign, for T. Quinctius was created dictator, who, having held a consular election, laid down his office on the thirteenth day.

In the year 309, the people of Ardea and Aricia, who had been long disputing about the lands of Corioli, which were lying waste since the time of its ruin by the Volscians, had agreed to submit their differences to the decision of the Romans. The curies† adjudged that the disputed lands belonged to neither of them, but had devolved to the Roman people. We know not how this decision was received, but in 311 an alliance was made between the Roman patricians and the corresponding party, or the old Rutulian houses, at Ardea, who were on ill terms with their plebs, with whom they came to open war the following year. The occasion was this: a beautiful plebeian maiden was wooed by one of her own order and also by a member of the houses; her guardians, for she had no father, were in favour of the former; her mother, urged by female vanity, of the latter. The affair at length came before the magistrates, who, though the right to dispose of their ward plainly lay with the guardians, decided in favour of the patrician. The guardians carried the maiden by force from her mother's; the patricians took up arms; a violent fray arose, and the plebs was driven out of the town: they encamped on an adjoining hill, whence they ravaged the lands of their enemies; the artisans came out of the town and joined them, and Clælius, an Æquian general, led a body of troops to their aid. The houses called on their Roman allies; the consul, M. Geganius, came and circumvallated the Æquian army that was investing the town; and the Æquians were obliged to surrender their general, and to pass under the yoke‡. To strengthen the Rutulian houses, colonists were sent from Rome to Ardea.

* See Arnold, i. 336, note.

† *Concilium populi*, Livy, ii. 71. It could not have been, as he represents it, the Plebs, who had nothing to do with the public land. As these lands afterwards belonged to the Scaptian tribe, the Scaptius of his narrative is probably a fictitious personage.

‡ See above, p. 90. Livy says it was a Volscian army. See Niebuhr, ii. 446.

All was now quiet at Rome, till the year 315, when a dreadful famine came on, in consequence of the failure of the crops. L. Minucius, who was created prefect of the corn-market, made every exertion to purchase corn, but could only obtain some small supplies from Etruria: all persons were obliged to deliver up what corn they had beyond a month's consumption; the allowance of the slaves was diminished; the corn-dealers were prosecuted as regraters and engrossers. Still the famine was so sore that numbers of the plebeians threw themselves into the Tiber.

In this universal distress, Sp. Mælius, a wealthy plebeian knight, made extensive purchases of corn in Etruria, which he sold at low prices, or distributed gratis to the poor of his order. This gained him great favour; the patricians became suspicious of him; and Minucius, it is said, accused him to the consuls of the next year (316) of designs against the government: the senate sat a whole day in secret deliberation; the Capitol and other strong posts were garrisoned; and L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, now eighty years of age, was created dictator.

Next morning the dictator entered the Forum with an armed train, and set up his tribunal. At his command, C. Servilius Ahala, the master of the horse, went to summon before him Mælius, who was present. Mælius hesitated: the officers advanced to seize him; he snatched up a butcher's knife to defend himself, and ran back into the crowd. Ahala, sword in hand, and followed by a band of armed patrician youths, rushed after him; the people gave way, and he ran Mælius through the body. The murder, for such it undoubtedly was, was applauded by the venerable dictator*. The house of Mælius was pulled down, and its site left desolate†; and posterity, following the traditions of the Quinctian and Servilian houses, had no doubt of his guilt, or of the public virtue of Ahala. Their contemporaries, however, thought differently. When the terror of the dictatorship was removed, three tribunes demanded vengeance for the death of Mælius; an insurrection broke out, Ahala was obliged to go into exile‡, and the patricians, to appease the people, to allow the election of military tribunes.

* Plutarch (Brutus, 1.) gives a novel view of the act of Ahala,—who is with him another Brutus.

† The *Æquimælium*. It was under the Capitol, on the right-hand of one going from the Forum to the Carmental gate.

‡ Val. Max. v. 3, 2.

The year 317 was distinguished by the revolt of Fidenæ. This town, which lay five miles up the Tiber, beyond the Anio, had received a colony about sixty years before: a part of the colonists were now expelled, a part probably shared in the revolt. An alliance was formed with the Veientes and Faliscans, and their united forces appeared more than once before the Colline gate. Dictators were appointed against them, and in 320 the dictator A. Servilius Priscus conquered the town. The ringleaders were beheaded, but no further penalty was inflicted on the people*.

In 322 the pestilence again spread its ravages at Rome; and in 324 the truce with the Æquians being expired, they and a part of the Volscians raised two armies of select troops, bound by oath to conquer or die, and encamped on the Algidus. In this emergency the senate resolved to create a dictator; the consuls, however, refused to proclaim him, and the senate having appealed to the tribunes, they forced the consuls by a menace of imprisonment to submit. The person appointed was A. Postumius Tubertus.

The dictator, aware of the magnitude of the danger, called out all the forces of the state. Four armies were formed; one, the city legions, was left at Rome under the consul C. Julius; the reserve, under the master of the horse, L. Julius, lay without the walls. The dictator and the consul T. Quinctius marched with the remainder to the Algidus, where they were joined by the Latins and Hernicans. They encamped within a mile of the enemy, the consul on the road to Lanuvium, the dictator on that to Tusculum. Skirmishes took place daily, in one of which the dictator's son having left the post assigned him to engage the enemy, was, on his return victorious, put to death by his inexorable sire for his breach of orders. At length the enemy made a combined attack by night on the consul's camp; but meantime that of the Æquians was stormed by some cohorts sent against it by the dictator, who himself came by a circuitous route into the rear of those who were assailing the camp of the consul. The troops of the dictator and the consul attacked them simultaneously; at break of day the exhausted foe gave way: a brave man named Vettius Messius placing himself at their head, they broke through and made their way to the Volscian camp, which still was safe; but they were soon followed and surrounded there also: the camp was

* The Peloponnesian war commenced at this time in 321.

stormed, quarter was given to those who threw down their arms, but all were sold except the senators. The dictator having triumphed, laid down his office. The following year a truce for eight years was made with the Æquians. Among the Volscians there was a peace- and a war-party, and the former seems to have been the stronger, as during these eight years all was quiet on this side.

In 327, a conspiracy being discovered at Fidenæ, the heads of it were relegated to Ostia; additional colonists were sent to Fidenæ, and the lands of those who had been executed, or had fallen in war, were given to them. This year also was one of pestilence. The next year (328) war was formally declared against Veii, on which occasion a further progress was made in the constitution, as the tribunes succeeded in having the question brought before the centuries, instead of being decided by the senate alone. One good result of this was, that the levies were never again obstructed.

Consular tribunes being elected for 329, they led their forces against Veii, but from their want of concord they gave the enemy an opportunity of falling on and routing them. Mamerus Æmilius was immediately made dictator, and he named A. Cornelius Cossus, one of the tribunes, his master of the horse. The Veientes, elate with their success, sent to invite volunteers from all parts of Etruria, and they tried to induce the Fidenates to revolt once more. Envoys were despatched from Rome to warn them of their duty; but the envoys were detained in custody, and the revolt resolved on. Lars Tolumnius, the Veientine king, led his army over the Tiber, and encamped before Fidenæ. He was playing at dice when the Fidenates sent to inquire what should be done with the Roman envoys. Without interrupting his game, he cried, "Put them to death!" His mandate was executed; the colonists were butchered at the same time, and all hopes of pardon thus cut off. The Roman army soon appeared to exact vengeance; the skilful dispositions of the dictator and the valour of his troops gained a complete victory. Lars Tolumnius fell by the hand of the master of the horse, who dedicated his *spolia opima*, the first since the days of Romulus, in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. Fidenæ was taken, its inhabitants were massacred or sold for slaves, and it dwindled into utter insignificance.

A truce with Veii for twenty, and with the Æquians for three years was the only event of the year 330. In 331, as territory had been gained in the late wars, the tribunes de-

manded that assignments out of it should be made to the plebeians, and the tithe be levied off what was possessed by the patricians for the payment of the troops.

In 332 the Volscians took up arms, being convinced from the growing power of Rome that they must either make a bold and decisive effort, or part with their independence. Their troops were numerous and well-disciplined. The consul, C. Sempronius Atratinus, who commanded the Roman army, evinced neither skill nor energy; the soldiers had no confidence either in him or themselves. In the battle they were giving way, when Sex. Tempanius, a plebeian knight, calling on the horsemen to dismount and follow him, and raising his spear as a standard, advanced against the foe, who at the command of their leader, gave way and let them through, and then closed to cut them off from the Roman army. The consul seeing his cavalry thus isolated redoubled his efforts. Tempanius, having vainly essayed to break through again, retired to an eminence, where a part of the Volscians surrounded him. Night ended the conflict; each army thinking itself conquered abandoned its camp and wounded and retired to the mountains. In the morning Tempanius and his comrades finding the two camps deserted returned to Rome, where their appearance caused great joy, as the whole army was supposed to be lost. The tribunes were loud in their accusation of the consul, but Tempanius spoke in his favour; and when next year (333) he and three of his brother-officers were elected tribunes, and one of their colleagues impeached Sempronius before the people, they protected him, and induced the prosecutor to forego the charge.

During the next seventeen years the internal disputes respecting the public land continued, and the patricians, by their old tactics of gaining a majority of the tribunes to their side, prevented anything being done. But the plebeians were slowly and surely gaining strength. In 334 the consuls proposed that the number of the quæstors of the treasury, which had been two, should be doubled; the tribunes insisted that the new places should belong to the plebeians, and it was agreed that they should be chosen promiscuously out of both orders. This, as in the case of the consular tribunate, was no immediate gain to the plebeians, but their leaders trusted to the sure operation of time. Henceforth a quæstor attended every army to superintend the sale of the booty, the produce of which was either divided among the soldiers or brought into the *Æra-*

rium, the common treasury of the state, not, as heretofore, into the *Publicum* of the patricians.

The wars with the Æquians and Volscians were continued also throughout this period; but the power of these peoples was greatly crippled by the conquests which the Samnites were now making on their southern frontier. In 337* the Æquians and the Lavicans entered and ravaged the lands of Tusculum, and then encamped on the Algidus. An army was sent against them, which sustained a defeat. Q. Servilius Priscus was then created dictator; and he routed the enemies, took their camp, stormed the town of Lavici, and then laid down his office on the eighth day. In 340, the formerly Latin, now Æquian, town of Bolaë was taken, on which occasion the Roman soldiers committed a crime unknown to their history for centuries after.

The consular tribune M. Postumius, who commanded, had promised them the plunder of the town, but when it was taken he broke his word. He had also been summoned by his colleagues to Rome, where the tribunes were clamouring for a division of the conquered land; and when the tribune Sextius spoke of the rights of the soldiers, "Woe betide mine," said he, "if they do not keep quiet!" These words soon made their way to the camp, and still further exasperated the men. A tumult broke out when the quæstor was selling the booty, in which he was struck by a stone. Postumius sat in judgement on this offence, and ordered the most severe punishments. The men became enraged, and losing all respect stoned their general to death. This event was advantageous to the oligarchs, as the plebeians had to allow of the election of consuls for the next year (342), and to permit them to institute an inquiry into the death of Postumius. It was conducted with great moderation: the condemned terminated their lives by their own hands.

In 347† the Antiates, seeing the danger which menaced their kindred, engaged in the war. A combined army encamped before the walls of Antium, where it was attacked and totally defeated by a Roman army, led by the dictator P. Cornelius. The campaign of 349 was more important; three Roman armies took the field: one, led by the consular tribune, L. Valerius, approached Antium; his colleague P. Cornelius advanced with another against Ecetra; while N.

* The year of the Athenian expedition to Syracuse.

† The year of the surrender of Athens to Lysander and the Lacedæmonians.

Fabius with the third laid siege to Tarracina, which was situated on the side of a steep hill over the Pomptine marshes. A part of the army having gotten to the summit of the hill over the town, it was forced to surrender: the plunder was divided among the three armies, and a colony was sent to the town.

A war, the last, with Veii succeeded. At the expiration of the truce the Romans demanded satisfaction for the crime of Tolumnius; the Veientes, who feared war, applied for aid to the other peoples of Etruria, and various congresses were held at the temple of Voltumna to consider the matter. Aid, however, was refused, perhaps through jealousy, more probably in consequence of the pressure of a foe soon to appear on the north of the Apennines; it may also have been thought that the strength of its walls would enable Veii to resist any attack made on it by the Romans.

The city of Veii, which lay twelve miles from Rome*, was encompassed by strong walls four miles in circuit. The Tuscans, who possessed it, ruled over a population of subjects and serfs much like the Spartans in Greece; their own numbers were small, they could not rely on their subjects, and it was only the aid of volunteers from other parts of Etruria that enabled them at any time to wage war with advantage against the Romans.

The Romans, on their side, saw that though they might ravage the lands of Veii, yet so long as the town remained unconquered retaliation would be easy; whereas could it be reduced the advance of the power of Rome might be rapid and permanent. This, however, could only be effected by keeping a force constantly in the field; but to do this it would be necessary to recur to the old practice of giving the troops pay, for which purpose the tithe must be paid honestly off the domain-land. The senate, then rising above the paltry narrow considerations which used to influence it, resolved that it should be done, and pay be given to the infantry as well as the cavalry; and as mutual concessions were usually made between the orders, the people seem to have agreed that the *veto* of one tribune—not that of the majority, as heretofore, in the college—should suffice to stop the proceedings of the tribunes, the patricians reckoning that they would be able, in most cases, to gain over one of them. War, therefore, against Veii was declared in the year 349.

* Dionys. ii. 54. Its ruins have been discovered in the present century; they are about ten miles from Rome, near the *posta* named La Storta.

The campaigns of the two following years seem to have been little more than plundering excursions into the Veientine territory; forts (*castella*) like that on the Cremera were raised and garrisoned to prevent the cultivation of the lands and the passage of supplies to Veii. In the third year (352) siege was laid to the town itself, a mound was advanced against its walls, and the gallery under which the battering rams were to play had nearly reached the wall, when the besieged made a sally, drove off the besiegers, and burned the gallery and the sides of the mound, which they then levelled. The news of this reverse only stimulated the Romans to greater exertions; the knights to whom no horses could be assigned offered to serve with their own; a like zeal was manifested by the classes, and the campaign of 353 was opened by the appearance of a gallant army, under the consular tribunes L. Virginus and M. Sergius, before the walls of Veii. The Veientes on their side were aided by their neighbours the Capenates and Faliscans, who now saw that the danger was a common one.

The Roman generals, who were at enmity with each other, had separate camps, and that of Sergius, which was the smaller, was suddenly attacked by the allies, while the Veientes made a sally from the town. The pride of Sergius would not let him send for assistance to the other camp; Virginus, pretending to believe that if his colleague wanted aid he would apply for it, kept his troops under arms, but would not stir. At length the camp of Sergius was forced: a few fled to the other camp, himself and the greater number to Rome. It then became necessary to abandon the other camp; and the whole of the tribunes were obliged to lay down their office on account of the misconduct of Virginus and Sergius. Among those chosen to succeed them was M. Furius Camillus, afterwards so famous, whose name now appears for the first time. A large force was brought into the field, with which Camillus and one of his colleagues ravaged the lands of the Capenates and Faliscans up to the walls of their cities.

The internal history of this year (354) was remarkable for a bold attempt of the oligarchs to get two of themselves chosen into the college of the tribunes of the people*. They were, however, utterly foiled; the college was firm and unanimous: a heavy fine was imposed on Sergius and Virginus for their

* For the patricians were now in the tribes. It, however, continued to be the rule that none but a plebeian could be a tribune.

ill conduct, and an agrarian law was passed, which put an end to the frauds by which the payment of the tithe had been eluded. The next year the patricians were forced to allow one plebeian among the military tribunes, and the following year (356) all but the prefect of the city were plebeians.

A severe winter was succeeded by a pestilential summer; still the armies took the field, and formed, as in 353, a double camp before Veii. The Faliscans and Capenates repeated the manœuvre which had succeeded in that year; but the Roman generals were at perfect amity, and they met with a complete defeat. The territories of Capena and Falerii were ravaged again the next year, and in 358, the Tarquinians, who had taken arms and made an incursion into the Roman territory, were waylaid on their return and routed with great loss. In 359, the last year of the war, the tribunes being all plebeians, two of them, L. Titinius and Cn. Genucius, invaded the lands of Capena and Falerii; but conducting themselves incautiously, they met with a defeat. Genucius fell in the action, Titinius broke through the enemy and got off, the troops before Veii were hardly restrained from flight, and Rome was filled with alarm. Camillus was now raised to the dictatorship; he exerted himself to restore confidence and discipline to the troops: the contingents of the Latins and Hernicans arrived, the dictator took the field, and having given the Faliscans and Capenates a complete defeat at Nepete, sat down before Veii with a numerous army.

The account of the Veientine war is so far historical; in what is to come, a poetic tale, of the same kind with those we have already noticed, has usurped the place of the simple narrative of the annals.

Various portents we are told announced the fall of Veii. Among others, the waters of the Alban lake rose in the midst of the dog-days, without a fall of rain or any other natural cause, to such a height as to menace to overflow and deluge the surrounding country*. Fearing deceit from the Etruscan augurs, the senate sent a solemn embassy to consult the Pythian oracle. The news reached the camp before Veii, and as there was then a truce, and those on both sides who were previously acquainted were in the habit of conversing together, it also came to the knowledge of the Veientes. Impelled by destiny, a soothsayer mocked the efforts of the Romans,

* The Alban lake to overflow should rise at least 300 feet above its present level.

telling them that the sacred books declared they should never take Veii. A Roman centurion some days after, pretending that a prodigy had fallen out in his house which he was anxious to expiate, invited the aruspex to meet him in the plain between the town and the Roman camp. Seduced by the prospect of the proffered reward he came out; the centurion drew him near the Roman lines, and then suddenly, being young and vigorous, dragged the feeble old man into the camp. He was instantly transferred to Rome; by menaces the senate forced him to tell the truth, and he declared that the books of fate announced that if the lake should overflow Veii could not be taken, and that if its waters reached the sea Rome would perish. The envoys arrived soon after from Delphi with a similar reply, the god promising the conquest of Veii if they spread the waters over the fields, and demanding a tithe of the spoil. Forthwith a tunnel was commenced in the side of the mountain to draw off the waters of the lake and distribute them over the adjacent fields*. It advanced rapidly: the Veientines, seeing their impending fate, sent an embassy to sue for favour; mercy was unrelentingly refused: the chief of the embassy then warned the Romans to beware, for the same oracles foretold that the fall of Veii would be followed by the capture of Rome by the Gauls. He warned in vain, no mercy was to be obtained.

Meantime the work by which Veii was to be taken went on: the Romans appeared to be waiting the slow effects of a blockade; but their army was divided into six bands, each of which wrought for six hours, by turns, at a mine, which was to lead into the temple of Juno on the citadel. When it was completed Camillus sent to inquire of the senate what should be done with the spoil. Ap. Claudius advised to sell it, and reserve the proceeds for the pay of the army on future occasions; P. Licinius, a plebeian military tribune, insisted that it should be divided not merely among the troops before Veii, but among all the citizens, as all had made sacrifices. It was so decreed; and on proclamation being made, old and young flocked to the camp.

When the waters of the Alban lake were dispersed over the fields and the mine was completed, Camillus, who previous to his departure from Rome had made a vow to celebrate great

* The tunnel was actually made at this time, though we are not to suppose it had anything to do with the fate of Veii. It is 6000 feet long, 3½ wide, and high enough for a man to walk in it.

games to the gods, and dedicate a temple to the goddess named Matuta, having promised high honours to Queen Juno, the patron-goddess of Veii, and a tenth of the spoil to the Pythian Apollo, entered the mine at the head of his cohorts. At the same moment the horns sounded for the assault and scaling-ladders were advanced. The citizens hastened to man their walls; their king was sacrificing in the temple of Juno; the aruspex, when he saw the victim, cried out that those who offered it to the goddess would be the victors. The Romans, who were beneath, hearing this, burst forth; Camillus seized and offered the flesh; his men rushed down from the citadel and opened the gates to those without; and thus Veii, like Troy, was taken by stratagem, after a ten years' siege*.

The spoil was immense, and no part of it, except the price of those who had been made prisoners before orders were given to spare the unarmed, and who therefore were sold, was brought into the treasury. It is related that as Camillus looked from the citadel down on the magnificent city he had won, he called to mind the envy with which the gods were believed to regard human prosperity, and prayed that it might fall as lightly as possible on himself and the Roman people†; as he turned round to worship, he stumbled and fell, and he fondly deemed this to have appeased the envy of the Immortals. He dared then to enter Rome in triumph, in a car drawn by white horses, like those of Jupiter and Sol (*Sun*), a thing never witnessed before or after; and the wrath of Heaven fell ere long on himself and the city.

The statue of Queen Juno was now to be removed to Rome, according to the dictator's vow; but as only a priest of a certain house could touch it, the Romans were filled with awe. At length a body of chosen knights, having purified themselves and put on white robes, entered the temple. The goddess being asked if she was willing to go to Rome, her assenting voice was distinctly heard, and the statue of its own accord moved with those who conveyed it out.

The tithe was to be sent to the god at Delphi; but the spoil was mostly consumed and spent; the pontiffs declared that the state was only accountable for what had been received by the quæstors, and for the land and buildings at Veii, and that therefore the sin of those who kept back their

* The mine is as evident a fiction as the Trojan horse. In all ancient history there is no authentic account of a town taken in this way.

† The same is told of Æmilius Paulus, Vell. Pat. i. 10.

share of it would lie at their own door. Conscience, therefore, made all refund; but much ill-will accrued to Camillus for his not having reminded them in time of his vow. It was resolved to make a golden bowl (*crater*) to the value of the tenth; there not being sufficient gold in the treasury for that purpose, the matrons came forward, and proffered to lend the state their ornaments and jewels of gold: their offer was graciously accepted, and in return the privilege of going through the city in chariots was granted them,—an honour hitherto confined to the principal magistrates. The bowl was then made, and a trireme and three envoys were despatched with it to Delphi. But the ship had the mischance to be captured and carried into Lipara by some cruisers, who took it for a pirate. Timositheus however, the chief magistrate of the place, released it, and sent it with a convoy to Greece, for which the Romans granted him the right of *proxeny* to the state. The bowl was deposited in the treasury of the Massalians, whence, not many years after, it was taken and melted down by Onomarchus the Phocian*.

The year after the capture of Veii (360), the Capenates were compelled to sue for peace; and a colony of three thousand plebeian veterans was sent to the Æquian country, the patricians hoping to be able to keep the rich Veientine lands to themselves. But the tribunes insisted that the lands and houses there should be assigned to the two orders alike. As this, by dividing the Roman people into two parts, would be the destruction of the unity of the state, the patricians opposed it most warmly: by gaining over two of the tribunes they staved off the measure for two years; and in 362, when the tribunes were unanimous, and the two who had opposed before had been heavily fined, the senators, by addressing themselves to their plebeian tribesmen, and showing the evil of the measure, got it rejected by a majority of eleven out of the twenty-one tribes. Next day a vote of the senate assigned a lot of seven jugers of Veientine land to every free person who needed it.

In 361, Camillus, being one of the military tribunes, entered the Faliscan territory. The Faliscans had encamped in a strong position about a mile from the town; but he drove them from it, and then advancing, sat down before Falerii.

* Diodor. xiv. 93. Appian, Ital. Fragm. 8. See History of Greece, Part III. chap. i. For *proxeny*, see same, p. 48, note. 2nd edit. p. 46, 4th edit.

While he was beleaguering this town, the following event is said to have occurred.

It was the custom at Falerii, as in Greece, to place the boys of different families under the care of one master, who always accompanied them at their sports and exercises*. The master of the boys of several of the noblest families, continuing to take them outside of the town to exercise as before the siege, led them one day into the Roman camp, and presenting them to Camillus declared that he thereby put Falerii into his hands. The generous Roman, disgusted with such treachery, ordered his hands to be tied behind his back, and giving rods to the boys, made them whip him into the town. Overcome by such magnanimity, the Faliscans surrendered, and the Roman senate was satisfied with their giving a year's pay to the soldiers.

The year 364 saw Rome at war with two of the more distant states of Etruria, Vulsinii† and Salpinum; but their resistance was brief, eight thousand Vulsinians laying down their arms almost without fighting, and the Salpinates not daring to leave their walls to defend their lands. A truce for twenty years was made with the Vulsinians, on their giving a year's pay for the Roman troops. But this year was rendered still more notable by the impeachment of Camillus by the tribune L. Apuleius, for having secreted a part of the plunder of Veii. The evidence appears to have been clear against him (two brazen doors from Veii, it is said, were found in his house), and the people were exasperated. When he applied to his clients in the tribes to get him off, they made answer that they could not acquit him, but that, as in duty bound, they would contribute to pay whatever fine might be imposed on him. Finding his case hopeless, he resolved to go into exile. When outside of the gate of the city, he turned round, and regarding the Capitol, lifted up his hands, and prayed to the gods that Rome might soon have cause to regret him. A fine of 15,000 asses was laid on him by the people.

* Horace (Carm. i. 36, 7.) seems to speak of a similar custom at Rome.

† Vulsinii (*Bolsena*) lay on the north side of the lake of the same name (*Lago di Bolsena*).

CHAPTER V.*

The Gauls.—Their Invasion of Italy.—Siege of Clusium.—Battle of the Allia.—Taking of Rome.—Rebuilding of the City.—Distress of the People.—M. Manlius.—The Licinian Rogations.—Pestilence at Rome.—M. Curtius.—Hernican War.—Combat of Manlius and a Gaul.—Gallic and Tuscan Wars.—Combat of Valerius and a Gaul.—Reduction of the Rate of Interest.

THE ruthless prayer of Camillus was accomplished; ambassadors arrived soon after from Clusium in Etruria, praying for aid against a savage people come from the confines of the earth and named the Gauls.

The people named Celts or Gauls were the original inhabitants of Europe west of the Rhine, where they were spread over France, the British Isles, and a great part, if not all, of Spain. They were in a state of barbarism, far exceeding any that could ever have prevailed in Greece or Italy, having hardly any tillage or trade, and living on the milk and flesh of their cattle. In manners they were turbulent and brutal, easily excited, but deficient in energy and perseverance. Toward the time of the last Veientine war, want, or the pressure of a superior power, (perhaps that of the Iberians in the south,) seems to have obliged several of their tribes to migrate. One portion pushed along the valley of the Danube; another crossed the Alps, and came down on northern Etruria, whose chief town, Melpum, they are said to have taken on the same day that Veii fell, and they rapidly made themselves masters of the whole plain of the Po. They then crossed the Apennines, and laid siege to the city of Clusium in Etruria (364).

We are told that it was a Clusine who had invited them into Italy. A citizen of Clusium, named Aruns, had been the guardian of a Lucumo, who, when he grew up, seduced, or was seduced by, his guardian's wife. Aruns, having sought justice in vain from the magistrates, resolved to be revenged on them as well as on his injurer. He loaded mules with skins of wine and oil, and with rush-mats filled with dried figs, and crossing the Alps came to the Gauls, to whom such delicacies were unknown. He told them that they might easily win the

* Livy, v. 33.—vii. 28. Plut. Camillus, 13. to the end; the Epitomators.

land that produced them; and forthwith the whole people arose, with wives and children, and marched for Clusium*.

When the Clusines called on the Romans for aid, the senate sent three of the Fabii†, sons of M. Ambustus, the chief pontiff, to desire the Gauls not to molest the allies of Rome. The reply was, that they wanted land, and the Clusines must divide theirs with them. The Fabii enraged went into the town, and then forgetting their character of envoys, and that no Roman could bear arms against any people till war had been declared and he had taken the military oath‡, they joined the Clusines in a sally; and Q. Fabius, having slain a Gallic chief, was recognised as he was stripping him. Forthwith Brennus, the Gallic king, ordered a retreat to be sounded; and selecting the hugest of his warriors, sent them to Rome, to demand the surrender of the Fabii. The fetials urged the senate to free the republic from guilt: most of the senators acknowledged their duty, but they could not endure the idea of giving up men of such noble birth to the vengeance of a savage foe. They referred the matter to the people, who instantly created the offenders consular tribunes, and then told the envoys that nothing could be done to them till the expiration of their office, at which time, if their anger continued, they might come and seek for justice. Brennus, when he received this reply, gave the word, "For Rome!" The Gallic horse and foot overspread the plains; they touched not the property of the husbandman; they passed by the towns and villages as if they were friends; they crossed the Tiber, and reached the Alia§, a little stream that enters it about eleven miles from Rome.

They would have found Rome unprepared, says the legend||, but that one night a plebeian named M. Cædicius, as he was going down the Via Nova at the foot of the Palatine, heard a voice more than human from the adjacent grove of Vesta calling him by name; he turned, but could see no one; he was then desired by the voice to go in the morning to the magis-

* It is scarcely necessary to mention that this is a mere legend. Pliny (xii. 1.) relates it somewhat differently.

† Three was the usual number of ambassadors sent by the Romans to foreign powers.

‡ Cicero, *Offic.* i. 11.

§ Virgil, for the sake of his verse, spelled it *Allia*; the true word is *Alia*. Servius on *Æn.* vii. 717.

|| Zonaras, vii. 23. from Dion Cassius. Cic. *Div.* i. 4, 5. Livy and the other writers place this legend much earlier.

trates, and tell them that the Gauls were coming. On these tidings the men of military age were called out and led against the foes, whom they met at the Alia.

According to the real narrative*, when the Romans heard of the march of the Gauls, they summoned the troops of their allies, and arming all that could carry arms, took a position near Veii; but on learning that the enemies were making for the city by forced marches, they returned to Rome, re-passed the river, and advancing, met them at the Alia on the 18th of July, a day rendered ominous by the fall of the Fabii at the Cremera†. The Gauls were 70,000 men strong; the Roman army of 40,000 was divided into two wings or horns (*cornua*), the left of 24,000 men rested on the Tiber, the right of 16,000 occupied some broken ground: the Alia was between them and the enemy. Brennus fell on the right wing, which was chiefly formed of proletarians and ærarians, and speedily routed it; the left then, seeing itself greatly outflanked, was seized with a panic, broke, and made for the river; the Gauls assailed them on every side; many were slain, many drowned; the survivors, mostly without arms, fled to Veii. The right wing, when broken, had fled through the hills to Rome, carrying the news of the defeat; ere nightfall the Gallic horse appeared before the Colline gate, and on the Field of Mars, but no attempt was made on the city; and that night and the succeeding day and night were devoted to plundering, rioting, drunkenness, and sleep.

Meantime the Romans, aware of the impossibility of defending the city, resolved to collect all the provisions in it on the Capitol and citadel, which would contain about one thousand men, and there to make a stand. The rest of the people quitted Rome as best they could, to seek shelter in the neighbouring towns, taking with them such articles as they could carry. A part of the sacred things were buried; the Flamen Quirinalis and the Vestal Virgins crossed the Sublician bridge on foot, with the remainder, on their way to Cære. As they ascended the Janiculum, they were observed by L. Albinus, a plebeian, who was driving his wife and children in a cart; and he made them instantly get down, and give way to the holy virgins, whom he conveyed in safety to their place of refuge.

* In the opinion of Niebuhr the true account of the battle and the taking of Rome is given by Diodorus (xiv. 113–117) from Fabius. Livy and Plutarch follow the legend of Camillus.

† Liv. vi. 1. Tac. Hist. ii. 91. See above, pp. 75, 76.

About eighty aged patricians, who were priests, or had borne curule offices, would not survive that Rome which had been the scene of all their glory; and having solemnly devoted themselves under the chief pontiff, for the republic and the destruction of her foes, they sat calmly awaiting death in their robes of state, on their ivory seats in the Forum*.

On the second day the Gauls entered the city at the Colline gate. A death-like stillness prevailed; they reached the Forum; on the Capitol above they beheld armed men; beneath in the Comitium the aged senators, like beings of another world: they were awe-struck, and paused. At length one put forth his hand, and stroked the venerable beard of M. Papirius; the indignant old man raised his ivory sceptre, and smote him on the head; the Barbarian drew his sword, and slew him, and all the others shared his fate. The Gauls spread over the city in quest of plunder, fires broke out in various quarters, and ere long the city was a heap of ashes, no houses remaining but a few on the Palatine reserved for the chiefs.

The Gauls, having made divers fruitless attempts to force their way up the *clivus* of the Capitol, resolved to trust to famine for its reduction. But provisions soon began to run short; the dog-days, and the sickly month of September came on, and they died in heaps†. A part of them had marched away for Apulia; the rest ravaged Latium far and wide‡.

Meantime some people of Etruria (probably the Tarquinians) ungenerously took advantage of the distress of the Romans to ravage the Veientine territory, where the Roman husbandmen had taken refuge with what property they had been able to save. But the Romans at Veii, putting M. Cædicius at their head, fell on them in the night and routed them; and having thus gotten a supply of arms, of which they were so much in want, they began to prepare to act against the Gauls. A daring youth named Pontius Cominius swam one night on corks down the river, and eluding the Gauls clambered up the side

* Plut. Camill. 21. Zonaras vii. 23.

† There was a place in Rome called the Busta Gallica, which was said to have derived its name from this event. Varro L. L. v. 157.

‡ Among the wonders of this period is the following. While the Gauls surrounded the Capitol, the time of the annual sacrifice of the Fabian gens on the Quirinal arrived. C. Fabius Dorso, who was on the Capitol, then girded himself with the Gabinian cincture, took the requisite things in his hands, went down the *clivus*, ascended the Quirinal, performed the sacred rites, and returned; the Gauls, moved either by awe or by religion, offering him no opposition. Liv. v. 46.

of the Capitol near the Carmental gate*, and having given the requisite information to the garrison, returned by the way he came.

But the Gauls soon took notice of a bush which had given way as Cominius grasped it; they also observed that the grass was trodden down in various places†; the rock was therefore not inaccessible, and it was resolved to scale it. At midnight a party came in dead silence to the spot, and began to ascend. Slowly and cautiously they climbed up; no noise was made, the Romans were buried in sleep, their sentinels were negligent, even the dogs were not aroused. The foremost Gaul reached the summit, when some geese, which as sacred to Juno had been spared in the famine, being startled, began to flutter and scream. The noise awoke M. Manlius, a consular, whose house stood on the hill; he ran out, pushed down the Gaul, whose fall caused that of those behind, and the whole project was baffled. The negligent captain of the guard was flung down the rock with his hands tied behind his back; and every man on the citadel gave Manlius half a pound of corn, and a quarter of a flask of wine as a reward.

Still famine pressed; the blockade had now lasted six months, and the garrison had begun to eat even the soles of their shoes and the leather of their shields: the Gauls, on their side, found their army melting away, and tidings came that the Venetians had invaded their territory; they therefore agreed to receive one thousand pounds of gold, and depart. At the weighing of the gold Brennus had false weights brought; and when the consular tribune, Q. Sulpicius, complained of the injustice, he flung his sword into the scale, crying, "Woe to the vanquished!" (*Væ victis!*) The Gauls then departed, and re-crossed the Apennines with their wealth (365)‡.

It is thus that history relates the transaction§; the legend of Camillus tells a different tale. Camillus, an exile at Ardea, had, it says, at the head of the Ardeates, given the Gauls a check; the Romans at Veii passed an ordinance of the plebs, restoring him to his civil rights, and making him dictator; to obtain the confirmation of the senate and curies, Cominius ascended the Capitol. Camillus, at the head of his legions, entered the Forum just as the gold was being weighed; he

* Plut. Camill. 25. Liv. v. 47.

† Plutarch, *ut supra*, 26.

‡ The year of the peace of Antalcidas in Greece.

§ Polybius, li. 18, 3. 22, 5. Suetonius, Tiberius, 3.

ordered it to be taken away: the Gauls pleaded the treaty; he replied that it was not valid, being made without the knowledge of the dictator. Each side grasped their arms; a battle was fought on the ruins of Rome: the Gauls were defeated, and a second victory on the Gabine road annihilated their army. Camillus entered Rome in triumph, leading Brennus captive, whom he ordered to be put to death, replying *Væ victis!* to his remonstrances. But to return to history.

Nothing could exceed the miserable condition of the Romans after the departure of the Gauls; their city was one heap of ruins, their property was nearly all lost or destroyed, their former allies and subjects were ill-disposed toward them*. We are told in a legend, that the people of Ficulea, Fidenæ, and some of the adjacent towns, came in arms against Rome; and so great was the panic they caused, that a popular solemnity† kept up the memory of it to a late age. They demanded a number of matrons and maidens of good families as the price of peace. The Romans were in the utmost perplexity, when a female slave, named Philôtis or Tutula, proposed a plan to avert disgrace from the ladies of Rome. She and several of her companions were clad in the *prætecta*, and amid the tears of their pretended relatives delivered to the Latins. The slaves encouraged their new lords to drink copiously; overpowered by wine they fell into a deep sleep, and Tutula, then mounting a wild fig-tree (*caprificus*), raised a lighted torch, the appointed signal, toward Rome. The Romans sallied forth, fell on and massacred their slumbering foes, and Tutula and her companions were rewarded with their freedom. Another tradition‡ told, that at this period the scarcity of food was such that the men past sixty were thrown into the river as being useless. One old man was concealed by his son, through whom he gave such useful counsel to the state that the practice was ended.

The people shrank from the prospect of rebuilding their ruined city, and it was vehemently urged that they should remove to Veii. Against this project, which would have probably quenched the glory of Rome for ever, the patricians exerted themselves to the utmost, appealing to every feeling

* Compare the account of the return of the Jews to their city, given in the Book of Ezra.

† *Populifugia* or *Nonæ Caprotinæ*. Varro L. L. vi. 18. Plut. Rom. 29. Camill. 33. Macrob. Sat. I. 11.

‡ Festus, s. v. Sexagenarios.

of patriotism and religion. A word of omen, casual or designed, was decisive. While the senate was debating, a centurion was heard to cry in the Comitium, as he was leading his men over it, "Halt! we had best stop here." The senate allowed every one to take bricks wherever he found them, and to hew stone and wood where he liked. Veii was demolished for building materials; and within the year Rome rose from her ruins in an unsightly irregular form.

As a means of increasing the population, the civic franchise was given (366) to the people of such Veientine, Faliscan, and Capenate towns as had come over to the Romans during the Veientine war; and two years after (368) four new tribes (which raised the whole number to twenty-five) were formed out of them.

The wars for some years offer little to interest. The Etruscans are said to have failed in attempts to take Sutrium and Nepete: the Volscians of Antium and Ecetræ went once more to war with Rome, now enfeebled; Hernican and Latin mercenaries fought on their side, but the valour of the Roman legions was still triumphant*. The Prænestines also measured their strength with Rome, but the banks of the Alia witnessed their defeat (375).

The internal history of this period is of far more importance. It was indeed a time of distress, augmented by the cruelty and harshness of the ruling order. In order to build their houses, procure farming implements, and other necessary things, the plebeians had to borrow money to a considerable extent. The rate of interest being now raised at Rome, the money-lenders (*argentarii*) flocked thither, and under the patronage of the patricians, for which they had to pay high, they lent to the people at a most usurious rate: interest speedily multiplied the principal; there were also outstanding debts to the patricians themselves: the severe law of debt, which the Twelve Tables had left in force, but which, owing to the prosperity of the following years, had rarely been acted on, was again in operation, and freeborn Romans were reduced to bondage at home, or sold out of their country. To augment the distress of the people, the government (urged most probably by superstition) laid on a tribute to raise double the

* Livy (vi. 12.) wonders, as well he might, where the Volscians and Æquians, who were routed so often and with such slaughter, according to the annalists, were able to get men. It never came into his mind to question the truth of all those great victories.

amount of the thousand pounds of gold given to the Gauls, in order to replace it in the temples whence it had been taken.

In this state of things M. Manlius, the saviour of the Capitol, came forward as the patron of the distressed. In birth and in valour, and every other ennobling quality, he yielded to no man of his time, and he ill-brooked to see himself kept in the background, while his rival Camillus was year after year invested with the highest offices in the state. This feeling of jealousy may have influenced his subsequent conduct; but Manlius was a man of generous mind, and when one day (370) he saw a brave centurion, his fellow-soldier, led over the Forum in chains by the usurer to whom he had been adjudged, his pity was excited, and he paid his debt on the spot. Once in the career of generosity Manlius could not stop; he sold an estate beyond the Tiber, the most valuable part of his property, and saved nearly four hundred citizens from bondage by lending them money without interest.

His house on the citadel now became the resort of all classes of plebeians; and he is said to have hinted in his discourses with them, that the patricians had embezzled the money raised to replace the votive offerings, and that they should be made to refund and liquidate with it the debts of the poor. The proceedings of Manlius seemed so dangerous to the senate, that by their direction, the dictator A. Cornelius Cossus had him arrested and thrown into prison. Numbers of the plebeians now changed their raiment, and let their hair and beard grow neglected, as mourners; day and night they lingered about the prison-door; and the senate, either alarmed or having no real charge against him, set him at liberty.

It is likely that the injustice of the senate may have exacerbated Manlius; at all events he was now become a dangerous citizen, and two of the tribunes impeached him before the centuries for aiming at the kingdom. His own order, his friends and kinsmen, and even his two brothers, deserted him in his need; a thing unheard of, as even for the decemvir all the Claudian house had changed their raiment. On the Field of Mars he produced all whom he had preserved from bondage for debt, and those whose lives he had saved in battle; he displayed the arms of thirty foes whom he had slain, and forty rewards of valour conferred on him by different generals; he bared his breast, covered with scars, and looking up to the Capitol, implored the gods, whose fanes he had saved, to stand by him in his need. This appeal to gods and men was irresist-

ible, and he was acquitted by the centuries. But his enemy Camillus was dictator, and he was arraigned before the curies (*concilium populi*), assembled in the Peteline grove, before the Flumentan gate*, who readily condemned him to death.

Manlius was either already in insurrection, or he resolved not to fall a passive victim, and he and his partisans occupied the Capitol. Treachery was then employed against him; a slave came, feigning to be a deputy from his brethren; and as Manlius was walking on the edge of the precipice in conference with him, he gave him a sudden push, and tumbled him down the rock†.

The house of Manlius was razed; a decree was passed that no patrician should ever dwell on the citadel or Capitol; and the Manlian gens made a by-law that none of them should ever bear the name of Marcus. But the people mourned him; and the pestilence with which Rome was shortly afterwards afflicted was regarded as a punishment sent by the gods to avenge the death of the preserver of their temples.

Meantime the misery of the plebeians went on increasing; day after day debtors were dragged away from the prætor's tribunal to the private dungeons of the patricians; the whole plebeian order lost spirit; and the greedy, short-sighted patricians were on the point of reducing the Roman state to a feeble contemptible oligarchy, when two men appeared, who by their wisdom and firmness changed the fate of Rome, and with it that of the world. These were the tribunes C. Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius Lateranus.

* As the Flumentan gate was only a short distance from the Capitol, and Livy speaks of that temple being out of view from the place where Manlius was condemned, Nardini substituted Nomentan for Flumentan, without reflecting that there was no Nomentan gate in Rome at the time, or till the wall of Aurelian was built. His correction has been generally adopted, even by Niebuhr! If Livy is correct in saying that the temple was out of sight, the view must have been interrupted by the trees of the grove.

† Zonaras, vii. 24. His fate we may suppose was similar to that of Odysseus, one of the Greek chiefs in the late war of independence, who was pushed down from the Acropolis at Athens and killed by the fall. Zonaras however says that he was seized when he fell by those who were lying in wait for him and then flung from the Tarpeian rock, the mode of his death according to Varro (*ap. Gell. xvii. 21.*) and Livy (vii. 20.).

It may be here observed that the Tarpeian rock from which the Romans used to fling criminals was on the side of the Capitoline hill looking toward the Forum, so that the punishment was visible to all the people. Its height was between 70 and 80 feet; at present, owing to the elevation of the soil, it is not more than 35 feet.

In the year 378 they proposed the three following rogations.

1. Instead of consular tribunes, there shall in future be consuls, one of whom shall of necessity be a plebeian.

2. No one shall possess more than five hundred jugers of arable or plantation land in the domain (*ager publicus*), nor feed more than one hundred head of large and five hundred of small cattle on the public pasture. Every possessor must pay the state annually the tenth bushel off his corn-land, the fifth of the produce of his plantation-land, and so much a head grazing-money for his cattle. He shall also employ freemen as labourers in proportion to his land*.

3. The interest already paid on debts shall be deducted from the principal, and the residue be paid in three equal annual instalments.

There is no reason to suppose that the authors of these measures, which were to infuse new life and energy into the state, were influenced by any but the best motives; but patrician malignity, and that ignoble spirit which loves to assign a paltry motive for even the most glorious actions, invented the following tale.

M. Fabius Ambustus had two daughters, one of whom was married to Ser. Sulpicius, a patrician and consular tribune for the year 378; the other to C. Licinius Stolo, a wealthy plebeian. One day, while the younger Fabia was visiting her sister, Sulpicius returned from the Forum, and the lictor, as was usual, smote the door with his rod that it might be opened. The visitor, unused to such ceremony in her modest plebeian abode, started, and her sister smiled in pity of her ignorance. She said nothing, but the matter sank deep in her mind: her father, observing her dejection, inquired the cause; and having drawn it from her, assured her that she should be on an equality with her sister; and he, Licinius and Sextius, forthwith began to concert measures for effecting what he proposed†.

The struggle lasted five years‡. The patricians had not now, as heretofore, the Latins, Hernicans, and Volscians to

* See Appian Bell. Civ. l. 8. Suetonius Jul. Cæs. 42. Casaubon *in loco*.

† Fabius had been a consular tribune within the last four years. How then could his daughter be ignorant of the pomp of the office? Moreover, there was nothing to prevent Licinius from being one himself, as the office was open to plebeians.

‡ Livy makes it last ten years, and the city in consequence be in a state of complete anarchy, without any supreme magistrates, for five years,—a condition of things which is utterly impossible. See Niebuhr, ii. 553–567, for an explanation of the causes of the error; also Arnold, ii. 40.

call to their aid; neither had they large bodies of clients at their devotion. They therefore sought to gain the other tribunes, by representing the mischievous nature of the bills; and they succeeded so well, that eight of the college forbade them to be read. Licinius and Sextius retaliated by impeding the election of consular tribunes. They were themselves re-elected year after year, and they never permitted the election of consular tribunes, unless when the state was in danger from its foreign enemies. In 381*, the opposition in the college was reduced to five, and these wavering: the next year (382) the tribunes were unanimous, and the only resource of the oligarchs lay in the dictatorship. Camillus was appointed to the office; and when the tribes were beginning to vote, he entered the Forum, and commanded them to disperse. The tribunes calmly proposed a fine of half a million asses on him, if he should act as dictator; the people gave a ready assent; Camillus saw that the magic power of the dictatorial name was gone, and he laid down his office. The senate appointed P. Manlius to succeed; and he named C. Licinius, a plebeian, master of the horse. It was agreed to augment the number of the keepers of the Sibylline books to ten, one half to be plebeians; and, the dictator not impeding, the people, with their wonted short-sightedness and ingratitude, were beginning to vote the two last rogations, which concerned themselves most nearly; but Licinius, telling them they must eat if they would drink†, incorporated the three bills in one, and would have all or none. In 383 (388) the bills passed the tribes; but Camillus was again made dictator against the people. The tribunes sent their officers to arrest him; he saw the inutility of further resistance, and the senate and curies gave their assent to the law. L. Sextius, being appointed plebeian consul, a last effort was made by the curies, who refused to confirm him. The people lost all patience, seized their arms, and retired to the Aventine‡; but the venerable Camillus, a-weary of civil discord, became the mediator of peace, and vowed a temple to Concord. The people consented that the city-prætorship, an office then instituted, should be confined to the houses, as a curule dignity co-ordinate with the consulate§. The office of curule ædiles, to be filled in alternate

* The year of the battle of Leuctra.

† Dion. fragm. xxxiii.

‡ Ovid, Fasti, i. 643.

§ The curule magistrates were so named as being allowed to go to the senate-house in a chariot (*currus*); their moveable seat (*sella curulis*) was taken out, and carried in after them. Gellius, iii. 18.

years by two patricians and two plebeians, was instituted; and one day for the plebeians, as being now an integrant part of the nation, was added to the three of the Great Games. The centuries, to reward the illustrious Camillus, elected his son Sp. Furius the first city-prætor.

The passing of the Licinian laws may be regarded as the termination of the struggle which had been going on for nearly a century and a half between the orders. In the whole course of history there is perhaps nothing to be found more deserving of admiration than the conduct of the plebeians throughout the entire contest; no violence, no murders, no illegal acts on their part are to be discerned, though the *Annales* whence we derive our knowledge of it were drawn up and kept by the opposite party. One is naturally led to inquire into the causes of this moderation; and they will perhaps be found to be as follows. In the first place, that steadiness and spirit of obedience to law and authority, which seems to have belonged to the Roman character while the nation continued pure and unmixed; next, the fact that the plebeians were, at that time, composed of small landed proprietors, living frugally and industriously on their little farms, and visiting the city only on market-days. But the chief cause was, that they acted under the guidance of their natural leaders, their nobility and gentry, and not of brawling demagogues; for the *Licinii*, the *Icili*, the *Junii*, and others, were in birth and wealth, the fellows of the *Quinctii* and the *Manlii*, who excluded them from the high offices in the state. It was, in fact, a part of the fortune of Rome, that she never was afflicted with the scourge of the selfish, low-born, lying, arrogant demagogue, the curse of the Grecian republics. When she was doomed to have her demagogues also, they were beasts of prey of a higher order, of her noblest and most ancient patrician houses, the *Cornelii*, the *Julii*, the *Claudii*, who, disdaining to fawn on and flatter the electors whom they despised, purchased their venal votes, or terrified them, and carried their measures by the swords of armed bandits. But these unhappy times are yet far off; two centuries of glory are to come before we arrive at them. We now return to our narrative.

In the year 390* and the following year, Rome was severely afflicted by a pestilence, which carried off numbers of all orders: among them, the venerable M. Furius Camillus, the second founder, as he was styled, of the city, a man who, though

* The year of the battle of Mantinea and death of Epaminondas.

his deeds have been magnified by fiction, must have been really one of the greatest that even Rome ever saw. As a means of appeasing the divine wrath, a *lectisternium** was made for the third time and stage-plays were celebrated, the actors being fetched from Etruria. The Tiber also rose at this time and inundated the city.

It had been an old custom at Rome, that on the Ides of September the chief magistrate† should drive a nail into the right side of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol. The reason of this practice was, that a regular account might be kept of the years. It had, however, been for some time intermitted; but it being given out (392) that a plague had once ceased when a dictator drove the nail, the senate seized the opportunity of making an attempt to get rid of the late laws, and L. Manlius Imperiosus was named dictator. Having driven the nail, he commenced a levy against the Hernicans; but the tribunes forced him to desist and abdicate; and the next year (393) the tribune, M. Pomponius, impeached him for his harshness and cruelty in the levy. One charge on which the tribune dwelt, was his keeping his son, merely for a defect in his speech, at work in the country, among his slaves. The young man, when he heard of this charge against his parent, armed himself with a knife, and coming early one morning into the city, went straight to the tribune's house. On telling his name he was admitted; at his desire all were ordered to withdraw, the tribune naturally thinking he was come to give him some important information. Manlius then, drawing his knife, menaced him with instant death if he did not swear to drop the prosecution. The terrified tribune swore; the charge against Manlius was not proceeded in; and the people, to show their admiration of his filial piety, elected the young man one of the legionary tribunes for the year‡.

The following romantic act is also placed in this year. A great chasm opened in the middle of the Forum; to fill it up was found to be impossible; the soothsayers announced that it

* That is, exposing the images of the gods in public on couches, as at a banquet. The first *lectisternium* was in A.U. 355. Liv. v. 13.

† The Prætor Maximus, (Liv. vii. 3.) by which is usually understood the dictator. To us, however, it seems more probable that it was the consul-major (above, p. 70.), for there was not a dictator at Rome every year.

‡ Of the twenty-four military tribunes (six for each of the four legions) of the Roman army, the people had at this time the right of appointing six (Liv. vii. 8). In 443 their power of appointment extended to sixteen places (*Id.* ix. 30), leaving only eight to the consuls or dictators.

would only close when it contained what Rome possessed of most value, and that then the duration of the state would be perpetual. While all were in doubt and perplexity, a gallant youth, named M. Curtius, demanded if Rome had anything more precious than arms and valour. He then mounted his horse, fully caparisoned, and while all gazed in silence, regarding now the Capitol and the temples of the gods, now the chasm, he solemnly devoted himself for the weal of Rome; then giving his horse the spurs, he plunged into the gulf and disappeared; the people poured in fruits and other offerings, and the yawning chasm at length closed*.

A war, the cause of which is not assigned, being now declared against the Hernicans, the plebeian consul L. Genucius invaded their territory. But he let himself be surprised, his soldiers fled, and he himself was slain. The victorious Hernicans advanced to assail the camp; but the soldiers, encouraged and headed by the legate C. Sulpicius, made a sally and drove them off. At Rome the news of the defeat and death of the consul gave the utmost joy to the patricians. "This comes," they cried, "of polluting the auspices: men might be insulted and trifled with, not so the immortal gods." Ap. Claudius was forthwith created dictator, and having levied an army he went and joined that under Sulpicius. The Hernicans on their side strained every nerve; all of the military age were summoned to the field; eight cohorts, of four hundred men each†, of chosen youths, with double pay and a promise of future immunity from service if victorious, stood in the front of their line. The courage, skill, and discipline of the two now adverse peoples were equal. The battle was long and obstinate: the Roman knights had to dismount and fight in the front. The conflict ended only with the night: a dubious victory remained with the Romans, who had lost one fourth of their men and several of their knights. Next day the Hernicans abandoned their camp; the Romans were too much exhausted to pursue, but the colonists of Signia fell on and routed them. The following year (394) the Romans ravaged their lands with impunity, and took their town of Ferentinum.

* The legend was evidently invented to give an origin to the *Lacus Curtius*, as a part of the Forum was named. The historian Piso, who sought to rationalise all the legends of the old history, said that it was so named from Meltus Curtius, a Sabine, who in the war between Romulus and Tatius plunged with his horse into the lake which then occupied that place. See Varro L. L. v. 148.

† See above, p. 67, note.

As the legions were returning, the Tiburtines closed their gates against them, which gave occasion to a war with that people.

The Gauls, owing most probably to the influx of new hordes from home, had for many years spread their ravages to the very utmost point of Italy. Latium suffered with the rest; and a Gallic army is said to have appeared at this time on the Anio. T. Quinctius Pennus, the dictator, led an army against them. While they stood opposite each other, a Gaul of gigantic stature advanced on the bridge, and challenged any Roman to engage him. T. Manlius (he who had saved his father) then went to the dictator and craved permission to meet the boastful foe. Leave was freely granted; his comrades armed him and led him against the huge Gaul, who put out his tongue in derision of the pygmy champion. In the combat the Gaul made huge cuts with his heavy broadsword; the Roman running in threw up the bottom of the foeman's great shield with his own, and getting inside of it stabbed him again and again in the belly, till he fell like a mountain. He took nothing from him save his golden collar (*torquis*), whence he derived the name of Torquatus*. The Gauls, dismayed at the fall of their champion, broke up in the night and retired to Tibur.

The following year (395) the Gauls again appeared, and, united with the Tiburtines, committed great ravages in Latium; they even advanced to the walls of Rome, where Q. Servilius Ahala was made dictator, and a battle was fought before the Colline gate. The loss on both sides was considerable, but the Gauls were driven off, and as they approached Tibur they were fallen on by the consul C. Poetelius, and the victory was completed.

Two years after (397) the Gauls came again into Latium and encamped at Penum. The common danger caused a renewal of the ancient alliance between Rome and Latium, and a combined army under the dictator C. Sulpicius took the field. The dictator, loth to risk a battle when the enemy might be overcome more surely by delay, encamped in a strong position, which the Gauls did not venture to attack; but his

* Liv. vii. 9, 10. Gellius (ix. 13) has preserved the picturesque narrative of the annalist Quadrigarius whom Livy has followed closely; the legend was apparently invented to account for the name. The tale how our own *Cœur de Lion* 'robbed the lion of his heart,' is a more modern instance of this practice.

own soldiers grew impatient, and demanded to be led to battle. Sulpicius, fearing that he might not be able to restrain them, complied; but the event justified his caution; the legions were driven back, and were it not for the efforts of despair which they made at the call of the dictator, and a stratagem which he had devised, they would have sustained a defeat. He had the night before sent off all the horse-boys, armed and mounted on mules, into the woods on the hills over his camp, and directed them when he made a signal to show themselves and advance toward that of the enemy. He now made the signal; the Gauls, fearing to be cut off from their camp, fell back; the Romans pressed on them, and they broke and made for the woods, where great numbers of them were slain. The gold found in their camp was walled up in the Capitol, and the dictator was honoured with a well-merited triumph.

But while the arms of Rome were thus fortunate under the dictator, they sustained a disgrace under the consul C. Fabius in Etruria; for the Tarquinians, with whom there now was war, gave him a defeat; and having taken three hundred and seven Roman soldiers, they offered them as victims to their gods. The Roman territory to the south was also ravaged by the Volscians of Velitræ and Privernum: but the next year (398) the Privernates were defeated under their own walls by the consul C. Marcius.

This year was rendered memorable by the condemnation of C. Licinius for the transgression of his own law*. He was fined 10,000 asses for having one thousand jugers of the public land, one half being held in the name of his son, whom he had emancipated for the purpose of eluding the law. By a rogation of the tribunes M. Duilius and L. Mænius, the rate of interest was reduced to ten per cent. (*fœnus unciarium*); on the other hand an attempt was made by the patricians to have laws passed away from the city, by the soldiers when under the military oath. The consul Cn. Manlius held in the camp at Sutrium an assembly of the tribes, and passed a law, imposing an *ad valorem* duty of five per cent. on the emancipation of slaves. The law was a good one; the senate readily gave it their sanction; but the tribunes saw their ulterior object, and made it capital to hold such assemblies in future.

* On this occasion he is said to have declared that "there is no wild-beast more savage than the people, for it does not spare even those that feed it." Dionys. fragm. xiv. 22. It is however an old and a just saying, that law-makers should not be law-breakers.

In 399 the consul M. Fabius engaged a combined army of the Tarquinians and Faliscans. The Tuscan Lucumons, we are told, rushed out in front of their line, shaking serpents* and waving lighted torches. This novel apparition at first daunted the Romans; but they soon shook off the terrors of superstition, routed their foes, and took their camp. It would however appear that the victory was in reality on the side of the Tuscans, for they soon after entered the Salinæ, and it was found necessary to appoint a dictator. The plebeian consul M. Popillius Lænas named the plebeian C. Marcius Rutilus, who made another plebeian, C. Plautius, master of the horse. The patricians refused the dictator all the means of forming an army, but the people gave him everything he required; he defeated the enemy, took eight thousand prisoners, and triumphed without the consent of the patricians.

As the alliance had been renewed with the Latins and Hernicans, the oligarchs resolved to make a bold effort to get rid of the Licinian law; and for five successive years, by means of interrexes and dictators, the consuls were, in spite of the tribunes, both patricians. During this period nothing of note occurred except a defeat of the Tarquinians in 401; on which occasion three hundred and fifty-eight of the principal men among the captives were brought to Rome and put to death in the Forum, in retaliation of their barbarity in the year 397. The Cærites also, being accused of sharing in the war, only escaped the vengeance of Rome by the surrender of one half of their domain†. They were then granted a truce for one hundred years.

At length the patricians were obliged to give way, and (403) C. Marcius Rutilus the plebeian, became the colleague of a Valerius in the consulate.

It might be expected from the names of the consuls that something would be done to relieve the distress of the people. Accordingly, five commissioners (*quinqueviri mensarii*), two patricians and three plebeians‡, were appointed for the liquidation of debts. Money was advanced out of the treasury to those who could give good security; if any one preferred making his property over to his creditors, it was valued and transferred to them. As many objects thus changed hands, a new *census* was required, and in spite of all the efforts of the

* i.e. artificial serpents, *discoloribus in modum serpentum vittis*. Flor. i. 12.

† Dion. frag. 142.

‡ M. Papirius, Tl. Æmilius, C. Duilius, P. Decius Mus, Q. Publilius.

patricians, who had recovered the whole consulate this year (404), C. Marcius Rutilus, who had been the first plebeian dictator, was chosen to be the first plebeian censor.

In the year 405 the Gauls poured once more into Latium. The consul M. Popillius Lænas, a plebeian, marched against them, and took a position on a strong eminence. The Triarii commenced fortifying a camp; the rest of the cohorts were drawn out; the Gauls charged up-hill; the consul received a slight wound and had to retire; this damped the spirit of his men, but he soon returned and restored the battle; the Gauls were driven down into the plain, and they abandoned their camp and fled to the Alban mountains, whence they spread their ravages over the country during the following winter.

The plebeian consul triumphed; but L. Furius Camillus, being made dictator for the elections, had the audacity to nominate himself and another patrician as consuls for the ensuing year (406), and the people were obliged to acquiesce. A large army, composed of Latins and Romans, was formed, which the consul Camillus led into the Pomptine district, where the Gauls then were. While the two armies lay opposite each other, a huge Gallic chief advanced and challenged any Roman to engage him in single combat. M. Valerius, a military tribune, accepted the challenge, with the permission of the consul. Just as the combat began, a crow (*corvus*) came and perched on the Roman's head, and during the fight he continually assailed with his beak and claws the face and eyes of the foeman, whom therefore Valerius easily slew; the crow then rose, and flying to the east was soon out of sight. When the victor went to strip the slain, the nearest Gauls advanced to prevent him; this brought on a general action; the Gauls were worsted and retired, and they never again appeared in Latium. Valerius, who was henceforth named *Corvus**, was rewarded by the consul with ten oxen and a golden crown, and when T. Manlius Torquatus was made dictator for the elections, he named him consul with the plebeian M. Popillius Lænas, although he was not more than three-and-twenty years of age.

In the consulate of T. Manlius Torquatus and C. Plautius (408), a further effort was made to relieve the debtors. In-

* The legend, like that of Torquatus, was invented to account for the name. The *cognomen* was not new; we find in the Fasti for 365 an Aquilius Corvus.

terest was reduced to five per cent. (*fœnus semiunciarium*), and debts were to be paid in four equal instalments, one down, and the remainder in one, two, and three years. It is not unlikely that one of the various reductions of the weight of the *as* took place at this time.

In the year 404 a truce for forty years had been made with the Faliscans and the Tarquinians; the ancient league, as we have seen, had been renewed with the Latins and Hernicans; all was quiet on the side of the Volscians; when Rome had to enter the lists with a foe more formidable than any she had yet encountered.

CHAPTER VI.*

First Samnite War.—Mutiny in the Roman army.—Peace with the Samnites.—Latin War.—Manlius put to death by his Father.—Battle of Vesuvius, and self-devotion of Decius.—Reduction of Latium.—Publilian Laws.—Second Samnite War.—Severity of the Dictator Papirius.—Surrender at the Caudine Forks.—Capture of Sora.—Tuscan War.—Passage of the Ciminian Wood.—Samnite and Tuscan Wars.—Peace with the Samnites.

IN the year 332 a body of the Samnites had descended from their mountains into the rich plains of Campania. By a composition they became the *populus* or ruling order in the city of Vulturnum (henceforth named Capua), a city equal in size to Rome or Veii, and at all times noted for its luxury and its relaxing effects on the minds of those who abode in it†. The Samnites of the city and plain gradually changed their manners, and became estranged from their rugged mountain-brethren. In 412, these last, urged by their adventurous spirit or the pressure of population, came down on the country between the Vulturnus and the Liris, inhabited by the Sidicinians and other Ausonian peoples. The Sidicinians applied to the Campanians for aid, and the militia of Capua took the field against the Samnites; but the hardy mountaineers easily routed them before the walls of Teanum, and then transferring the war to Campania, came and encamped on Mount Tifata, which overhangs Capua. The plundering of their lands, the burning

* Livy, vii. 29,—ix., the Epitomators. † Livy, iv. 37.

of their houses and homesteads drew the Campanians again to the field; but again they were defeated, and were now shut up in their town. Finding their own strength insufficient they looked abroad for aid, and none appearing so well able to afford it as the triple federation south of the Tiber, their envoys appeared at Rome. A treaty of alliance was readily formed with them; and as there had been since 401 an alliance between the Romans and Samnites*, envoys were sent to inform them of this new treaty, and to require them to abstain from hostilities against the allies of the federation. The Samnites looked on this as a breach of treaty, and in the presence of the Roman envoys orders were given to lead the troops into Campania. War against the Samnites was therefore declared at Rome, and the consuls were ordered to take the field.

The consul M. Valerius Corvus led his legions into Campania, where, probably in consequence of some reverses of which we are not informed, he encamped on the side of Mount Gaurus over Cumæ. The Samnite army came full of confidence; the consul led out his troops, and a battle commenced highly important in the history of the world, as the prelude of those which were to decide whether the empire of Italy and of the world was reserved for Rome or for Samnium.

The two armies were equal in courage, and similarly armed and arrayed; that of the Samnites consisted entirely of infantry, and the cavalry, which the consul sent first into action, could make no impression on its firm ranks. He then ordered the cavalry to fall aside to the wings, and led on the legions in person. The fight was most obstinate: each seemed resolved to die rather than yield: at length, a desperate effort of despair on the part of the Romans drove the Samnites back; they wavered, broke, and fled to their intrenched camp, which they abandoned in the night, and fell back to Suessula. They declared to those who asked why they had fled, that the eyes of the Romans seemed to be on fire and their gestures those of madmen, so that they could not stand before them.

The other consul, A. Cornelius Cossus, having been directed to invade Samnium, led his army to Saticula, the nearest Samnite town to Capua. The Apennines in this part run from north to south, in parallel ranges, enclosing fertile valleys, and the road to Beneventum passes over them. The consul, advancing carelessly, had crossed the first range, and his line of march had reached the valley, when on looking back the Romans

* Liv. vii. 19.

saw the wooded heights behind them occupied by a Samnite army: to advance was dangerous, retreat seemed impossible. In this perplexity a tribune named P. Decius proposed to occupy with the Hastats and Principes of one legion (that is, sixteen hundred men,) an eminence over the way along which the Samnites were coming. The consul gave permission; Decius seized the height, which he maintained against all the efforts of the enemy till the favourable moment was lost, and the consul had led back his army and gained the ridge. When night came, the Samnites remained about the hill and went to sleep; in the second watch Decius led down his men in silence, and they took their way through the midst of the slumbering foes. They had gotten half-through, when one of the Romans in stepping over the Samnites struck against a shield; the noise awoke those at hand; the alarm spread; the Romans then raised a shout, fell on all they met, and got off without loss. They reached their own camp while it was yet night, but they halted outside of it till the day was come. At dawn, when their presence was announced, all poured forth to greet them, and Decius was led in triumph through the camp to the consul, who began to extol his deeds; but Decius interrupted him, saying that now was the time to take the enemy by surprise. The army was then led out, and the scattered Samnites were fallen on and routed with great slaughter. After the victory the consul gave Decius a golden crown and a hundred oxen, one of which was white with gilded horns; this Decius offered in sacrifice to Father Mars, the rest he gave to his comrades in peril, and each soldier presented them with a pound of corn and a pint (*sextarius*) of wine, while the consul, giving them each an ox and two garments, assured them of a double allowance of corn in future. The army further wove the obsidional crown of grass and placed it on the brows of Decius, and a similar crown was bestowed on him by his own men. Such were the generous arts by which Rome fostered the heroic spirit in her sons!

Meantime the Samnites at Succula had been largely reinforced, and they spread their ravages over Campania. The two consular armies being united under Valerius, came and encamped hard by them, and as Valerius had left all the baggage and camp-followers behind, the Roman army occupied a much smaller camp than was usual to their numbers. Deceived by the size of their camp the Samnites clamoured to storm it, but the caution of their leaders withheld them. Necessity

soon compelled them to scour the country in quest of provisions, and emboldened by the consul's inactivity they went to greater and greater distances. This was what Valerius waited for; he suddenly assailed and took their camp, which was but slightly guarded; then leaving two legions to keep it, he divided the rest of the army, and falling on the scattered Samnites cut them everywhere to pieces. The shields of the slain and fugitives amounted, we are told, to forty thousand, the captured standards to one hundred and seventy. Both consuls triumphed.

While the Roman arms were thus engaged in Campania, the Latins invaded the territory of the Pelignians, the kinsmen and allies of the Samnites.

No military events are recorded of the year 413, but a strange tale of an insurrection of the Roman army has been handed down. The tale runs thus: the Roman soldiers, who at the end of the last campaign, had been left to winter in Capua, corrupted by the luxury which they there witnessed and enjoyed, formed the nefarious plan of massacring the inhabitants and seizing the town. Their projects had not ripened, when C. Marcius Rutilus, the consul for 413, came to take the command. He first, to keep them quiet, gave out that the troops were to be quartered in Capua the following winter also; then noting the ringleaders, he sent them home under various pretexts and gave furloughs to any that asked for them; His colleague, Q. Servilius Ahala, meantime taking care to detain all who came to Rome. The stratagem succeeded for some time; but at length the soldiers perceived that none of their comrades came back; and a cohort that was going home on furlough halted at Lautulæ, a narrow pass between the sea and the mountains east of Tarracina*; it was there joined by all who were going home singly on leave, and the whole number soon equalled that of an army. They soon after broke up, and marching for Rome encamped under Alba Longa. Feeling their want of a leader, and learning that T. Quinctius, a distinguished patrician, who being lame of one leg from a wound had retired from the city, was living on his farm in the Tusculan district, they sent a party by night, who seized him in his bed, and gave him the option of death or becoming their commander. He therefore came to the camp, where he was saluted as general, and desired to lead them to Rome. Eight miles from the city they were met by an army led by

* Livy's description of this pass (vii. 39.) is very accurate.

the dictator M. Valerius Corvus. Each side shuddered at the thought of civil war, and readily agreed to a conference. The mutineers consented to entrust their cause to the dictator, whose name was a sufficient security. He rode back to the city, and at his desire the senate and curies decreed that none should be punished for, or even reproached with, their share in the mutiny, that no soldier's name should be struck out of the roll without his own consent, that no one who had been a tribune should be made a centurion, and that the pay of the knights (as they had refused to join in the mutiny) should be reduced. And thus this formidable mutiny commenced in crime and ended in—nothing!

Another and a far more probable account says that the insurrection broke out in the city, where the plebeians took arms, and having seized C. Manlius in the night, and forced him to be their leader, went out and encamped four miles from the city, where, as it would seem, they were joined by the army from Campania. The consuls raised an army and advanced against them; but when the two armies met, that of the consuls saluted the insurgents, and the soldiers embraced one another. The consuls then advised the senate to comply with the desires of the people, and peace was effected.

The still existing weight of debt seems to have been the cause of this secession also, and a cancel of debts to have been a condition of the peace*. Lending on interest at all is said to have been prohibited at this time by a *plebiscitum*, or decree of the tribes; and others were passed forbidding any one to hold the same office till after an interval of ten years, or to hold two offices at the same time. It was also decreed that both the consuls might be plebeians. The name of the tribune L. Genucius being mentioned, it is probable that he was the author of the new laws.

The following year (414)† peace was made with the Samnites, on the light condition of their giving a year's pay and three months' provisions to the Roman army; and they were allowed to make war on the Sidicinians. This moderation on the side of the Romans might cause surprise, were it not that we know they now apprehended a conflict with their ancient allies the Latins; for the original terms of their federation could not remain in force, and one or other must become the dominant state.

* Auct. de Vir. illustr. 29.

† That of the battle of Chæronœia.

The Sidicinians and Campanians, on being thus abandoned, put themselves under the protection of the Latins, with whom the Volscians also formed an alliance. The Hernicans adhered to the Romans, and the Samnites also became their allies. As war between Rome and Latium seemed inevitable, T. Manlius Torquatus, and P. Decius Mus* were made consuls for the ensuing year with a view to it. But the Latins would first try the path of peace and accommodation; and at the call, it is said, of the Roman senate, their two prætors and ten principal senators repaired to Rome. Audience was given to them on the Capitol, and nothing could be more reasonable than their demands. Though the Latins were now the more numerous people of the two, they only required a union of perfect equality,—one of the consuls and one half of the senate to be Latins, while Rome should be the seat of government, and Romans the name of the united nation. But the senate exclaimed against the unheard-of extravagance of these demands, the gods were invoked as witnesses of this scandalous breach of faith, and the consul Manlius vowed that if they consented to be thus dictated to, he would come girt with his sword into the senate-house and slay the first Latin he saw there. Tradition said, that when the gods were appealed to, and the Latin prætor L. Annius spoke with contempt of the Roman Jupiter, loud claps of thunder and a sudden storm of wind and rain told the anger of the deity, and that as Annius went off full of rage, he tumbled down the flight of steps and lay lifeless at the bottom. It was with difficulty that the magistrates saved the other envoys from the fury of the people. War was forthwith declared, and the consular armies were levied.

As the Latin legions were now in Campania (415), the Romans, instead of taking the direct route through Latium, made a circuit through the country of the Sabines, Marsians, and Pelignians†, and being joined by the Samnites, and probably the Hernicans, came and encamped before the Latins near Capua. Here a dream presented itself to the consuls: the form of a man, of size more than human, appeared to each, and announced that the general on one side, the army on the other, was due to the Manes and Mother Earth; of whichever people the general should devote himself and the adverse le-

* This was the Decius who had saved the army in the campaign of 412.

† It was evidently the object of the Romans to form a junction with their allies. Perhaps, too, the Latins had occupied the pass of Lautulæ.

gions, theirs would be the victory. The victims when slain portending the same, the consuls announced, in presence of their officers, that he of them whose forces first began to yield would devote himself for Rome.

To restore strict discipline and to prevent any treachery, the consuls forbade, under pain of death, any single combats with the enemy. One day the son of the consul Manlius chanced with his troop of horse to come near to where the Tusculan horse was stationed, whose commander, Geminus Metius, knowing young Manlius, challenged him to a single combat. Shame and indignation overpowered the sense of duty in the mind of the Roman; they ran against each other, and the Tusculan fell; the victor, bearing the bloody spoils, returned to the camp and came with them to his father. The consul said nothing, but forthwith called an assembly of the army; then reproaching his son with his breach of discipline, he ordered the lictor to lay hold of him and bind him to the stake. The assembly stood mute with horror; but when the axe fell, and the blood of the gallant youth gushed forth, bitter lamentation, mingled with curses on the ruthless sire, arose. They took up the body of the slain, and buried it, without the camp, covered with the spoils he had won; and when after the war Manlius entered Rome in triumph, the young men would not go forth to receive him, and throughout life he was to them an object of hatred and aversion.

The war between Rome and Latium was little less than civil; the soldiers and officers had for years served together in the same companies and they were all acquainted. They now stood in battle-array opposite each other at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, the Samnites and Hernicans being opposed to the Oscan allies of the Latins. Both the consuls sacrificed before the battle; the entrails of the victim offered by Decius portended misfortune, but hearing that the signs boded well to Manlius, "T is well," said he, "if my colleague has good signs." In the battle, the left wing, led by Decius, was giving way; the consul saw that his hour was come; he called aloud for M. Valerius, the Pontifex Maximus, and standing on a naked weapon, clad in his consular robe, his head veiled, and his hand on his chin, he repeated after the pontiff the form of devotion*. He then sent the lictors to announce to Man-

* The form of devotion was as follows: "Janus, Jupiter, Father Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, Lares, ye nine gods (*Novensiles*), ye Indigetes, ye gods who have power over us and our enemies, ye gods of the dead, you I pray,

lius what he had done, and girding his robe tightly round him*, and mounting his horse, he rushed into the midst of the enemies. He seemed a destructive spirit sent from heaven; wherever he came he carried dismay and death; at length he fell covered with wounds. The ardour of the Roman soldiers revived, and the skill of Manlius secured the victory. When the front ranks (*Antesignani*) of both armies were wearied, he ordered the *Accensi* to advance; the Latins then sent forward their *Triarians*; and when these were wearied, the consul ordered the Roman *Triarians* to rise and advance. The Latins having no fresh troops to oppose to them were speedily defeated, and so great was the slaughter that but one fourth of their army escaped. Next day the body of the consul Decius was found amidst heaps of slain, and magnificently interred.

The Latins fled to the town of Vescia, and by the advice of their prætor Numisius a general levy was made in Latium, with which, in reliance on the reduced state of the Roman army, he ventured to give the consul battle at a place named Trifanum, between Sinuessa and Minturnæ, on the other side of the Liris. The rout of the Latins, however, was so complete, that few of the towns even thought of resistance when the consul entered Latium. The Latin public land, two thirds of that of Privernum, and the Falernian district of Campania, were seized for the Roman people, and assignments of $2\frac{1}{2}$ jugers on this side, $3\frac{1}{4}$ on the other side of the Liris, were made to the poor plebeians, who murmured greatly at the large quantity that was reserved as domain. As the Campanian knights (sixteen hundred in number) had remained faithful to Rome, to compensate them for the loss of the Falernian land, they were given the Roman *municipium*, and each assigned a rent charge of 350 denars a year on the state of Capua.

The Latin and Volscian towns continued singly to resist, and the conquest was not completed till the year 417. Prudence and some moderation were requisite on the part of Rome, in order not to have rebellious subjects in the Latins. Citizenship therefore, in different degrees, was conferred on them;

worship, implore, that ye will give strength and victory to the Roman people and the Quirites, and that ye will send terror, fear, and death to the enemies of the Roman people and the Quirites. As I have spoken so do I devote myself for the republic, the army, legions and auxiliaries of the Roman people and Quirites, and with me the legions and auxiliaries of the enemy to the gods of the dead and to Mother Earth."

* The Gabinæ cincture.

but they were forbidden to hold national diets, and commerce and intermarriage between the people of their different towns were prohibited. The principal families of Velitræ were forced to go and live beyond the Tiber, and their lands were given to Roman colonists. Their ships of war were taken from the Antiates, who were forbidden to possess any in future. Some of them were brought to Rome; the beaks (*rostra*) of others were cut off, and the pulpit (*suggestum*) in the Forum was adorned with them, whence it was named the Rostra*. The *municipium*, such as the Latins had formerly had it, was given to the people of Capua, Cumæ, Suessula, Fundi, and Formiæ. The Latin contingents in war were henceforth to serve under their own officers apart from the legions.

While the Roman dominion was thus extended without, wise and patriotic men of both orders saw the necessity of internal concord, and of abolishing antiquated and now mischievous claims and pretensions. In 416, therefore, the patrician consul Tib. Æmilius named his plebeian colleague Q. Publilius Philo dictator†, who then brought forward the following laws to complete the constitution. 1. The patricians should give a previous consent to any law that was to be brought before the centuries: for as such a law must previously have passed the senate, and the centuries could make no alteration in it, and more wisdom was not likely to be found in the curies than in the senate and centuries united, their opposition could hardly have any ground but prejudice and spite. 2. The *Plebiscita* should be binding on all Quirites. The object of this law was the same; for as the people now occupied the place of the former *Populus*, and every measure was approved of and prepared in the senate, the leaving the power of rejecting it with the patricians was needless and might be mischievous. 3. One of the censors should of necessity be a plebeian.—The curies were induced, we know not how, to give their assent to these laws. Internal discord was now at an end, and the golden age of Roman heroism and virtue began.

The affairs for the ten succeeding years‡ are of compara-

* The Rostra, as represented on a medal of M. Lollius Palicanus, was a semicircular pulpit with five or more semicircular projections, between which were the beaks.

† Publilius was the first plebeian prætor A.U. 417. Liv. viii. 15.

‡ It was during this period (418–429) that Alexander the Great achieved the conquest of the East. The Romans are mentioned among the peoples who sent him embassies the year before that of his death, which occurred A.U. 429.

tive unimportance. The Romans and Samnites both knew that another war was inevitable, and they made the necessary preparations for it. In the year 428 the people of the Greek town of Palæpolis (*Old town*) being in alliance with the Samnites, began to exercise hostilities against the Roman colonists in Campania. As they refused to give satisfaction, the consul Q. Publilius Philo was sent against them, while his colleague, L. Cornelius Lentulus, watched the motions of the Samnites. Publilius encamped between Palæpolis and its kindred town of Neapolis, (*New town*), and on his sending word home that there was a large body of Samnite and Nolan troops in them, envoys were sent to Samnium to complain of this breach of treaty. The Samnites replied that those were volunteers, over whom the state had no control; that moreover they had not, as the Romans had alleged, excited the people of Fundi and Formiæ to revolt, while the Romans had sent a colony to Fre-gellæ, in a district which of right was theirs; that, in fine, there was no use in arguing or complaining when the plain between Capua and Suessula offered a space on which they might decide whose should be the empire of Italy. The Roman fetial then veiled his head, and with hands raised to heaven prayed the gods to prosper the arms and counsels of Rome if right was on her side; if not, to blast and confound them. Right certainly was not on the side of Rome, for she had first violated the treaty; but war was not to be averted, and it was now to begin.

A Roman army entered Samnium on the Volscian side, ravaged the country, and took some towns. Publilius' year having expired, his command was continued to him (429) under the new title of Proconsul; and soon a party in Neapolis, weary of the insolence of the foreign soldiers, began to plot a surrender. While Nymphius, one of the leading men, induced the Samnites to go out of the town, to embark in the ships in the port, and make a descent on the coast of Latium, Charilæus, another of the party, closed the gate after them, and admitted the Romans at another. The Samnites instantly dispersed and fled home; the Nolans retired from the town unmolested.

A chief ally of the Samnites were the people of the Greek city of Tarentum; on the other hand, their kinsmen, the Apulians and Lucanians, were in alliance with Rome. But in this year, a revolution, of the precise nature of which we are un-informed, took place in Lucania, the consequence of which

was the subjection of the country to Samnium*. A similar fate menaced the Apulians, if not aided; but to reach Apulia it was necessary to pass through the Vestinian country, the people of which (one of the Marsian confederacy,) refused a passage. It was apprehended at Rome, that if the Vestinians were attacked, the other three states, who were now neutral, would take arms, and throw their weight into the Samnite scale, and their valour was well known; but, on the other hand, the importance of Apulia, in a military point of view, was too great to allow it to be lost. The consul D. Junius Brutus accordingly led his army (430) into the Vestinian country: a hard-fought victory, and the capture of two of their towns, reduced the Vestinians to submission, and the other members of the league remained at peace.

The other consul, L. Camillus, fell sick as he was about to invade Samnium, and L. Papirius Cursor was made dictator; but as there was said to have been some error in the auspices, he was obliged to return to Rome to renew them. As he was departing, he strictly charged Q. Fabius Rullianus, the master of the horse, whom he left in command, not to risk an action on any account during his absence. But, heedless of his orders, Fabius seized the first occasion of engaging the enemy, over whom he gained a complete victory. As soon as the dictator learned what had occurred, he hastened to the camp, breathing fury. Fabius, warned of his approach, besought the soldiers to protect him. Papirius came, ascended his tribunal, summoned the master of the horse before him, and demanded why he had disobeyed orders, and thus weakened the military discipline. His defence but irritated his judge the more; the lictors approached and began to strip him for death; he broke from them, and sought refuge among the Triarians: confusion arose; those nearest the tribunal prayed, the more remote menaced, the dictator: the legates came round him, entreating him to defer his judgment till the next day; but he would not hear them. Night at length ended the contest.

During the night Fabius fled to Rome, and by his father's advice made his complaint of the dictator to the assembled senate; but while he was speaking, Papirius, who had followed

* In many parts of Italy there was the same struggle between the aristocratic and democratic parties as in Greece, and hence the change of foreign politics as each acquired the ascendancy. The aristocratic party was always in favour of Rome.

him from the camp with the utmost rapidity, entered, and ordered his lictors to seize him. The senate implored ; but he was inexorable : the elder Fabius then appealed to the people, before whom he enlarged on the cruelty of the dictator. Every heart beat in unison with that of the time-honoured father ; but when Papirius showed the rigorous necessity of upholding military discipline, by which the state was maintained, all were silent, from conviction. At length the people and their tribunes united with Fabius and the senate in supplication, and the dictator, deeming his authority sufficiently vindicated, granted life to his master of the horse.

Papirius, when he returned to his army, gave the Samnites a decisive defeat ; and having divided the spoil among his soldiers to regain their favour, and granted a truce for a year to the enemy, on condition of their giving each soldier a garment and a year's pay, he returned to Rome and triumphed.

The events of the next year (431) are dubious ; but in 432 the camp of the dictator, A. Cornelius Arvina, who had entered Samnium without sufficient caution, was surprised by a superior force of the enemy. The day closed before an attack could be made, and in the night the dictator, leaving a number of fires burning in the camp, led away his legions in silence. But the enemy were on the alert, and their cavalry hung on the retiring army, to slacken its pace. With day-break the Samnite infantry came up, and the dictator, finding further retreat impossible, drew his forces up in order of battle. A desperate conflict commenced ; during five hours neither side gave way an inch ; the Samnite horse, seeing the baggage of the Romans but slightly guarded, made for it, and began to plunder ; while thus engaged, they were fallen on and cut to pieces by the Roman horse, who then turned and assailed the now unprotected rear of the Samnite infantry. The dictator urged his legions to new exertions ; the Samnites wavered, broke, and fled ; their general and thousands fell, and thousands were made captives.

Meantime, on the side of Apulia an equally glorious victory was gained by the consul Q. Fabius ; and the spirit of the Samnites being now quite broken, they were anxious for peace on almost any terms. As it is usual with a people, when measures to which they have given their full and eager consent have failed, to throw the entire blame on their leaders, so now the Samnites cast all their misfortunes on Papius Brutulus, one of their principal men, and resolved to deliver him

up to the Romans as the cause of the war. The noble Samnite saved himself from disgrace by a voluntary death; his lifeless corpse was carried to Rome; the Roman prisoners, of whom there was a large number, were released, and gold was sent to ransom the Samnites. The utmost readiness to yield to all reasonable terms was evinced; but nothing would content the haughty senate but the supremacy*, and sooner than thus resign their national independence the Samnites resolved to dare and endure the uttermost.

In the spring (433) the Roman legions, led by the consuls T. Veturius and Sp. Postumius, encamped at Callatia in Campania, with the intention of directing their entire force against central Samnium. But the Samnite general, C. Pontius, having spread a false report that Nuceria, in Apulia, was hard pressed by a Samnite army, and on the point of surrender, the consuls resolved to attempt its relief without delay. They entered the Samnite country, and advanced heedlessly and incautiously. In the vicinity of the town of Caudium they reached the Caudine Forks, as a pass was named consisting of a deep valley between two wooded mountains; a hollow way led into it at one end, and a narrow path over a mountain, which closed it up, led out of it at the other end. Into these toils the consuls conducted their army; they saw nothing to alarm them till the head of the column came to the further end, and found the passage stopped with rocks and trunks of trees, and on looking round they beheld the hills occupied by soldiery. To advance or to retreat was now equally impossible; they therefore threw up entrenchments in the valley, and remained there, the Samnites not attacking them, in reliance on the aid of famine†. At length, when their food was spent and hunger began to be felt, they sent deputies to learn the will of the Samnite leaders. It is said that Pontius, on this occasion, sent for his father to advise him: this venerable old man, who, in high repute for wisdom, dwelt at Caudium, was conveyed to the camp in a wain, and his advice was either to let the Romans go free and uninjured, or totally to destroy the army. Pontius preferred a middle course, and

* Answering to the *hegemony* of the Greeks. See *Hist. of Greece passim*.

† There is good reason however to suppose that the Romans made a desperate effort to extricate themselves, and were driven back with great slaughter. Appian, *Samn.* iv. 6. Cicero *de Off.* iii. 30. Compare the description of a Roman army enclosed in a similar situation by the Æquian general Clælius Gracchus, in Dionysius, x. 23.

the old man retired, shedding tears at the misery he saw thence to come on his country. The terms accorded by Pontius were the restoration of the ancient alliance between Rome and Samnium; the withdrawal of Roman colonies from places belonging to the Samnites; and the giving back of all places to which they had a right. The arms and baggage of the vanquished army, were, as a matter of course, to be given up to the conquerors. How rarely has Rome ever granted a vanquished enemy terms so mild as these! Yet the Roman historians had the audacity to talk of the insolence of the victorious Samnites, and the Roman senate and people the baseness and barbarity to put to an ignominious death the noble Pontius twenty-seven years after!

These terms were sworn to by the consuls and their principal officers, and six hundred knights were given as hostages till they should have been ratified by the senate and people. A passage wide enough for one person to pass was made in the paling with which the Samnites had enclosed them*, and one of the pales laid across it, and through this door the consuls, followed by their officers and men, each in a single garment, came forth. Pontius gave beasts of burden to convey the sick and wounded, and provisions enough to take the army to Rome. They then departed and reached Capua before nightfall; but shame, or doubt of the reception they might meet with, kept them from entering. Next morning however all the people came out to meet and console them. Refreshments and aid of every kind were given them, and they thence pursued their way to Rome.

When the news of their calamity had first reached Rome, a total cessation of business (*justitium*) had taken place, and a general levy, either to attempt their relief or to defend the city, had been made, and all orders of people went into mourning†. In this state of things the disgraced army reached the gates. It there dispersed; those who lived in the country went away; those who dwelt in the city slunk with night to their houses. The consuls, having named a dictator for the consular elections, laid down their office; and Q. Publilius Philo and L. Papirius Cursor were appointed to be their successors.

The senate having met to consider of the peace, the consul Publilius called on Sp. Postumius to give his opinion. He rose with downcast looks, and advised that himself and all who had sworn to the treaty should be delivered up to the

* Appian, Samn. iv. 6. Gellius, xvii. 21.

† Appian, Samn. iv. 7.

Samnites, as having deceived them, by making a treaty without the consent of the Roman people, and a fresh army be levied, and the war renewed; and though there was hardly a senator who had not a son or some other relative among the hostages, it was resolved to do as he advised. Postumius and his companions were taken bound to Caudium; the fetial led them before the tribunal of Pontius, and made the surrender of them in the solemn form. Postumius, as he concluded, struck his knee against the fetial's thigh, and drove him off, crying, "I am now a Samnite, thou an ambassador: I thus violate the law of nations; ye may justly now resume the war."

Pontius replied with dignity: he treated this act of religious hypocrisy as a childish manœuvre; he told the Romans that if they wished to renounce the treaty with any show of justice, they should place their legions as they were when it was made; but their present conduct he said was base and unworthy, and he would not accept such a surrender as this, or let them thus hope to avert the anger of the gods. He then ordered Postumius and the other Romans to be unbound and dismissed.

The war therefore was renewed, and the Romans returning to their original plan of carrying it on simultaneously in Apulia and on the western frontier of Samnium, sent (435) the consul Papirius to lay siege to Nuceria, which was now in the hands of the Samnites, while his colleague Publilius led his army into Samnium. Papirius sat down before Nuceria; but a Samnite army came and encamped at hand, and rendered his communication with Arpi, whence he drew his supplies, so difficult, that it was only by the knights going and fetching corn in little bags on their horses that any food could be had in the camp. They were at length relieved by the arrival of Publilius, who having defeated a Samnite army marched to their aid; and after a fruitless attempt of the Tarentines to mediate a peace, the Romans attacked and stormed the Samnite camp with great slaughter, which, though they were unable to retain it, had the effect of making the Samnite army retire, and leave Nuceria to its fate. Its garrison of seven thousand men then capitulated, on condition of a free passage, without arms or baggage*.

The two following years were years of truce, in consequence of exhaustion on both sides; and during the truce the Romans

* As it appears from Diodorus (xix. 72.) that Nuceria was not taken till 439, Niebuhr regards this as a fiction of the Romans, anxious to efface as soon as possible the disgrace at Caudium.

so extended and consolidated their dominion in Apulia that no attempt was ever after made to shake it off. The war was resumed in 438, and the Romans laid siege to Saticula, an Oscan town not far from Capua and in alliance with the Samnites. Meantime the Samnites reduced the colonial town of Plistia; and the Volscians of Sora, having slain their Roman garrison, revolted to them. They then made an attack on the Roman army before Saticula, but were defeated with great loss, and the town immediately surrendered. The Roman armies forthwith entered and ravaged Samnium, and the seat of war was transferred to Apulia. While the consular armies were thus distant, the Samnites made a general levy, and came and took a position at Lautulæ, in order to cut off the communication between Rome and Campania. The dictator, Q. Fabius, instantly levied an army, and hastened to give them battle. The Romans were utterly defeated, and fled from the field; the master of the horse, Q. Aulus, unable to outlive the disgrace of flight, maintained his ground, and fell fighting bravely. Revolt spread far and wide among the Roman subjects in the vicinity; the danger was great and imminent, but the fortune of Rome prevailed, and the menacing storm dispersed.

In 440 the Samnites sustained a great defeat near a town named Ciunna, whose site is unknown. The Campanians, who were in the act of revolting at this time, submitted on the appearance of the dictator, C. Mænius, and the most guilty withdrew themselves from punishment by a voluntary death. The Ausonian towns, Ausona, Minturnæ, and Vescia, were taken by treachery and stratagem, and their population massacred or enslaved, as a fearful lesson to the subjects of Rome against wavering in their allegiance.

The united armies of the consuls, M. Pœtelius and C. Sulpicius, entered Samnium on the side of Caudium; but while they were advancing timidly and cautiously through that formidable region, they learned that the Samnite army was wasting the plain of Campania. They immediately led back their forces, and ere long the two armies encountered. The tactics of the Romans were new on this occasion; the left wing, under Pœtelius, was made dense and deep, while the right was expanded more than usual*. Pœtelius, adding the reserve to his wing, made a steady charge with the whole mass: the

* These were the tactics of Epaminondas at Mantinea. Hist. of Greece, p. 357.

Samnites gave way ; their horse hastened to their aid ; but Sulpicius coming up with his body of horse, and charging them with the whole Roman cavalry, put them to the rout. He then hastened to his own wing which now was yielding ; the timely reinforcement turned the beam, and the Samnites were routed on all sides with great slaughter.

The following year (441) was marked by the capture of Nola and some other towns, and by the founding of colonies, to secure the dominion which had been acquired. In 442 Sora was taken in the following manner. A deserter came to the consuls, and offered to lead some Roman soldiers by a secret path up to the Arx, or citadel, which was a precipitous eminence over the town. His offer was accepted ; the legions were withdrawn to a distance of six miles from the town ; some cohorts were concealed in a wood at hand, and ten men accompanied the Soran traitor. They clambered in the night up through the stones and bushes, and at length reached the area of the citadel. Their guide, showing them the narrow steep path that led thence to the town, desired them to guard it while he went down and gave the alarm. He then ran through the town crying that the enemy was on the citadel ; and when the truth of his report was ascertained, the people prepared to fly from the town ; but in the confusion, the Roman cohorts broke in and commenced a massacre. At daybreak the consuls came ; they granted their lives to the surviving inhabitants, with the exception of two hundred and twenty-five, who, as the authors of the revolt, were brought bound to Rome, and scourged and beheaded in the Forum.

The tide of war had turned so decidedly against the Samnites, that one or two campaigns more of the whole force of Rome would have sufficed for their subjugation. But just now a new enemy was about to appear, who was likely to give ample employment to the Roman arms for some time. The Etruscans, who, probably owing to their contests with and fears of the Gauls, had for many years abstained from war with the Romans, either moved by the instances of the Samnites or aware of the danger of suffering Rome to grow too powerful, began to make such hostile manifestations that great alarm prevailed at Rome. Various circumstances, however, kept off the war for nearly two years longer ; at length in 443 all the peoples of Etruria, except the Arretines, having sent their troops, a Tuscan army prepared to lay siege to the fron-

tier town of Sutrium. The consul Q. Æmilius came to cover it, and the two armies met before it. At daybreak of the second day, the Tuscans drew out in order of battle; the consul, having made his men take their breakfast, led them out also. The armies stood opposite each other, each hesitating to begin, till after noon; the Tuscans then fell on: night terminated a bloody and indecisive action, each retired to their camp, and neither felt themselves strong enough to renew the conflict next day.

The next year (444) a Tuscan army having laid siege to Sutrium, the consul Q. Fabius hastened from Rome to its relief. As his troops were far inferior to the Etruscans in number, he led them cautiously along the hills. The enemy drew out his forces in the plain to give him battle; but the consul, fearing to descend, formed his array on the hill-side in a part covered with loose stones. Relying on their numbers the Tuscans charged up-hill; the Romans hurled stones and missile weapons on them, and then charging, with the advantage of the ground, drove them back, and the horse getting between them and their camp forced them to take refuge in the adjacent Ciminian wood. Their camp became the prize of the victors.

Like so many others in the early Roman history, this battle has probably been given a magnitude and an importance which does not belong to it, and the truth would seem to be, that the consul only repulsed the advanced guard of the enemy, and not feeling himself strong enough to engage their main army, resolved to create a diversion by invading their country.

To the north of Sutrium, between it and the modern city of Viterbo, extends a range of high ground, which at that time formed the boundary between Roman and independent Etruria. It was covered with natural wood, and was thence named the Ciminian Wood. Over this barrier Fabius resolved to lead his troops. He sent to inform the senate of his plan, in order that measures might be taken for the defence of the country during his absence. Meantime he directed one of his brothers, who spoke the Tuscan language, to penetrate in disguise to the Umbrians, and to form alliances with any of them that were hostile to the Etruscans. The only people however whom the envoy found so disposed were the Camertines, who agreed to join the Romans if they penetrated to their country.

The senate, daunted at the boldness of Fabius' plan, sent five deputies accompanied by two tribunes of the people to

forbid him to enter the wood, perhaps to arrest him if he should hesitate to obey*. But they came too late: in the first watch of the night Fabius sent forward his baggage, the infantry followed; he himself a little before sunrise led the horse up to the enemy's camp, as it were to reconnoitre. In the evening he returned to his own camp, and then set out and came up with his infantry before night. At daybreak they reached the summit of the mountain, and beheld the cultured vales and plains of Etruria stretched out before them. They hastened to seize the offered prey: the Etruscan nobles assembled their vassals to oppose them, but they could offer no effectual resistance to the disciplined troops of Rome. The Roman army spread their ravages as far as Perugia, where they encountered and totally defeated a combined army of Etruscans and Umbrians; and Perugia, Cortona, and Arretium, three of the leading cities of Etruria, sent forthwith to sue for peace, which was granted for a term of thirty years. As the Romans were returning to the relief of Sutrium they encountered at the lake of Vadimo another Etruscan army, of select troops bound by a solemn oath (*lege sacrata*) to fight to their uttermost†. The two armies engaged hand to hand at once; the first ranks fought till they were exhausted; the reserve then advanced, and the victory was only decided by the Roman knights dismounting and taking their place in the front of the line.

While Fabius was conducting the war in Etruria, his colleague C. Marcius had entered Samnium and taken Allifæ and some other strongholds. The Samnites collected their forces and gave him battle, and the Romans were defeated; several of their officers slain, the consul himself wounded, and their communication with Rome cut off. When the news reached

* The whole account given by Livy of the Ciminian Wood and its horrors, and the passage of it by the Romans, is ridiculously romantic: "*Silva erat Ciminia*," are his words, "*magis tum in via atque horrenda quam nuper fuere Germanici saltus; nulli ad eam diem ne mercatorum quidem adita.*" This he says, speaking of a range of no great elevation and actually within forty miles of Rome. Nay, it would seem from his account that the mere ascent occupied the Romans two nights and a day. We may here observe, that the distance from Ronciglione at the southern, to Viterbo at the northern foot, is only sixteen miles, which may be traversed with ease in three or four hours. But what might seem extraordinary, were it not for the writer's notorious carelessness, is, that he had actually related (v. 32) how the Romans, eighty years before, had plundered the lands of the Vulturnians which lay about the lake of Bolsena, many miles to the north of the Ciminian hills.

† These were probably the troops of the western towns.

Rome, the senate at once resolved to create a dictator, and to send him off to the relief of Marcius with the reserve which had been levied on account of the Etruscan war. Their hopes lay in L. Papirius Cursor; but the dictator could only be named by the consul; there was no way of reaching Marcius, and Fabius had not yet forgiven the man who had thirsted after his blood. The resolve of the senate was borne to Fabius by consulars; they urged him to sacrifice his private feelings to the good of his country: he heard them in silence, his eyes fixed on the ground, and they retired in uncertainty. In the stillness of the night he arose, and, as was the usage, named L. Papirius dictator, and in the morning he again listened in silence to the thanks and praises of the deputies. The dictator immediately set forth and relieved the army of Marcius, but, impetuous as he was, he contented himself for some time with merely observing the enemy.

At length the time arrived for a decisive action. The Samnite army was divided into two corps, the one clad in purple, the other in white linen tunics, the former having their brazen shields adorned with gold, the latter with silver: the shields were broad above, narrow below. Each soldier wore a crested helmet, a large sponge to protect his breast, and a greave on his left leg. In the battle the Roman dictator led the right wing against the gold-shielded, the master of the horse, C. Junius, the left against the silver-shielded Samnites. Junius made the first impression on the enemy; the dictator urged his men to emulation, and the Roman horse by a charge on both flanks completed the victory. The Samnites fled to their camp, but were unable to retain it, and ere night it was sacked and burnt. The golden shields adorned the dictator's triumph, and they were then given to the money-dealers to ornament their shops in the Forum.

Q. Fabius was continued in the consulate for 445, and P. Decius given to him as his colleague; the former had the Samnite, the latter the Etruscan war. Fabius routed the Marsians and Pelignians, who had now joined against Rome, and he then led his legions into Umbria, whose people had taken arms, and with little difficulty reduced them to submission. Decius meantime had forced the Etruscans to sue for peace, and a year's truce was granted them on their giving each soldier two tunics, and a year's pay for the army.

In the remaining years of the war, the exhausted powers of the Samnites could offer but a feeble resistance to the legions

of Rome. On the occasion of a defeat which they sustained in 446, the proconsul Q. Fabius adopted the novel course of dismissing the Samnite prisoners, and selling for slaves those of their allies. Among these there were several Hernicans, whom he sent to Rome; the senate having instituted an inquiry into the conduct of the Hernican people in this affair, those who had urged them to give aid to the Samnites now engaged them to take arms openly. All the Hernican peoples but three shared in the war; but they made a stand little worthy of their old renown; one short campaign sufficed for their reduction, and they were placed (447) on nearly the same footing as the Latins had been thirty years before.

The Samnites at length (449) sued for peace, and obtained it on the condition they had so often spurned, that of acknowledging Rome's supremacy, in other words, of yielding up their independence; but peace on any terms was now necessary, that they might recruit their strength for future efforts. The Romans then turned their arms against the Æquians who had joined the Hernicans in aiding the Samnites, and in fifty days the consuls reduced and destroyed forty-one of their Cyclopi-an-walled towns. The Marsian League sought and obtained peace from Rome.

CHAPTER VII.*

Third Samnite and Etruscan Wars.—Battle of Sentinum and self-devotion of Decius.—Battle of Aquilonia.—Reduction of the Samnites.—Hortensian Law.—Worship of Æsculapius introduced.—Lucanian War.—Roman Embassy insulted at Tarentum.—Gallic and Etruscan War.

FOUR years passed away in tolerable tranquillity; in 454 Lucanian envoys appeared at Rome, praying for aid against the Samnites who had entered their country in arms, given them various defeats, and taken several of their towns. The Romans, in right of their supremacy, sent orders to the Samnites to withdraw their troops from Lucania: the pride of the Samnites was roused at being thus reminded of their subjection; they ordered the fetials off their territory, and war was once

* Livy, x., the Epitomators.

more declared against them by the Romans. As the Etruscans were now also in arms, the consul L. Cornelius Scipio went against them, while his colleague Cn. Fulvius invaded Samnium.

Scipio engaged a numerous Etruscan army near Volaterræ. Night ended a hard-fought battle, leaving it undecided. The morn however revealed that the advantage was on the side of the Romans, as the enemy had abandoned their camp during the night. Having placed his baggage and stores at Falerii, Scipio spread his ravages over the country, burning the villages and hamlets; and no army appeared to oppose him. Fulvius meantime carried on the war with credit in Samnium. Near Bovianum he defeated a Samnite army, and took that town and another named Aufidena.

The rumour of the great preparations which the Samnites and the Etruscans were said to be making caused the people to elect Q. Fabius to the consulate, against his will; and at his own request they joined with him P. Decius. As the Etruscans remained quiet, both the consuls invaded Samnium (455), Fabius entering from Sora, Decius from Sidicinum. The Samnites gave Fabius battle near Tifernum: their infantry stood firm against that of the Romans: the charge of the Roman cavalry had as little effect. At length, when the reserve had come to the front, and the contest was most obstinate, the legate Scipio, whom the consul had sent away during the action with the Hastats of the first legion, appeared on the neighbouring hills. Both armies took them for the legions of Decius; the Samnites' courage fell, that of the Romans rose, and evening closed on their victory. Decius had meantime defeated the Apulians at Maleventum*. During five months both armies ravaged Samnium with impunity; the traces of five-and-forty camps of Decius, of eighty-six of Fabius, bore witness to the sufferings of the ill-fated country.

The next year (456) the Samnites put into execution a daring plan which they had formed in the preceding war, namely, sending an army, to be paid and supported out of their own funds, into Etruria, leaving Samnium meantime at the mercy of the enemy. The Samnite army, under Gellius Egnatius, on arriving there, was joined by the troops of most of the Tuscan states; the Umbrians also shared in the war, and it was proposed to take Gallic mercenaries into pay. The

* Afterwards named Beneventum.

consul Ap. Claudius entered Etruria with his two legions and twelve thousand of the allies, but he did not feel himself strong enough to give the confederates battle. His colleague L. Volumnius, probably by command of the senate, led his army to join him; but Appius gave him so ungracious a reception that he was preparing to retire, when the officers of the other army implored him not to abandon them for their general's fault. Volumnius then agreed to remain and fight: a victory was speedily gained over the Etruscans and Samnites, whose general Egnatius was unfortunately absent; 7300 were slain, 2120 taken, and their camp was stormed and plundered.

As Volumnius was returning by rapid marches to Samnium, he learned that the Samnites had taken advantage of his absence to make a descent on Campania, where they had collected an immense booty. He forthwith directed his course thither: at Cales he heard that they were encamped on the Volturnus, with the intention of carrying their prey into Samnium to secure it. He came and encamped near them, but out of view; and when the Samnites had before day sent forward their captives and booty under an escort, and were getting out of their camp to follow them, they were suddenly fallen on by the Romans: the camp was stormed with great slaughter; the captives, hearing the tumult, unbound themselves, and fell on their escort; the Samnites were routed on all sides; 6000 were slain, 2500 were taken, 7400 captives, with all their property, were recovered.

The union of the Samnites, Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls, which had now been formed, caused the greatest apprehension at Rome, and the people insisted on again electing Q. Fabius consul, to which he would only consent on condition of his approved mate in arms P. Decius being given him for colleague. His wish was complied with. The four legions of the former year were kept on foot and completed, two new ones were raised, and two armies of reserve formed. The number of troops furnished by the allies was considerable: among them were one thousand Campanian horse; for as the Gauls were strong in this arm, it was necessary to augment its force.

During the winter, Fabius set out, with four thousand foot and six hundred horse, to take the command in Etruria. As he drew nigh to the camp of Ap. Claudius he met a party sent out for firewood; he ordered them to go back and use the palisades of their camp for the purpose. This gave confidence

to the soldiers; and to keep up their spirits, he never let them remain stationary, but moved about from place to place. In the spring (457) he returned to Rome to arrange the campaign, leaving the command in Etruria with L. Scipio.

The consuls led their main force to join the troops left with Scipio; one army of reserve, under the proprætor Cn. Fulvius, was stationed in the Faliscan; another, under the proprætor L. Postumius, in the Vatican district. But the Gauls, pouring in by the pass of Camerinum, had annihilated a Roman legion left to defend it; their numerous cavalry spread over Umbria and got between Scipio and Rome; and as they rode up to the consular army, the heads of the slain Romans which they carried on spears and hung at their horses' breasts, made the Romans believe that Scipio's whole army had been destroyed. A junction however was formed with him, and the proconsul L. Volumnius, who commanded in Samnium, was directed to lead his legions to reinforce those of the consuls. The three united armies then crossed the Apennines, and took a position in theentine country to menace the possessions of the Senonian Gauls; and the two armies of reserve advanced in proportion, the one to Clusium, the other to the Faliscan country. The confederates came and encamped before the Romans; but they avoided an action, probably waiting for reinforcements. The consuls, learning by deserters that the plan of the enemy was for the Gauls and Samnites to give them battle, and the Etruscans and Umbrians to fall on their camp during the action, sent orders to Fulvius to ravage Etruria: this called a large part of the Etruscans home, and the consuls endeavoured to bring on an engagement during their absence. For two entire days they sought in vain to draw the confederates to the field; on the third their challenge was accepted.

Fabius commanded on the right, opposed to the Samnites and the remaining Etruscans and Umbrians; Decius led the left wing against the Gauls. Ere the fight began, a wolf chased a hind from the mountains down between the two armies; the hind sought refuge among the Gauls, by whom she was killed; the wolf ran among the Romans, who made way for him to pass; and this appearance of the favourite of Mars was regarded as an omen of victory.

In the hope of tiring the Samnites, Fabius made his men act rather on the defensive, and he refrained from bringing his reserve into action. Decius, on the other hand, knowing how

impetuous the first attack of the Gauls always was, resolved not to await it; he therefore charged with both foot and horse, and twice drove back the numerous Gallic cavalry; but when his horse charged a third time, the Gauls sent forward their war-chariots, which spread confusion and dismay among them; they fled back among their infantry; the victorious Gauls followed hard upon them. The battle, and with it possibly the hopes of Rome, was on the point of being lost, when Decius, who had resolved, if defeat impended, to devote himself like his father at Vesuvius, desired the pontiff M. Livius, whom he had kept near him for the purpose, to repeat the form of devotion; then adding to it these words, "I drive before me dismay and flight, slaughter and blood, the anger of the powers above and below; with funereal terrors I touch the arms, weapons, and ensigns of the foe; the same place shall be that of my end and of the Gauls and Samnites," he spurred his horse, rushed into the thick of the enemies, and fell covered with wounds. The pontiff to whom Decius had given his lieutors, encouraged the Romans; a part of Fabius' reserve came to their support: the Gauls stood in a dense mass covered with their shields; the Romans, collecting the *pila* that lay on the ground, hurled them on them; but the Gauls stood unmoved, till Fabius, who by bringing forward his reserve, and causing his cavalry to fall on their flank, had driven the Samnites to their camp, sent five hundred of the Campanian horse, followed by the Principes of the third legion, to attack them in the rear; they then at length broke and fled. Fabius again assailed the Samnites under their rampart; their general, Gellius Egnatius, fell, and the camp was taken. The confederates lost 25,000 men slain and 8000 taken; 7000 was the loss in the wing led by Decius, 1200 in that of Fabius. Such was the victory at Sentinum, one of the most important ever achieved by the arms of Rome.

The following year (458) the war was continued in Etruria and Samnium, and a bloody but indecisive battle was fought at Nuceria. The next year (459) the consuls, L. Papirius Cursor and Sp. Carvilius, took the field against a Samnite army, which all the aids of superstition had been employed to render formidable.

All the fighting men of Samnium were ordered to appear at the town of Aquilonia. A tabernacle, two hundred feet square, and covered with linen, was erected in the midst of the camp. Within it a venerable man named Ovius Pactius offered sacri-

fice after an ancient ritual contained in an old linen-book. The Emperor or general then ordered the nobles to be called in separately : each as he entered beheld through the gloom of the tabernacle the altar in the centre, about which lay the bodies of the victims, and around which stood centurions with drawn swords. He was required to swear, imprecating curses on himself, his family, and his race, if he did not in the battle go whithersoever the Emperor ordered him ; if he fled himself, or did not slay any one whom he saw flying. Some of the first summoned, refusing to swear, were slain, and their bodies lying among those of the victims served as a warning to others. The general selected ten of those who had thus sworn, each of whom was directed to choose a man till the number of sixteen thousand was completed, which was named from the tabernacle the Linen Legion. Crested helmets and superior arms were given them for distinction. The rest of the army, upwards of twenty thousand men, was little inferior in any respect to the Linen Legion.

The Roman armies entered Samnium ; and while Papirius advanced to Aquilonia, Carvilius sat down before a fortress named Cominium, about twenty miles from that place. The ardour for battle is said to have been shared to such an extent by all the Roman army, that the Pullarius, or keeper of the sacred fowl, made a false report of favourable signs. The truth was told to the consul as he was going into battle ; but he said the signs reported to him were good, and only ordered the Pullarii to be placed in the front rank ; and when the guilty one fell by the chance blow of a *pilum*, he cried, that the gods were present, the guilty was punished. A crow was heard to give a loud cry as he spoke ; the gods, he then declared, had never shown themselves more propitious, and he ordered the trumpets to sound and the war-cry to be raised.

The Samnites had sent off twenty cohorts to the relief of Cominium ; their spirits were depressed, but they kept their ground, till a great cloud of dust, as if raised by an army, was seen on one side. For the consul had sent off before the action Sp. Nautius, with the mules and their drivers, and some cohorts of the allies, with directions to advance during the engagement, raising all the dust they could. Nautius now came in view, the horseboys having boughs in their hands, which they dragged along the ground ; and the arms and banners appearing through the dust, made both Romans and Samnites think that an army was approaching. The consul then gave

the sign for the horse to charge; the Samnites broke and fled, some to Aquilonia, some to Bovianum. The number of their slain is said to have been 30,340, and 3870 men and 97 banners were captured. Aquilonia and Cominium were both taken on the same day. Carvilius then led his army into Etruria; his colleague remained in Samnium, ravaging the country, till the falling of the snow obliged him to leave it for the winter*.

In the next campaign (460), the Samnite general C. Pontius gave the Roman consul Q. Fabius Gurgēs, son of the great Fabius, a complete defeat. A strong party in the senate, the enemies of the Fabian house, were for depriving the consul of his command; but the people yielded to the prayers of his father, who implored them to spare him this disgrace in his old age; and he himself went into Samnium as legate to his son. At a place whose name is unknown the battle was fought, which decided the fate of Samnium. Fabius gained the victory by his usual tactics, of keeping his reserve for the proper time. The Samnites had twenty thousand slain and four thousand taken, among whom was their great general C. Pontius. In the triumph of Fabius Gurgēs, his renowned father humbly followed his car on horseback; and C. Pontius was led in bonds, and then, to Rome's disgrace, beheaded. Q. Fabius Maximus, one of the greatest men that Rome ever produced, died it is probable shortly afterwards†.

The Samnite war, which had lasted with little intermission for nine-and-forty years, was now terminated by a peace, of the exact terms of which we are not informed‡. The Sabines, who, after a cessation of one hundred and fifty years, foolishly took up arms against Rome, were easily reduced by the consul M'. Curius Dentatus, and a large quantity of their land was taken from them. Much larger assignments than the usual seven jugers might now be made, but Curius deemed it unwise to pass that limit; and when the people murmured, he replied, that he was a pernicious citizen whom the land which sufficed to support him did not satisfy. He refused for himself five hundred jug- and a house at Tifata which the senate offered

* Livy's first Decad ends here. We have only an epitome of the next, which contained the history to the year 534. We are now for some years left to the guidance of the epitomators, and the fragments of Appian and Dion.

† The reason of his surname Maximus will be given in the next chapter.

‡ A large colony was at this time settled at Venusia on the confines of Apulia and Lucania. This was the birth-place of Horace, *Serm. il. 1, 34 seq.*

him, and contented himself with a farm of seven jugers in the Sabine country.

The length of the Samnite war, its consequent great expense, the destruction of property in the invaded districts, the neglect of agriculture on account of the incessant military service, and other causes which will easily suggest themselves, caused considerable distress at Rome, and it even came to a secession. The people posted themselves on the Janiculan; but the dictator, Q. Hortensius, induced them to submit, either by an abolition or a considerable reduction of the amount of their debts. This is the last secession we read of in Roman history.

On this occasion the Hortensian law, which made the plebiscits binding on the whole nation, was passed; a measure probably caused by the obstinacy and caprice of the patricians, but pregnant with evil, from which however the good fortune of Rome long preserved her. It was as if with us a measure which had passed the Commons were to become at once the law of the land*.

Among the events of this period, the introduction of the worship of the Grecian god Æsculapius deserves to be noticed. In the year 459 an epidemic prevailed at Rome, and the Sibylline books being consulted, it was directed to fetch Æsculapius to Rome. A trireme with ten deputies was sent to Epidaurus for that purpose. The legend relates, that the senate of that place agreed that the Romans should take whatever the god should give them; and that as they were praying at the temple, a huge snake came out of the sanctuary, went on to the town five miles off, through the streets, to the harbour, thence on board the Roman trireme, and into the cabin of Q. Ogulnius. The envoys having been instructed in the worship of the god, departed, and a prosperous wind brought them to Antium. Here they took shelter from a storm; the snake swam ashore, and remained twined round a palm-tree at the temple of Apollo while they stayed. When they reached Rome he left the ship again, and swimming to the island, disappeared in the spot where the temple of the god was afterwards built†.

* Pliny, H. N. xvi. 10. Niebuhr says that the language of the law must have been, *ut quod tributim plebes jussisset populum teneret*. He thinks (Hist. of Rome, ii. 365.) that the Hortensian law did away with the *veto* of the senate, as the Publilian did with that of the curies. See above, p. 140.

† The simple truth probably is, that the Romans obtained one of the tame sacred snakes that were kept at the temple of Æsculapius: the details are of course legendary.

Rome now rested from war for some years. At length (468) the Tarentines, who had been the chief agents in exciting the last Samnite war, succeeded in inducing the Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls in the north, and the Lucanians, Brutians, and Samnites in the south, to take arms simultaneously against her. The commencement was the hostility exercised by the Lucanians against the people of the Greek town of Thurii, who, despairing of aid from any other quarter, applied to the Romans; and a Roman army came and relieved the town.

In 470, a Roman army under C. Fabricius Luscinus came to the relief of Thurii, which was again invested by a united army of Lucanians and Brutians. The spirits of the Romans sank as they viewed their own inferiority of force; when, lo! a youth of gigantic stature, wearing a double-crested helm, like those on the statues of Mars, was seen to seize a scaling-ladder, and mount the rampart of the enemies' camp. The courage of the Romans rose, that of the foes declined, and a signal victory crowned the arms of Rome. When next day the consul sought that valiant youth, to bestow on him the suitable meed, he was nowhere to be found. Fabricius then directed a thanksgiving to Father Mars (as it must have been he) to be held throughout the army*. Many other victories succeeded; and no Roman general had as yet acquired so much booty as Fabricius did in this campaign.

When the Roman army retired, a garrison was left for the defence of Thurii. As it was only by sea that a communication could be conveniently kept up with it, a squadron of ten triremes, under the duumvir† L. Valerius, was now in these waters. Some years before, it had been an article in a treaty with the Tarentines, that no Roman ship of war should sail to the north of the Lacinian cape; but as they had taken no notice of it now, and there was as yet no open hostility between them and the Romans, Valerius appeared off the port of Tarentum. The people unluckily happened at that moment to be assembled in the theatre, which commanded a view of the sea; a

* Val. Max. i. 8, 6. This, says Niebuhr, is the last poetic legend in the Roman history. The Tyndarids, however, appeared in 584 mounted on their white horses, to one P. Vatienus, to announce the defeat of Perseus. (Cic. de N. D. ii. 2. Val. Max. i. 8, 1.) This is probably merely a reproduction of the legend of the Regillus, above, p. 36.

† The Duumviri Navales were first appointed in 442; their office was to fit out, and, as it would appear, command the Roman fleets.

demagogue named Philocharis, a man of the vilest character, pointing to the Roman ships, reminded them of the treaty; the infuriated populace rushed on shipboard, attacked and sunk four, and took one of the Roman vessels. The duumvir was among those who perished. The Tarentines then sent a force against Thurii, where they plundered the town and banished the principal citizens: the Roman garrison was dismissed unmolested.

The Romans, as they had an Etruscan war on their hands, were anxious to accommodate matters amicably in the south. Their demands were therefore very moderate: they only required the release of those taken in the trireme; the restoration of the Thurians, and restitution of their property; and the surrender of the authors of the outrage. Audience was given to the envoys in the theatre. When they entered, the people laughed at the sight of their purple-bordered *prætextæ*, and the faults of language committed by L. Postumius, the chief of the embassy, redoubled their merriment. As the envoys were leaving the theatre, a drunken buffoon came and befouled the robe of Postumius in the most abominable manner: the peals of laughter were redoubled; but Postumius, holding up his robe, cried out, "Ay, laugh, laugh while ye may; ye will weep long enough when ye have to wash this out in blood." He displayed at Rome his unwashed garment; and the senate, after anxious deliberation, declared war against Tarentum (471)*. The consul L. Æmilius Barbula was ordered to lead his army thither, to offer anew the former terms, and if they were refused, to carry on the war with vigour. The Tarentines, however, would listen to no terms; they resorted to their usual system of seeking aid from the mother-country, and sent an embassy to invite over Pyrrhus, the renowned king of Epirus. Meantime Æmilius laid waste their country, took several strong places, and defeated them in the field.

We will now turn our view northwards. In 469 a combined army of Etruscans and Senonian Gauls having laid siege to Arretium, the prætor L. Metellus hastened to its relief; but his army was totally defeated, thirteen thousand men being slain, and nearly all the remainder made prisoners. When an embassy was sent to the Gauls to complain of breach of treaty, and to redeem the prisoners, the Gallic prince Britomaris, to avenge his father, who had fallen at Arretium, caused

* Dionys. Excerpt. 4.

the fetials to be murdered. The consul P. Cornelius Dolabella instantly marched through the Sabine and Picentian country into that of the Senonians, whom he defeated when they met him in the field: he then wasted the lands, burned the open villages, put all the men to death, and reduced the women and children to slavery. Britomaris, who was taken alive, was reserved to grace the consul's triumph.

The Boians, who dwelt between the Senonians and the Po, were filled with rage and apprehension at the fate of their brethren, and assembling all their forces they entered Etruria, where being joined by the Etruscans and the remnant of the Senonians, they pressed on for Rome; but at the lake Vadimo the consular armies met and nearly annihilated their whole army; the Senonians, it is said, in frenzy of despair put an end to themselves when they saw the battle lost. The Gauls appeared again the next year (470) in Etruria; but a signal defeat near Populonia forced them to sue for peace, which, on account of the war in the south, the Romans readily granted.

The war with the Etruscans continued till the year 472, when, in consequence of that with Pyrrhus, the Romans concluded a peace with them on most favourable terms. This peace terminated the conflict, which had now lasted for thirty years, and converted Etruria into Rome's steadiest and most faithful ally.

CHAPTER VIII.*

Arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy.—Battle on the Siris.—Cineas at Rome.—Approach of Pyrrhus to Rome.—Battle of Asculum.—Pyrrhus in Sicily.—Battle of Beneventum.—Departure of Pyrrhus.—Italian Allies.—Censorship of Ap. Claudius.—Change in the Constitution.—The Roman Legion.—Roman Literature.

PYRRHUS, the ablest and most ambitious prince of his time, lent a willing ear to the invitation of the Italian Greeks, which held out to him such a prospect of extensive dominion. He

* Plut. Pyrrhus, the Epitomators.

sent his minister, the orator Cineas*, back with some of the envoys, to assure the Tarentines of aid; and shortly afterwards Milo, one of his generals, landed with three thousand men to garrison the town. Having assembled an army of 20,000 foot, 3000 horse, 2000 archers, 500 slingers, and twenty elephants, the king himself set sail (472) for Italy; but a storm came on and dispersed his fleet; several ships were sunk or cast away; and Pyrrhus, who had escaped with difficulty, reached Tarentum with but a small force. He did not seek to exercise any authority till the rest of his troops were arrived; but as soon as he found himself sufficiently strong, he began to employ the dictatorial power with which he had been invested. The Tarentines had thought that they would have nothing to do but pay money, while the king's troops were fighting; but Pyrrhus let them know that they also must share in the toils and dangers of war. He set guards at the gates to prevent them from running out of the town, as they were doing; he shut up the theatre, forbade all public meals and banquets, ordered the young men to practise military exercises in their gymnasium, and sent, under various pretexts, the principal men over to Epirus, that they might serve as hostages in case of any conspiracy against his authority.

The consul P. Valerius Lævinus having led his army into Lucania, Pyrrhus, who had not yet been joined by his allies, wrote to him offering to arbitrate between the Romans and the Tarentines, which last he said he could compel to give satisfaction. Lævinus replied that the king must first atone for having entered Italy; that words were needless, as Father Mars must decide between them. He ordered a spy who was taken to be led through his army and then dismissed him with directions to tell Pyrrhus to come himself and see.

Lævinus was encamped on the south bank of the river Siris, in the plain between Heraclêa and Pandosia. Pyrrhus came and occupied the opposite bank. As he viewed the Roman camp, he observed to one of his friends that the barbarians (the Greeks so named all people but themselves) showed nothing of the barbarian in their tactics. His object was to prevent their passing the river; but the Roman cavalry crossed

* Cineas was a Thessalian by birth, an able, eloquent, and noble-minded man, well worthy of the friendship of the greatest prince of the age, to whom he was as a good genius. It is said that he had been a hearer of Demosthenes; but that can hardly have been the case, as the great Athenian had now been dead forty-one years. Cineas' style of oratory was also totally different from his.

it higher up, and falling on the rear of the Epirots who guarded the passage, enabled the infantry to get over. Pyrrhus sent his Thessalian horse against that of the Romans, which, though of an inferior quality, stood its ground. He then led on his infantry: Megacles, who wore the royal helm and mantle, was slain; both sides thought Pyrrhus had fallen, and the Epirots had fled but that the king made himself known. Seven times did the troops on each side advance and recede; the consul then thought to decide the battle by a charge of horse on the rear; but the elephants were now brought into action, and at the sight of these unknown animals, horses and men were filled with terror; the Thessalian cavalry then charged and scattered them; they drew the infantry with them in their flight over the river, and none perhaps would have escaped, were it not that a wounded elephant turned his rage against his own side. The remnant of the Roman army fled to Venusia: their loss had been seven thousand slain and about two thousand taken. On the side of the victors four thousand had fallen. When Pyrrhus, on the following day, viewed the field of battle, he cried, "With such soldiers the world were mine, and were I their general the Romans would have it!" He ordered the bodies of the Romans to be burned and buried like those of his own men. He proposed to the prisoners to enter his service*, and on their refusal freed them from fetters.

The whole south of Italy now joined Pyrrhus; but this prince, who disliked long wars, and had had experience of Roman valour, preferred an honourable peace, which he thought might now be obtained, to a prolonged contest. He therefore despatched his friend Cineas to Rome, to propose a peace, on condition of the independence of the Italian Greeks being acknowledged, and all that had been taken from the Samnites, Lucanians, Bruttians, and Apulians being restored. Peace being made on these terms, the Roman prisoners, among whom were six hundred knights, would be released without ransom. The eloquence and the winning manners of Cineas, though his gifts were refused, had a great effect on the minds of many; the relatives of the prisoners were anxious on their account; the Etruscan war was not yet ended. The proffered terms seemed likely to be accepted, when Ap. Claudius, who on account of the blindness with which he was afflicted had long

* The Grecian mercenaries at this time constantly changed sides after a defeat. The same was the case in Italy in the middle ages, and in Germany in the Thirty years' war.

abstained from public affairs, had himself carried in a litter to the senate-house. His sons and sons-in-law came out to receive him, and lead him in, and his indignant eloquence banished all thoughts of peace from the minds of his auditors, and Cincas was ordered to quit Rome. On his return to his master he told him that Rome was a temple, the senate an assembly of kings. While he was yet there, two legions had been raised to reinforce Lævinus, and volunteers had crowded with the utmost eagerness to be enrolled.

Lævinus, who was now in Campania, was there joined by these legions, and he baffled the attempts of Pyrrhus on Capua and Neapolis. The king, as he could not bring him to action, resolved to push on for Rome, and form a junction with the Etruscans. Instead of taking the Appian or lower road, on which there were several strong towns, he moved by the Latin road over the hills. He took Fregellæ, entered the Hernican country, where the people declared for him, pushed on to Præneste*, and advanced five miles beyond it, to within eighteen miles of Rome; but there his course ended. Peace had just been made with the Etruscans, and the army employed against them was now in Rome. Lævinus disturbed the communications in his rear: to take Rome by storm or blockade was hopeless. Heedless of the prayers of the Prænestines and Hernicans, he resolved to retrace his steps. On reaching Campania he found Lævinus at the head of six legions: "What!" cried he, "am I fighting with the hydra?" He drew up his troops, who raised the war-cry and clashed their arms. The Romans replied in such cheerful tones that he did not deem it prudent to attack them, and he dismissed his allies and went to Tarentum for the winter.

At Tarentum Pyrrhus was waited on by three Roman ambassadors, C. Fabricius, Q. Æmilius Papus, and P. Cornelius Dolabella, all consulars, to treat of the ransom or exchange of the numerous prisoners who were now in his hands†. He rejected their offers; but he gave the prisoners permission to go

* He had a view of Rome from the citadel of this town. Florus, i. 18.

† On this occasion, we are told (Plut., Pyrrhus, 20.) that the king, having learned the poverty of Fabricius from Cineas, tried to induce him to accept a present of gold. The Roman declined; and next day, as he and Pyrrhus were conversing, a curtain behind them suddenly drew up, and an elephant, which had been placed there by the king's orders, stretched his trunk out over them and gave a loud roar. Fabricius, who had never seen one of these huge animals, only stepped aside, and said with a smile to the king, "Your gold did not move me yesterday, nor your beast today."

with them to Rome to keep the Saturnalia, on their promise to return if the senate did not make peace; and, as all their efforts to that effect proved vain, they returned every one into captivity.

In the spring (473) Pyrrhus opened the campaign in Apulia. He was besieging Venusia when he heard that the consuls P. Sulpicius and P. Decius were advancing to its relief; he therefore raised the siege, and prepared to give them battle at a place named Asculum, on the edge of the mountains. As the ground here was against Pyrrhus, the advantage was on the side of the Romans in the first engagement; but he manœuvred so as to draw them down into the plain, where by a sudden attack of the elephants and light troops on their flank, while they were exhausting themselves by fruitless efforts against the solid phalanx, he put them to flight. As their camp was at hand, their loss was but 6000 men; that of the king was 3505. "One such victory more, and I am undone," cried Pyrrhus, who returned to Tarentum without making any attempt on the Roman camp.

The situation of Pyrrhus was now rather precarious; he had lost the flower of his troops; he could not reckon on his Italian allies, who had even plundered his camp during the last action; the Gauls had invaded Macedonia and menaced all Greece, and he could not draw any troops from Epirus; while the Romans had concluded an alliance with the Carthaginians, and a Punic fleet of one hundred and thirty triremes was now off the coast of Italy. On the other hand, strong inducements were held out to him to pass over into Sicily, and deliver it from the yoke of the Carthaginians. The Romans, on their side, owing to the heavy burden of taxation consequent on the war, were extremely desirous of peace. Just at this time (474), we are told*, Pyrrhus' physician sent secretly to the consuls C. Fabricius and Q. Æmilius, offering for a reward to poison his master. The consuls, abhorring the treason, gave information of it to the king. Pyrrhus immediately despatched Cineas to Rome with his thanks to the senate; he gave gifts and clothes to all his prisoners and sent them home with him. Cineas was also the bearer of rich presents to the principal persons of both sexes at Rome. These presents were, however, all rejected; the friendship of the Romans was to be had

* There is great contradiction in the various accounts of this transaction. Niebuhr says that it was a mere fiction to open communications, and was so understood by all parties.

without gifts, it was replied, if Pyrrhus would quit Italy. The prisoners of his allies were released in exchange, and a truce was concluded.

Pyrrhus was now at liberty to accept the invitation of the Siciliots. He left Italy, where he had spent two years and four months, and passing over to Sicily, remained there somewhat more than two years, and made himself master of nearly the whole island. During his absence, the Roman arms, under Fabricius and other leaders, were directed with success against his Italian allies. At length finding fortune becoming adverse to him in Sicily, and being urged by the prayers of the Tarentines and his other allies, he returned to Italy (476) with an army of 20,000 foot and 3000 horse, a portion of which he sent into Lucania against the consul Lentulus, while with the remainder he advanced to engage the other consul, M'. Curius Dentatus, who was encamped near Beneventum in Samnium.

Curius occupied a strong position on a height, intending to await the arrival of his colleague. It was the intention of Pyrrhus to attack him at daybreak with some elephants and picked troops. A dream, it is said, which he had as he slumbered in the beginning of the night, terrified him, and he wished to give up the project; but his officers urging on him the impolicy of allowing the two Roman armies to join, he sent forward the troops. To reach the heights behind the Roman camp, they had to go a round through dense woods, guided by torchlight. They lost their way, their torches burned out, and it was broad day when they reached their destination. Being wearied with their march, they were easily put to flight. The consul then came down into the plain to engage the main army; the Romans were victorious on one wing, but the other was driven back to the camp by the phalanx and the elephants. Here a shower of arrows, bearing burning wax and tar, was hurled on the beasts, which growing furious carried confusion into the ranks of the phalanx. The rout was now complete, and Pyrrhus' camp was taken. The king soon after (478) quitted Italy with but 6000 foot and 500 horse, and two years later he lost his life in an attempt on the city of Argos*.

In the course of the succeeding nine years the Roman dominion was established over the south and east of Italy, but few of the particulars have been transmitted to us.

The Italian states stood in different relations to Rome. In general they held all their lands in full property, paying no

* History of Greece, p. 435, 2nd edit., p. 425, 4th edit.

land-tax; but in a number of cases a portion of their territory had been converted into Roman public land, and assigned to colonists or occupied in the usual manner. They were governed by their own laws and magistrates; but they had to supply troops, in rated proportions, when Rome was at war, and arm and pay and perhaps feed them. They were named allies* (*Socii*), as distinct from the Latins (*Nomen Latinum*)†, who stood on a somewhat different footing. The infantry of the Latins and Allies in a Roman army usually equalled that of the legions in number; the cavalry was thrice as numerous. Their contingents were always commanded by their own officers.

During the period at the end of which we are now arrived, considerable alterations were made in the political and military systems of the Romans. These we will now proceed to explain.

In the year 442, Ap. Claudius, afterwards named the Blind (*Cæcus*), from the misfortune which befell him, was made censor with C. Plautius. He distinguished his censorship by commencing the celebrated Appian Road, which was gradually extended from Rome to Capua, and thence across the peninsula to Brundisium, a distance of three hundred and sixty miles, paved the whole way with square blocks of stone, and justly named the Queen of Roads. He likewise made the first aqueduct, the Aqua Appia, at Rome; the water being conveyed underground from some springs near the Prænestine road, about eight miles from the city‡.

But the changes which Appius attempted to make in the constitution are of more importance in a political point of view. When selecting the senate, in virtue of his office, he omitted his enemies, and put in their place the sons of freedmen; but all united against this innovation, and the consuls

* It seems probable that the term Allies applied only to the Sabellian peoples and those of Southern Italy, and that it did not include the Tuscans, Umbrians, or Italian Greeks; perhaps not even the Bruttians, as being half-Greeks. None, therefore, but genuine Italians could serve in the Roman armies.

† The proper expression was *socii et* (or *ac*) *nomen Latinum*, as in Salust and other accurate writers; the *socii nominis Latini* of Livy is quite incorrect.

‡ This was the form of all the aqueducts made during the republic; those on arches, of which the ruins are to be seen, belong all to the time of the empire.

of the next year called the original members of the senate. Appius, being thus foiled, took another and a more pernicious course: he distributed the freedmen throughout all the tribes, and thus in effect put the elections entirely into their hands. To understand this, we must observe that the *æ*rarians, among whom the *Libertini* or freedmen were included, were a very numerous and even wealthy body; for all the arts and trades at Rome were exercised by them, the plebeians being restricted to agriculture. They were divided into a number of guilds, of which that of the *Scribæ*, or notaries, was the most important, as nearly all the public and private legal writing at Rome, of which there was a great quantity, was exercised by them. The notaries were now directed by Cn. Flavius, one of the ablest men of his time, who acted in concert with Ap. Claudius. When we reflect then that the plebeians were continually reduced by service in war, from which the *æ*rarians were exempt, and that they also unwillingly left their farms to come to attend elections at Rome, we may easily see how the *æ*rarians of a rural tribe, who were numerous and always on the spot, could determine its vote. As a proof, Cn. Flavius himself was in 449 made curule *æ*dile, and, to annoy the genuine Romans still more, his colleague was Q. Anicius of Præneste, therefore a mere *municeps*, and one who had actually been in arms against Rome a few years before*. On this occasion the senators laid aside their gold rings, the knights their silver horse-trappings, in token of mourning, and it was unanimously resolved to change the law of election.

It is by no means unlikely, that Appius, who was at all times a strenuous opposer of the claims of the plebeian nobility, acted on this occasion as the agent of the small knot of patrician oligarchs who wished to exclude the rival nobles from places of honour and dignity. Oligarchs thus situated usually seek to make allies of the inferior people; and Appius and his friends may have regarded the debasement of the plebeian tribes, by mixing freedmen through them, as the surest means to attain their ends; for neither they nor their descendants could presume, it was supposed, to aspire to the consulate, and their enmity to the plebeian order might be reckoned on with some confidence, for keeping them from conferring it on the plebeian nobility.

Cn. Flavius had gained his popularity by two acts of real benefit to the people. The *dies fasti*, or days on which courts

* Pliny, N. H. xxxiii. 6.

sat and justice was administered, were at this time divided in a very perplexing way through the year, and people could only learn them from the mouth of the pontiffs. Flavius made a calendar, in which the nature of each day was marked, and hung it up publicly in the forum, thus conferring an important boon on the whole people. He further made and published a collection of all the legal forms in civil actions*. It is said that it was at the impulse of Appius that he made the *Fasti publici*†.

In 449 Q. Fabius and P. Decius were created censors, in order to obviate the evil caused by Appius. They separated the whole of the market-faction (*turba forensis*), as the *æra-*rians were called, from the rural tribes, and placed them in the four city-tribes; and the measure was considered of such importance, that Fabius derived the name of Maximus (*Most-great*) from it. We will endeavour to show in what its importance consisted, and that it was only part of a great change in the constitution‡.

In consequence of the change in the value of money, of the extension of the franchise to such a number of people by the formation of new tribes, of the necessity of increasing the number of those liable to serve in the legions, and from other causes, the Servian constitution of the Classes was no longer adapted to the Roman people. It was therefore abandoned, and in its place a new one, founded on the tribes, was substituted§. The tribes were divided each into two centuries, one of old and one of young men: the Six Suffrages remained; all who had a million of asses and upwards of property were placed in the twelve plebeian equestrian centuries; all who had property between that sum and 4000 asses had votes in the tribes. The centuries, with the exception of the Suffrages, were divided into two *Classes*, the first containing the rural tribes and plebeian knights, the second the city tribes; the centuries of the former were termed *Primo Vocatæ*, those of the latter *Postremo Vocatæ*. Those of the rural tribes decided by lot which should vote first; and the successful one was named the *Prærogative*, as being *first asked* by the presiding

* Pliny, N. H. xxxiii. 6. Liv. ix. 46. Cic. Murena, 12. † Pliny, *ut supra*.

‡ In what follows we give a hypothesis of Niebuhr's; for the proofs and development we must refer to his own work, vol. iii. 374-409. (German.)

§ That the Servian constitution was abandoned long before the end of the republic, is proved by the following passages: Liv. i. 43; xxiv. 7 and 9; xxvi. 22; xxvii. 6. Cic. Rullus, ii. 2. Plancius, 20.

magistrate: its vote generally decided the others. The order of voting was, the first class, the Suffrages, the second class*. The whole number of centuries at this time, when there were thirty-one tribes, was eighty, *i. e.* six patrician and twelve plebeian equestrian, fifty-four rural, and eight city centuries†.

The new-modelled *comitia* of the tribes differed from the original one in four points; viz. the separation of the plebeian knights, and the participation of the patricians; the division into centuries of old and young men; the exclusion of the Proletarians; the employment of the auspices. We may see that it retained as much of the Servian constitution as was possible: that it was a nearer approach to democracy is not to be denied, but this was unavoidable; yet there was not actually universal suffrage, as in the Greek democracies; and as, except on some very particular occasions, it could be only the people of property in the rural tribes that were at Rome when the *comitia* were held, the elections and the passing of laws must have lain almost entirely with them. The wisdom of Fabius is proved by the length of time that the system continued to work well. Its corruption proceeded from causes which he could not have foreseen or obviated.

The changes in the military system during this period were also considerable. They were to the following effect.

The unwieldy, helpless nature of the phalanx had at some time, perhaps in the Gallic war, become apparent, and it was converted into a more active form. At the time of the Latin war we find the legion thus constituted‡. It consisted of five cohorts or battalions, the Hastats, Principes, Triarians, Rorarians, and Accensi; the first two were named Antesignani and Antepilani, because they were stationed before the standards (*signa*) and the Triarians, who were also named Pilani from their weapon, the *pilum*§. The Antesignani consisted

* Cic. Phil. ii. 33.

† The four city tribes were the Suburane, Esquiline, Colline, and Palatine; the fifteen original rural ones were the Æmilian, Camilian, Cluentian, Cornelian, Fabian, Galerian, Horatian, Lemonian, Menenian, Papirian, Pupinian, Romilian, Sergian, Veturian, Voltinian. The Claudian was added in 250; the Crustumine in 259; the Stellatine, Tromentine, Sabatine, and Arniensian in 368; the Pomptine and Publilian in 397; the Mæcian and Scaptian in 421; the Ufentine and Falerine in 453; the Terentine and Aniensian in 453, and the Veline and Quirine about 514; thus making 35 in all.

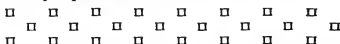
‡ Livy, viii. 8.

§ The *pilum* was a weapon composed of a handle of wood three cubits long, and an iron head of the same length, one half of which projected beyond the wood.

each of fifteen maniples or thirty centuries; and in the plan, which supposed thirty tribes, each century contained thirty men with the centurion; and the cohort therefore 900 men and 30 officers. As everything in the Roman institutions was regular and uniform, we must suppose the remaining cohorts to be of equal strength; and this gives a total of 4500 common men for the legion; of which 2400 (viz. 600 Hastats, 900 Principes, and 900 Triarians,) were troops of the line; 1200 (viz. 300 Hastats and 900 Rorarians,) light troops*; the 900 Accensi were merely a dépôt-battalion that followed the legion. Two legions thus composed formed a consular army.

The Hastats derived their name from the spears (*hastæ*) which they bore; the Principes were so called as being of the first class†; the Triarians as being formed out of the first three classes‡, for the Romans in the period of this legion still served according to the classes; the Rorarians, or Sprinklers, from their task of *showering* (*rorare*) their missiles in the beginning of the action§. The 40 centuries of the first class gave 30 for the Principes, 10 for the Triarians; the second and third class gave each 10 for the Triarians, their remaining 20 being the Hastats of the line. Of the forty centuries of the last two classes, 10 were light Hastats, and 30 Rorarians.

The maniples of the three cohorts of troops of the line were drawn up in *quincunx*, thus:



with lanes or intervals between them. Each manipule, as consisting of two centuries, had two centurions to command it, and a standard-bearer. The maniples of the Hastats contained 40 shielded men, that is, men of the second and third class||, 20 armed only with spear and dart, that is, of the fourth class; the Principes bore spears and long cut-and-thrust swords; the Triarians *pila*; the Rorarians slings, as being of the fifth class. When in battle array, the light troops were in front, and began the action; they then retired through the lanes: the Hastats succeeded, and when they were wearied, they fell back through

* Niebuhr gives these numbers 2200 and 1100; but in this case 300 Hastats remain unaccounted for.

† "Scutati omnes, insignibus maxime armis." (Livy.) This shows that they were men of property.

‡ Not from their position, for then their name would have been *Tertiarians*.

§ "Ideo quod ante rorat quam pluit." Varro, L. vii. 58.

|| See the system, p. 50.

the *Principes*, who then came into action ; and if the enemy still resisted, the *Triarians*, who had hitherto been sitting under their standards, rose, the *Principes* and *Hastats* retired through the intervals of their maniples, which then closed ; and the *Triarians*, having hurled their *pila* on the wearied foes, fell on them sword in hand.

About the middle of the fifth century the legion underwent a further modification, and became such as it was when opposed to Hannibal, and as it is described by Polybius*. *Fabius Maximus* and *Decius* were probably the authors of this change also.

As the class system was no longer suited to the levies, they were now made from the tribes, from each of which four centuries, or 120 men, were selected for each legion ; so that when the tribes were thirty-five, the legion contained 4200 common men. These were all armed by the state, and classified according to their age ; the youngest being the light troops, or *Velites*, who began the battle ; the next in age the *Hastats*, and so on ; the *Triarians* being the oldest men. The *Hastats* and *Principes* carried *pila* and swords, the *Triarians* were armed with spears. Of the 4200 men of the legion, 1200, or twenty maniples, were *Hastats* ; the same number *Principes* ; one half of it, or 600, *Triarians* ; the remaining 1200 *Velites*. The cavalry of each legion consisted of 300 men divided into ten troops (*turmæ*), each of 30 men, and commanded by three *Decurions*. Its station in action was on the wings. Each legion had six tribunes, each maniple two centurions and two ensigns : legates (*legati*) or lieutenants commanded the legions under the general. The array of battle still continued to be in *quincunx*.

As the century continued to be drawn up three in front and ten deep, a question arises how it was to act ; and it can only have been in the following manner. The century also was drawn up in *quincunx*,



thus forming ten lines, each man being allotted a space of three feet every way. When those in the first line had thrown,

* Polybius, vi. 19-26, xviii. 13-15.

their *pila*, they fell back, and the second line stepped forward and took their place, and so on till the whole ten lines had engaged; and if there was a supply of *pila*, the same course may have been gone through over again; the same was the case when they came to employ their swords.

What the literature of Rome was at this period we have not the means of ascertaining. Brief dry chronicles of public events were kept; the funeral orations made over men of rank were preserved by their families; a moral poem of App. Claudius the Blind, and his speech against peace with Pyrrhus, were extant in Cicero's days. Cato and Varro* say that it was the custom of the Romans to sing at their banquets old songs containing the praises of the illustrious men of former times. It is the opinion of Niebuhr†, that the poems from which he supposes the history of the kings and of the early days of the republic to have been framed, were the production of plebeian poets, and composed after the time of the capture of the city by the Gauls; the middle of the fifth century, which was the golden age of Roman art, may, he thinks, also have been that of Roman poetry. The measure in which the Romans composed their poems, and which is named Saturnian Verse, continued to be used to the middle of the seventh century of the city; but we have very few specimens of it remaining, and its nature is but imperfectly understood.

* The former in Cicero, Tusc. Quæst. i. 2. iv. 2, Brutus, 19; the latter in Nonius, s. v. *Assa voce*. From the passage of the Brutus, "*quæ multis sæculis ante suam (Catonis) ætatem*," it would seem to follow that the custom had gone out of use long before Cato's time; yet, in the opinion of Niebuhr, Dionysius (i. 79.) plainly speaks of ballads of Romulus and Remus as being still sung in his time. Horace also (Carm. iv. 15. 25-32.) seems to speak of the practice of singing the praises of the renowned of ancient days as still continuing.

† History of Rome, i. p. 257.

THE HISTORY OF ROME.

PART III. CONQUEST OF CARTHAGE AND MACEDONIA.

A.U. 488-619. B.C. 264-133.

CHAPTER I.*

Carthage.—First Punic War.—Siege of Agrigentum.—Roman Fleet.—Naval Victory of Duilius.—Invasion of Africa.—Defeat and Capture of Regulus.—Losses of the Romans at Sea.—Battle at Panormus.—Death of Regulus.—Defeat of Claudius.—Victory at the Ægatian Isles.—Peace with Carthage.—Effects of the War.

THE present portion of our history will be chiefly occupied by the wars between Rome and Carthage; we will therefore commence it by a brief sketch of the political constitution and history of the latter state.

Carthage was a colony of the Phœnicians† founded on the north coast of Africa about a century before the building of Rome. The colony was led, it is said, by Elissa, or Dido, the sister of the king of Tyre: a spot of land under payment of tribute was obtained from the original inhabitants of the country, and a town built ‡, which rapidly increased in size and

* Polybius, l. 1—64, the Epitomators.

† The Greeks called the Tyrians and Sidonians Φοίνικες, on account of their red or purple garments; hence the Latin *Pœni* and *punicus*.

‡ The fort or citadel of the town was naturally named Betzûra (*fort*), of which the Greeks made Byrsa (βύρσα), and as this signified an *ox-hide*, they invented the tale of Dido's deceiving the Africans by asking for as much land as an ox-hide would cover, and when they gave it, cutting the hide into

wealth. The people first freed themselves from the tribute, then reduced the adjoining tribes, and gradually extended their dominion over the coast of Africa from the confines of Cyrene to the Atlantic. The Balearic isles and Sardinia also owned the dominion of Carthage, and she early had settlements on the north coast of Sicily.

The constitution of Carthage obtained the praise of Aristotle. It was, like those of the most flourishing commercial states of antiquity, a mixture of aristocracy and democracy, with a preponderance of the former, which was composed of the families of greatest wealth and influence, from whom the persons were chosen who were to fill the chief offices in the state, and who all served without salary. The senate was formed out of the principal families, and its members had their seats for life. It was presided over by the two *Suffetes**, magistrates who are compared to the Roman consuls and the Spartan kings. If the suffetes and senate disagreed, the matter was brought before the people, whose decision was conclusive, on which occasion any one who pleased might speak and give his opinion. The suffetes frequently went out in the command of the armies, but the office of general was distinct from theirs. There was a magistracy of one hundred judges, to whom the generals had to give an account of their conduct in war; and nowhere does the Punic character appear in a more odious light than in the cruel punishments inflicted on those whose only fault had been their ill fortune; nothing being more common than for them to crucify a defeated general. These Hundred, who resembled the Spartan Ephors, became like them in course of time the tyrants of the state, and helped to cause its ruin.

The troops of Carthage were chiefly mercenaries hired in Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Italy. The Carthaginians were remarkably precious of the blood of their own citizens, while they lavished that of their mercenaries with reckless prodigality.

The first attempt made by the Carthaginians to extend their dominion in Sicily was at the time of Xerxes' invasion of Greece, when they sustained a most decisive defeat at Himera

things. This story has gone the round of the world. Hassan Sabah, the chief of the Assassins, thus got the fort of Alamût in Persia, the English (the Persians say) Calcutta, Bengist and Horsa their settlement in the Isle of Thanet, and one of the colonies in New England its land from the Indians.

* The Hebrew *Shofetim*, or Judges.

from Gelo of Syracuse. They refrained from any further efforts till the people of Segesta (Egesta), who had called the Athenians into Sicily, applied, on *their* defeat, to Carthage for aid against Selinus. The aid was granted; and this was the occasion of a succession of wars for more than a century between the Carthaginians and the Sicilian Greeks, in which the former acquired the dominion over the greater part of the island. We are now to see them in conflict with the mistress of Italy.

The war between these two powerful rivals commenced in a manner little creditable to Rome: the following was the occasion. After the death of Agathocles of Syracuse, the Campanian mercenaries who had been in his pay were dismissed. They left Syracuse as if they were returning home, but instead of doing so they treacherously seized the town of Messâna; they partly killed, partly expelled the men, and divided the women, children, and property among themselves. The name which they assumed was Mamertines*; they conquered several places in the island, their numbers rapidly increased, and when their countrymen had imitated their treachery in the opposite town of Rhegium†, a strict alliance was formed between the two freebooting communities. But when the Romans had destroyed their Italian allies, and they had themselves sustained a complete defeat from Hiero of Syracuse, they saw the necessity of foreign aid if they would escape destruction. A part of them applied to Hanno, a Punic admiral, and put the citadel into his hands; another party sent off to Rome, offering possession of the town, and imploring aid on the score of consanguinity (488)‡.

The Roman senate was greatly perplexed how to act. It was of the utmost importance to prevent the Carthaginians from becoming masters of Messina; but, on the other hand, Rome's policy had hitherto been in the main upright and ho-

* From Mamers, or Mars, the god of war.

† In the first year of the war with Pyrrhus, the eighth legion, consisting of Campanians, had been placed in garrison at Rhegium. Under the pretext of a conspiracy among the inhabitants, they massacred the men, and reduced the women and children to slavery, and casting off their allegiance acted as an independent state. In 482, however, the consul C. Genucius stormed the town, and he led the 300 who remained alive of the legion to Rome, where they were scourged and beheaded at the rate of fifty a day.

‡ It is not unworthy of notice, that in this year the first show of gladiators was given to the Roman people by M. and D. Brutus at the funeral of their father. Liv. Epit. xvi. Val. Max. ii. 4, 7.

nourable, and with what face could they who had just punished so severely their own legion for an act of treachery, come forward as the protectors of those who had set them the example? They long pondered, and could come to no conclusion; the consuls then brought the matter before the people, who, beguiled by the prospect of booty held out, and the apparent ease of the enterprise, and heedless of national honour, voted the required aid*.

The charge of relieving Messana was committed to the consul App. Claudius Caudex†; and one of his legates proceeding with some troops and ships to Rhegium, after one ineffectual attempt succeeded in crossing the strait and getting into the town. Hanno was invited to a conference, at which he was treacherously seized, and only released on condition of his giving up the citadel, an act of weakness for which he was crucified on his return to Carthage. But another Hanno now came with a large fleet, and landed an army, which, in conjunction with the troops of Hiero, king of Syracuse, (with whom an alliance was made,) besieged the city on the land side, while the fleet lay at Cape Pelorus‡.

The consul arrived shortly after, and taking advantage of the night landed his legions close to the camp of the Syracusans. He drew them up unobserved, and in the morning totally defeated the troops of the king, who fled to his capital; whither, after having defeated the Punic army also, Appius followed him, and sitting down before it laid waste the lands.

The two consuls of the following year (489) landed in Sicily, where sixty-seven towns, subject to Hiero or the Carthaginians, placed themselves under the dominion of Rome. They approached Syracuse, and Hiero, in compliance with the wishes of his people, made proposals of peace, which was granted on his paying two hundred talents, releasing all the Roman prisoners, and becoming the ally of Rome. The Carthaginians made no efforts to impede the progress of the Roman arms in Sicily; but they were actively engaged in preparations for a vigorous campaign. They hired troops in Li-

* "This vote is an eternal disgrace to Rome, and a sign that even then the constitution was beginning to incline too much to the democratic side; although in the interior of the state no disadvantage to the republic thence arose for a long time to come."—Niebuhr, iii. 660. (German.)

† See Sen. de Brev. Vit. 13, 4.

‡ Pelôrus, Pachynus and Lilybæum were the three extremities of the triangular isle of Sicily.

guria, Gaul, and Spain, which, joined with their African troops and the light Numidian cavalry, they sent over to Sicily (490) under Hannibal the son of Gisco, while another army was collected in Sardinia for the invasion of Italy.

Hannibal made Agrigentum his head-quarters. Leaving the defence of Italy to the prætor, the two consuls, L. Postumius and Q. Mamilius, passed over to Sicily, and came and encamped within a mile of that city. Having repelled an attack of the enemy, they formed two separate camps, united by a double ditch and a line of posts; their magazines were in the town of Erbessus, which lay at no great distance in their rear. They remained thus for five months, when at the urgent desire of Hannibal, whose troops were beginning to suffer from hunger, Hanno was sent to Sicily with a force of fifty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and sixty elephants. He advanced to Heraclea, and took the town of Erbessus: the Romans were now reduced to great straits for provisions: an epidemic also broke out among them, and the consuls were thinking of giving over the siege; but Hiero, whose all was at stake, made every effort to supply them, and they resolved to persevere. Hanno now encamped within little more than a mile of them, and the two armies remained for two months opposite each other. At length, urged by repeated signals and messages from Hannibal, describing the distress in the town, Hanno resolved to hazard an engagement; the Romans, who were suffering nearly as much, eagerly accepted it, and after a hard-fought battle victory remained with them. Hanno fled to Heraclea, leaving his camp in the hands of the victors; thirty of his elephants were killed, three wounded, and eleven taken. During the battle Hannibal made a fruitless attack on the Roman lines; but he soon after took advantage of the darkness of the winter nights to break through them, and get off with what remained of his army. The Romans then stormed the town, and sold such of the inhabitants as survived into slavery.

Several of the towns of the interior now came over to the Romans, but those on the coast stood too much in awe of the Punic fleet to follow their example: the coast of Italy also suffered from its descents, and the senate saw that they must meet the Carthaginians on their own element if they would end the contest with advantage. But the Punic ships of war were *quinqueremes*, and as the Romans and their Greek subjects had never had larger ships than triremes, their carpenters could not build the former kind without a model. At length

(492) a Carthaginian ship of war, having gone ashore on the coast of Bruttium, fell into their hands, and with this for a model, in the space of sixty days from the time the timber was cut, they built a fleet of one hundred and thirty ships*. Meantime stages had been erected, on which the destined rowers were taught their art. When the fleet was ready, the consul Cn. Cornelius Scipio sailed over to Messina with seventeen ships, and the rest followed along the coast as fast as they could get to sea. While Scipio remained at Messina envoys came, inviting him to take possession of the Liparæan isles, and he inconsiderately sailed over to them: the Punic admiral Hannibal, who was at Panormus, hearing he was there, sent twenty ships after him, which closed him up in the port during the night. The Romans in terror left their ships and fled to the land, and the consul was obliged to surrender. Hannibal now conceived such a contempt for the Romans as sailors that he thought he might easily destroy their whole navy. He therefore sailed along the coast of Italy, with fifty ships to reconnoitre; but happening, as he doubled a cape, to fall in with their fleet in order of battle, he lost the greater part of his ships, and had much ado to escape with the remainder.

The Romans were well aware of their own inferiority as seamen, and they knew that their only chance of success was by bringing a sea- to resemble a land-fight. For this purpose they devised the following plan. In the fore part of each ship they set up a mast, twenty-four feet high and nine inches in diameter, with a pulley-wheel at the top of it; to this mast was fastened a ladder thirty-six feet long and four broad, covered with boards nailed across it, and having on each side a bulwark as high as a man's knee; at the end of it was a strong piece of iron with a sharp spike and a ring on it, through which a rope ran to the mast, and over the wheel, by which it could be raised or lowered. This *Corvus* or *crow*, as the machine was called, was to be let fall on the enemy's ship, which the spike would then hold fast, and the soldiers holding their shields over the bulwarks, to protect them, could board along it.

The other consul, C. Duilius, took the command of the fleet, and hearing that the Carthaginians were plundering the lands of Mylæ he sailed to engage them. As soon as they saw him, they came out with one hundred and thirty ships, as to a cer-

* Florus, ii. 2. Plin. N. H. xvi. 192.

tain victory, not even condescending to form in line of battle. At the sight of the *crows* they paused a little, but they soon came on and attacked the foremost ships. The *crows* were then let fall; the Roman soldiers boarded along them: the Africans could ill withstand them, and they took thirty ships, among which was that of Hannibal, the admiral, a *septireme* which had belonged to king Pyrrhus. The rest of the Punic fleet manœuvred, hoping to be able to attack to advantage; but they either could not get near the Roman ships, or if they did were caught by the *crows*. They at last fled, with the loss of fourteen ships sunk, three thousand men slain, and seven thousand captured. The joy of the Romans at this their first naval victory was evinced by the honours granted to Duilius; for beside his triumph (the first naval one ever celebrated at Rome), a column adorned with the *rostra*, or beaks of ships, was erected in the Forum, and he was permitted for the rest of his life to have a torch carried before him, and be preceded by a flute-player when returning home from supper*.

After this victory the Romans divided their forces, and the consul L. Scipio sailed (493) with a fleet to make an attack on Corsica and Sardinia, and he destroyed a Punic fleet and made a great number of captives. Meantime the Carthaginians were recovering their power in Sicily; but the consul of the next year (494), A. Atilius Calatinus, restored the Roman preponderance there. The towns of Mytistratum, Enna, Camarina, and others, which had gone over to the Carthaginians, were taken, and their inhabitants massacred.

The following year (495) little was done on land; the Carthaginians had, however, re-established their sway over one half of the island. A naval victory gained by the consul C. Atilius Regulus Serranus† off the port of Tyndaris, inspirited the Romans to make a bold attempt to terminate the war by an invasion of Africa. They therefore (496) collected at Messina 330 ships, each carrying 300 seamen, which, sailing round Cape Pachynus, took 40,000 soldiers on board on the south coast of Sicily. The Carthaginians had assembled at Lilybæum a fleet of 350 ships, carrying 150,000 men to oppose

* Cic. Cato, 14. Florus, ii. 2. Sil. Ital. vi. 663. It would seem from Cicero that Duilius assumed of himself this last honour, and that the senate and people acquiesced in it.

† He was so named, we are told, because those sent to inform him of his elevation to the consulate found him sowing his fields with his own hand. Cic. Rosc. Amer. 18. Val. Max. iv. 4, 5. Plin. N. H. xviii. 4.

them. It was the greatest military effort that the ancient world ever saw*.

The Roman fleet was divided into four squadrons: the two first were commanded by the consuls M. Atilius Regulus and L. Manlius in person. The consuls' ships sailed side by side; each was followed by his squadron, in a single line, each ship keeping further out to sea than the one before it, so that the two lines formed an acute angle; and the triangle was completed by the third squadron sailing abreast, and having the horse-transporters in tow; the fourth squadron closed the figure, being in a single line, and extending on each side beyond the base. The Punic admirals, Hanno and Hamilcar, likewise divided their fleet into four squadrons, which sailed parallel, Hanno commanding the right, Hamilcar the left wing. The two central squadrons, by a feigned flight, drew the first two Roman ones after them, and thus broke the triangle; the Punic left wing then attacked the third squadron, while the right wing sailed round and fell on the fourth. As the Punic ships which had fled now turned round and fought, there was a threefold engagement. At length the first two Roman squadrons, having beaten those to which they were opposed, came to the aid of the third and fourth, and the Carthaginians were forced to retire, with the loss of thirty ships sunk and sixty-four taken; that of the Romans was twenty-four ships.

The consuls returned to Sicily to repair the ships they had taken, and to complete the crews of the whole fleet. They then made sail for Africa; and as the Punic fleet was too weak to oppose them, they landed safely on the east side of the Hermaic cape (*Cape Bon*), whence advancing southwards they took the town of Clupea, which was deserted at their approach, and made it their place of arms. The country thence to the capital was like a garden, full of cattle, corn, vines, and every natural production, and studded all over with the elegant country-seats of the citizens of Carthage. The whole of this lovely region was speedily pillaged and destroyed, and thousands of captives were dragged to Clupea, the Carthaginians not venturing out to the defence of their property.

It was the usage of the Romans for at least one consular army to return to Rome for the winter and be discharged, and

* The plan of invading Africa during a war with the Carthaginians, had been successfully put in practice by Agathocles, about fifty years before this time (Ol. 117, 3.). See Diodor. xx. 3. *et seq.* It was this that doubtless suggested the idea to the Romans.

they would not depart from it on the present occasion. To the messenger therefore whom the consuls sent home for instructions, it was replied, that Manlius should return with his army and the greater part of the fleet, while Regulus should remain in Africa. It is said that Regulus earnestly applied for leave to return, as his little plebeian farm was going to ruin for want of his presence; but that the government undertook to bear the expense of its cultivation, and to support his family while he was away in the service of the state*. He therefore remained, with 15,000 foot, 500 horse, and 40 ships.

The Carthaginians having recalled Hamilcar from Sicily, he brought with him 5000 foot and 500 horse; and being joined in command with two generals named Hasdrubal and Bostar, he advanced to oppose Regulus, who was now (497) besieging a town named Adis, close by the lake of Tunis†. Instead of keeping to the plain, where their elephants and cavalry could act to advantage, the Punic generals took their post on the hills, and were in consequence defeated, with the loss of 17,000 men killed, and 5000 men and eighteen elephants taken. Regulus now conquered Tunis; seventy-four other towns submitted to him; he ravaged the country at his will; the Numidians revolted, and the country-people all fled into Carthage, where famine began to be felt.

Regulus, fearing that his successor would come out and have the glory of taking Carthage, sent to propose a peace. Some of the principal men came to his camp to treat, but he offered only the most humiliating terms. He required that Carthage should acknowledge the supremacy of Rome, pay a yearly tribute, retain but one ship of war, give up all claim on Sicily and Sardinia, release the Roman prisoners, and redeem her own. The Punic envoys retired without deigning a reply.

But the haughtiness of the Roman proconsul was to meet its due chastisement. The Carthaginians had sent to Greece to hire troops, which now arrived; and among them was a

* Liv. Epit. xviii. Val. Max. iv. 4, 6.

† On the banks of the Bagrada, said the legend, abode a serpent of the enormous length of 120 feet; and when the soldiers came thither for water, he killed or drove them off. It was found necessary to employ the ballists and other artillery against him, as against a town, and at length he was slain. His skin and jawbones were brought to Rome, where they remained in one of the temples till the time of the Numantine war. See Tubero *ap.* Gell. vi. 3. Liv. Epit. xviii. Val. Max. i. 8, 10. Plin. N. H. viii. 14. Silius, Pun. vi. 140. We must recollect that the first Punic war was the subject of Æneid's poem.

Spartan named Xanthippus, an officer of some distinction. When Xanthippus viewed the condition of the Punic army and saw its force, he told his friends, that it was not the Romans but their own generals that had been the cause of the preceding defeats. The government, on learning his sentiments, conceived so high an opinion of his talents, that it was resolved to give him the command of the army; and he speedily infused confidence into the minds of the soldiery, who readily observed his superiority over their former commanders. In reliance on one hundred elephants, and a body of 6000 horse, he ventured to offer battle to the Romans, although he had only 14,000 foot, and their forces now amounted to upwards of 32,000 men. He placed the mercenaries on the right, the Punic troops on the left; the elephants were ranged one deep in front of the line, the cavalry and light troops were on the flanks. The Romans put their light troops in advance against the elephants, and drew up the legionaries much deeper than usual; the horse were on the flanks. The left wing of the Romans easily defeated the mercenaries opposed to them, and drove them to their camp; but the Punic horse routed that of the Romans, and then fell on the rear of the right wing, against the front of which the elephants were urged on; and when the Roman soldiers had, with great loss, forced their way through them, they had to encounter the dense Carthaginian phalanx. Assailed thus on all sides, they at length gave way and fled; the battle being in the plain, they were exposed to the elephants and horse, and all were slain but five hundred men, who, with the proconsul, were made prisoners. The left wing, containing about two thousand men, which had pursued the mercenaries, made its escape to Clupea. Xanthippus, having thus saved Carthage, prudently went home soon after to avoid the envy and jealousy which, as a stranger, he was sure to excite. We are told* (but surely we should not believe the tale) that the Carthaginians rewarded him richly, and sent some triremes to convey him and the other Lacedæmonians home, but gave secret orders to the captains to drown them all on the way, which orders were obeyed!†

The Carthaginians laid siege to Clupea, but the Romans

* Zonaras, viii. 13. Appian, Punica, 3. Silius, Pun. vi. 680.

† It is a pleasing conjecture of Dr. Arnold's (*Hist. of Rome*, ii. 589), that Xanthippus may have been the person whom St. Jerome on Daniel xi. 9, calls "Xantippus, one of the two generals-in-chief" of the king of Egypt.

defended it gallantly. When intelligence of the defeat reached Rome, it was resolved to send a fleet without delay to bring off the survivors, and the consuls M. Æmilius Paulus and Ser. Fulvius Nobilior put to sea with three hundred and fifty ships. The Punic fleet engaged them off the Hermaïc cape, and was defeated with the loss of one hundred and four ships sunk, thirty taken, and thirty thousand men slain or drowned. The Romans then landed, and having defeated the Punic army, obliged them to raise the siege; but seeing that the country was so exhausted that no supplies could be had, they prepared to re-embark and depart.

It was now after the summer solstice, a stormy and perilous season in the Mediterranean. The pilots earnestly advised to avoid the south coast of Sicily, and rather to sail along the north coast. But as this was chiefly in the hands of the Carthaginians, the consuls preferred facing the dangers of the sea. They accordingly set sail, and got safely across; but on the coast of Camarina, the fleet was assailed by so furious a tempest that but eighty ships escaped. The whole coast thence to Pachynus was covered with wrecks, and with the bodies of drowned men. Hiero acted on this occasion as a faithful ally, supplying the survivors with food and raiment, and all other necessities. The remaining ships then sailed for Messina.

The courage of the Carthaginians rose when they heard of this misfortune; they got ready two hundred ships, and sent Hasdrubal with his army and one hundred and forty elephants over to Sicily. The Roman senate, nothing dismayed by the loss of their fleet, gave orders to build a new one; and in three months they had one of two hundred and twenty ships afloat; with which the consuls Cn. Cornelius Scipio and A. Atilius Calatinus (498) sailed to Messina, whence, being joined by the ships there, they went and laid siege to Panormus. The new town (for, like so many others, it consisted of two parts) being taken by storm, the old town capitulated; those who could pay a ransom of two pounds of silver were allowed to depart, leaving their property behind; those who could not pay that sum were sold for slaves: of the former there were ten thousand, of the latter thirteen thousand. Tyndaris, Solœis, and some other towns on that coast then submitted.

The consuls of the next year (499), Cn. Servilius and C. Sempronius, sailed over, and made various descents on the coast of Africa; but their ignorance of the ebb and flood in the little Syrtis was near causing the loss of the whole fleet;

the ships went aground on the shoals, and it was only by throwing all the burdens overboard that they were got off. They then sailed round Lilybæum to Panormus, and thence boldly stretched across for the coast of Italy; but off cape Palinurus they encountered a fearful storm, in which they lost upwards of one hundred and fifty ships. The senate and people, quite cast down by this last calamity, resolved to send no more fleets to sea, and only to keep sixty ships to convoy transports and guard the coast of Italy.

Nothing of importance marks the next two years; but in 502, Hasdrubal, encouraged by the want of spirit shown of late by the Romans, led his army from Lilybæum toward Panormus. The Roman proconsul L. Cæcilius Metellus, who was lying there with an army to protect the harvest, fell back to the town. He set his light troops, well supplied with missiles, outside of the ditch, with orders, if hard pressed, to retire behind it and continue the contest; and directed the workmen of the town to carry out missiles for them, and lay them under the wall. He kept the main body of his troops within the town, and sent constant reinforcements to those without. When the Punic host came near, the drivers urged on the elephants against the light troops, whom they forced to retire behind the ditch; but as they still pressed on, showers of missiles from the walls and from those at the ditch, killed, wounded, and drove furious the elephants; and Metellus, taking advantage of the confusion thus caused, led out his troops and fell on the flank of the enemy. The defeat was decisive; some were slain, others drowned in attempting to swim to a Punic fleet that was at hand: the whole loss was twenty thousand men; one hundred and four elephants were taken, and all the rest killed. After this defeat the Carthaginians abandoned Selinus, whose inhabitants they removed to Lilybæum, which place and Drepana alone remained in their hands.

An embassy to propose a peace, or at least an exchange of prisoners, was now despatched to Rome, and Regulus, who had been five years a captive, accompanied it, on his promise to return if it proved unsuccessful. The tale of his heroism, as transmitted to us by the Roman writers, is one of the most famed in Roman story. Unhappily, like so many others, it passes the limits of truth.

Regulus, we are told, refused, as being the slave of the Carthaginians, to enter Rome; with their consent he attended the debates of the senate, which was held, as was usual on

such occasions, outside of the city, and urged them on no account to think of peace, or even of an exchange of prisoners; and lest regard for him should sway them, he affirmed that a slow poison had been given him, and he must shortly die. The senate voted as he wished; and rejecting the embraces of his friends and relatives as being now dishonoured, he returned to his prison. The Carthaginians, in their rage at his conduct, resolved to give him the most cruel death. They therefore, it is said, cut off his eyelids, and exposed him to the rays of the sun, inclosed in a cask or chest set full of sharp spikes, where pain and want of food and sleep terminated his existence*.

Regulus, there can be no doubt, died at Carthage, but probably of a natural death. The senate had put the Punic generals Bostar and Hamilcar into the hands of his family as hostages for his safety; and when his wife heard of his death, she attributed it to neglect and want of care, and in revenge treated her prisoners with such cruelty that Bostar died, and Hamilcar would have shared his fate but that the matter came to the ears of the government. The young Atilii only escaped capital punishment by throwing all the blame on their mother; the body of Bostar was burnt, and the ashes sent home to Carthage, and Hamilcar was released from his dungeon†.

After their victory at Panormus, the Romans proceeded with an army of forty thousand men, and a fleet of two hundred ships, to lay siege to the strong town of Lilybæum. But it was gallantly defended by its governor Himilco, and resisted all the efforts of the Romans, aided by the artillery with which the Syracusans supplied them, during the remainder of the war.

In fact the remaining nine years of the war were years of almost constant misfortune and disgrace to the Romans; and had the Carthaginian system been the same as theirs, and the same obstinate perseverance been manifested, the final advantage would probably have been on the side of Carthage.

* Cicero, Phil. xi. 4. Piso, 19. Off. iii. 27. Fin. v. 27. Tubero *ap.* Gellius, vii. 24. Horace, Carm. iii. 5. 41. Appian, Pun. 4. According to Silius (ii. 343), Regulus was crucified. Zonaras (viii. 15), following perhaps Dion, gives the common account, but speaks dubiously (ὡς ἢ φήμη λέγει). Perhaps all this testimony is more than outweighed by the significant silence of Polybius, who narrates the war in detail.

† Diodorus, frag. xxiv. 1. Zonaras, *ut sup.* Compare Gellius, *ut supra*. If this story be true, the preceding one can hardly be so.

In the beginning of the war, the Roman generals, for instance, had had a decided superiority; now the case was reversed, and Himilco, Hannibal, and, above all, Hamilcar Barcas (*Lightning**), far excelled those opposed to them.

We will pass over the details of the events of these years, only noticing the following, as it relates to the internal history of Rome. In the year 503 the consul P. Claudius Pulcher† sailed with a fleet and army to Sicily, and, leaving Lilybæum, went with one hundred and twenty-three ships to make an attempt on Drepanum. He hoped to surprise it by sailing in the night, but it was daybreak when he arrived, and the Punic admiral Adherbal, who was there, had time to get his fleet out to give him battle. The *pullarii* told the consul that the sacred chickens would not eat; "If they will not eat," said he, "they must drink," and he ordered them to be flung into the sea‡. A battle thus entered into in contempt of the religious feelings of the people, could not well be prosperous; the Roman fleet was totally defeated; ninety-three ships with all their crews were taken by the enemy; the consul fled with only thirty. Claudius, on coming to Rome, was ordered to name a dictator: and with the usual insolence of his family, he nominated his client M. Claudius Glicia, the son of a freedman. The senate in indignation forced the unworthy dictator to lay down his office, and appointed in his place A. Atilius Calatinus, who is remarkable as being the first dictator who commanded an army out of Italy. Claudius was prosecuted for violation of the majesty of the people, and he did not long survive the disgrace, dying probably by his own hand, like so many of his family.

The Romans were so disheartened by this last defeat, that for five years they remained without a navy. At length, seeing that unless they could prevent supplies being sent to Hamilcar from home, there would be no end to the war, they resolved once more to build a fleet. But the treasury was exhausted; public spirit however, as at times in Greece, impelled the wealthy citizens to come forward, and each giving according to his means, a fleet of two hundred ships, built after an

* From the Punic or Hebrew word *Barak*. Hence perhaps Barak, the lieutenant of Deborah (Judges, ch. iv.), had his name; the Scipios were called *fulmina belli*. Yilderim (*Lightning*) was a surname of the celebrated Turkish sultan Bayazid.

† The son of Ap. Claudius Cæcus, Gell. x. 6.

‡ Cicero de Nat. Deor. ii. 3; de Div. i. 16. ii. 8. Liv. Epit. xix.

excellent model, was got ready, with which the consul C. Lutatius Catulus and the prætor P. Valerius proceeded to Sicily early in the spring of the year 511.

Lutatius, finding that the Punic fleet was gone home, blockaded both Lilybæum and Drepanum by sea; and he pressed on the siege of this last place with great vigour, hoping to take it before the fleet could return. Meantime, aware that he would have to fight at sea, he had his crews daily put through their exercise. When it was known at Carthage that a Roman fleet was again on the coast of Sicily, the ships of war were all got ready for sea, and laden with corn and all things requisite for the army of Hamilcar, who was besieging the town of Eryx; and the admiral, Hanno, was directed to sail thither without delay, and having landed the stores, to take on board some of the best troops, and Hamilcar with them, and then to force the enemy to an engagement. Hanno accordingly sailed to the isles named Ægâtes*, off Cape Lilybæum, and there landed. Lutatius, on learning that the Punic fleet was at sea, judging of its object, took some of the best troops on board, with the intention of giving battle in the morning. During the night the wind changed; it blew strong, and favourable to the enemy, and the sea grew somewhat rough. The consul was in doubt how to act; but reflecting that if he gave battle now he should only have to fight Hanno, and that too with his ships heavily laden, whereas if he waited for fine weather he should have to engage a fleet in fighting order with picked troops, and above all with the formidable Hamilcar on board, he resolved to hesitate no longer. He advanced in line of battle; the heavy ships and raw levies of the Carthaginians could ill resist the expedite quinqueremes and seasoned troops of the Romans, and the issue of the contest was not long dubious: fifty Punic ships were sunk, seventy taken; the number of the prisoners amounted to ten thousand.

This defeat quite broke the spirit of the Carthaginians. Having vented their rage as usual on their unfortunate admiral by crucifying him, they gave full powers to Hamilcar to treat of peace with the Roman consul, who, aware of the exhausted condition of Rome, gladly hearkened to the overtures of the Punic general, and peace was concluded on the following terms, subject to the approbation of the Roman

* Liv. Epit. xix. Polybius speaks of but one isle, and names it Ægûsa.

people. The Carthaginians were to evacuate all Sicily, and not to make war on Hiero or his allies; they were to release all the Roman prisoners without ransom; and to pay the Romans the sum of 2200 Euboïc talents* in the course of twenty years. The people, thinking these terms too favourable to Carthage, sent out ten commissioners to Sicily, and by these the sum to be paid was increased by a thousand talents, and the term reduced to ten years, and the Carthaginians were obliged to evacuate the islands between Italy and Sicily.

Thus, after a duration of twenty-four years, terminated the first war between Rome and Carthage. The efforts and the sacrifices made by the former state were greater than at any period of her history. The Roman population was considerably reduced in the contest; the Italian allies must have been diminished in proportion: seven hundred ships of war were lost; the enormous property taxes which they had to pay oppressed the people beyond measure†; large portions of the domain were sold, and this, with the sale of small properties in land, caused by distress, gave origin to the great inequality of property which afterwards proved so pernicious to the state. On the side of Carthage, the war was little less injurious; she lost five hundred ships of war; and though she did not, like Rome, lavish the blood of her own citizens, she had to pay her mercenaries high, and for this purpose to increase the taxes of her subjects, and thereby augment their discontent; all the imposts were doubled, and the land-tax was raised to one half of the produce.

The peace left Rome mistress of Sicily; and so exhausted was the island by the war, that the purchase seemed hardly worth the cost. The occasion of the war was evidently unjust on the side of Rome; and it would appear that her wiser policy had been to confine herself to Italy; but in reality the choice was not in her power, for Carthage was now extending her dominion over the West, and the contest for empire or existence must have come sooner or later. We must also bear in mind, that the empire of the world had been destined by Providence for Rome.

Sicily being the first country acquired out of Italy, it was the

* The Euboïc talent was the one in use in Southern Italy, in consequence, probably, of the influence exercised by the Chalcidians of Eubœa. It was somewhat greater than the Attic talent, the proportion being about 70 to 72. See Boeckh. *Pub. Econ. of Athens*, i. 30.

† The As had been reduced to two ounces at the end of this war. *Plin. N. H.* xxxiii. 44.

first example of a Roman *province**. A governor was sent to it annually; all war was prohibited among its people; excise, land-tax, and other taxes were paid to Rome; but no public lands were retained there, and no assignments made to Roman citizens.

Hiero continued to the end of a long life to rule his little realm of Syracuse as the favoured ally of Rome; and his wisdom, justice, and beneficence caused the Syracusans to enjoy more real happiness than they had done at any period of their history†.

CHAPTER II.‡

Civil War at Carthage.—Illyrian War.—Gallic Wars.

SCARCELY had the Carthaginians concluded the war with Rome when they were engaged in another which menaced their very existence. The mercenaries who had served in Sicily, enraged at their pay and the rewards which Hamilcar had promised them being withheld, turned their arms against the state. They laid siege to Carthage, Hippo, and Utica. Most of the subjects, exacerbad by the enormous imposts which had been laid on them, joined them, and they defeated the only army that Carthage could assemble. At length the conduct of the war was committed to Hamilcar, and by his able measures he succeeded in annihilating the revolters. The war, one of the most sanguinary and ferocious ever known, lasted three years and four months. It gave the world an example of the danger of having the army of a state entirely composed of mercenaries.

During the early part of this war the Romans acted with honour; they set the Punic prisoners who were in Italy at liberty; they allowed provisions to be sent to Carthage, but not to the quarters of the rebels; and when the troops in Sardinia, who had also revolted, applied to them for aid, they refused it. They could not, however, persist in this honourable

* *Provincia* Niebuhr regards as equivalent with *proventus* and parallel to *vectigal*.

† We here lose the invaluable guidance of Niebuhr, whose work terminates at this point.

‡ Polybius, i. 65—ii. 35, the Epitomators.

course : on a second application from these troops, who were hard pressed by the native Sards, they sent a force thither ; and when the Carthaginians were preparing to assert their dominion over the island, they were menaced by a war with Rome. They were therefore obliged to give up all claim to Sardinia, and even to pay an additional sum of twelve hundred talents, as compensation for injuries they were alleged to have done the Roman merchant-shipping. This flagrant injustice on the part of the Romans rankled in the mind of the Carthaginians, and it is assigned as the chief cause of the second Punic war, which inflicted so much misery on Italy.

For several years now the Romans were engaged in reducing the barbarous natives of Sardinia and Corsica, and in extending their dominion northwards in Italy. It was also at this time that they first began to turn their views over the Adriatic, and regard the state of Greece. The following was the first occasion.

The Illyrians had for a long time been united under one head, and had exercised robbery and piracy on a large scale by sea and by land. Their last king, Agron*, dying from intemperance caused by his joy at his subjects having taken and plundered the wealthy town of Phœnice in Epirus, his widow Teuta assumed the government as guardian to her infant son. Piracy was now carried to a greater extent than ever, and continual complaints came to the Roman senate from their subjects on the east coast of Italy. C. and L. Coruncanius were therefore sent (522) as ambassadors to Teuta : she treated them with great haughtiness, and the younger of the envoys told her that, with the help of God, the Romans would make her amend the royal authority in Illyria. They departed ; and the queen, offended at his freedom of speech, sent some persons after him who murdered him. This breach of the law of nations was followed by a declaration of war by the Romans.

The following spring (523) the consul Cn. Fulvius sailed from Rome with two hundred ships, while his colleague L. Postumius led a land army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse to Brundisium. Fulvius directed his course to the isle of Corcyra, now a possession of the Illyrians ; as Demetrius of Pharos†, who commanded there, having incurred

* Agron was great-grandson of Bardylis, who fell in battle against Philip of Macedonia. *History of Greece*, Part III. c. 1.

† An island on the coast of Illyria.

the wrath of Teuta, had sent offering to put it into the hands of the Romans. He kept his word, and the Corcyraeans gladly submitted to the Roman dominion. Fulvius then passed over to Apollonia, where he was joined by Postumius. This city also put itself under the protection of Rome, and Epidamnus or Dyrrachium, whither they next proceeded, did the same. The consuls then entered Illyria, where several tribes revolted from Teuta; and, leaving Demetrius to rule over them, Fulvius returned to Rome, while Postumius wintered at Epidamnus. In the spring (524) Teuta obtained peace, on condition of paying tribute, giving up all claim to the greater part of Illyria, and engaging not to sail from her port of Lissus with more than two barks, and these unarmed*. Postumius sent to inform the Ætolian and Achæan leagues of this peace. Embassies were soon after despatched to Athens and Corinth, and at this last place the Romans were allowed to join in the Isthmian games.

In the year 514 a war had commenced with the Boian Gauls, supported by some of their kindred tribes and by the Ligurians. It was continued through the following year, with advantage on the side of the Romans. In 516 a large body of Transalpine Gauls came to the aid of the Boians; but at Ariminum they fell out among themselves, killed their kings, and slaughtered one another. The survivors returned home, and the Boians and Ligurians were glad to obtain peace. The following year, when the conquest of Sardinia had been effected by the consul T. Manlius Torquatus, the temple of Janus at Rome, which was to be closed in time of peace, was shut, for the first time it is said since the reign of Numa.

Four years after this peace (520) the tribune C. Flaminius brought in a bill to assign to the plebeians the Picentine district, which had been occupied by the Senonian Gauls, and which they still held as tenants to the state. The Boians and other neighbouring tribes saw in this a plan of the Romans to deprive them all gradually of their lands, and they determined on resistance. The Boians and Isumbrians sent to invite the Gæsatans, who dwelt on the Rhone, to come and share in a war in which great plunder was expected. The invitation was readily accepted; and in the eighth year after the division of the Picentine land (527), the Gæsatans crossed the Alps and descended into the plain of the Po, where they were

* The Romans afterwards (533) made war on Demetrius for breach of this treaty, and he had to seek refuge with Phillip II. of Macedonia, in whose service he spent the remainder of his life.

joined by all the Gallic tribes except the Venetians and the Cenomanians, whom the Romans had gained over to their side. With a host of 50,000 foot and 20,000 horse and chariots they then crossed the Apennines and entered Etruria.

The terror caused at Rome by this irruption of the Gauls was great. All Italy shared in it, and prepared to resist the invaders. The number of men actually under arms on this occasion was 150,000 foot and 6000 horse, and the total amount of the fighting men of Rome and her allies (the Greeks and Etruscans not included) was found to be 700,000 foot and 70,000 horse*.

One of the consuls, C. Atilius, was at this time in Sardinia; his colleague, L. Æmilius, had encamped at Ariminum; and one of the prætors commanded an army in Etruria. The Gauls had reached Clusium, in their way to Rome, when they learned that the prætor's army was in their rear. They returned, and by a stratagem gave this army a defeat; six thousand Romans were slain; the rest retired to a hill, where they defended themselves. The consul Æmilius, who had entered Etruria, now came up; and the Gauls, in order to secure the immense booty which they had acquired, by the advice of one of their kings declined an action, resolving to return home along the coast, and then to re-enter Etruria, light and unencumbered. Æmilius, being joined by the remainder of the prætor's army, followed their march, in order to harass them as much as possible. Meantime Atilius had landed his army at Pisa and was marching for Rome. His advanced guard met that of the Gauls and defeated it. A general action soon commenced, the Gauls being attacked in front and rear: they fought with skill and desperation; but their swords and shields were inferior to those of the Romans, and they were utterly defeated, with the loss of 40,000 slain, and 10,000 taken: that of the Romans is not known. Atilius fell in the action; Æmilius, having made a brief inroad into the Boian country, returned to Rome and triumphed.

The consuls of the succeeding year (528) reduced the Boians to submission. Heavy rains and an epidemic in their army checked all further operations. Their successors, P. Furius and C. Flaminius (the author of the war), carried their arms beyond the Po, and ravaged the lands of the Isubrians, who having assembled a force of fifty thousand men prepared to give them battle. The Roman consuls, who were devoid

* Polyb. ii. 24. His authority seems to have been Fabius Pictor. See Eutrop. iii. 5.

of all military skill, fearing to trust their Gallic allies, placed them on the south side of the Po, the bridges over which they broke down, and they drew up their troops so close to its edge as to leave no space for the requisite movements, so that their only hopes of safety lay in victory. Fortunately for the Roman army the tribunes possessed the skill the consuls wanted. Knowing that the long Gallic broadswords bent after the first blow, and must be laid under the foot and straightened to be again of use, they gave *pila* to their front ranks, and directed them, when the Gauls had bent their swords on these, to fall on sword in hand. These tactics succeeded completely; the straight short thrust-swords of the Romans did certain execution, and their victory was decisive.

After this defeat the Gauls sent an embassy to Rome suing for peace; but the new consuls, M. Claudius Marcellus and Cn. Cornelius Scipio (530), fearing to lose an occasion of distinguishing themselves, prevented its being granted. The Isumbrians hired thirty-three thousand Gæsatans; but all their efforts were unavailing; they were everywhere defeated, their chief towns Acerræ and Mediolanum were taken, and shortly afterwards the colonies of Mutina, Crémôna, and Placentia were founded to keep them in obedience. Marcellus at his triumph bore on a trophy the arms of the Gallic king Viridomarus, whom he had slain with his own hand, and suspended them, as the third *Spolia Opima** to Jupiter Feretrius, on the Capitol.

The Roman dominion now extended over the whole of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Illyria, and Coreyra, and the towns of the coast of Epirus.

CHAPTER III.†

Conquests of the Carthaginians in Spain.—Taking of Saguntum.—March of Hannibal for Italy.—Hannibal's passage of the Alps.—Battle of the Ticinus.—Battle of the Trebia.—Battle of the Trasimene Lake.—Hannibal and Fabius Cunctator.—Battle of Cannæ.—Progress of Hannibal.

WHILE the Romans were thus extending their dominion in Cisalpine Gaul, the Carthaginians were equally active in form-

* Plut. Marcellus, 7. The other two are the fictitious ones of Romulus, the real of Cossus. See above, p. 104.

† Livy, xxi. xxii. Polybius, iii. Plut. Fabius Max. 1-18; Appian De Reb. Hispan. 1-14. Bell. Hannibal. 1-28. Silius Italicus, i.-x. the Epitomators.

ing an empire in Spain. The loss of Sicily and Sardinia, and the heavy sum of money exacted from them by the Romans, had increased their enmity to that people; and Hamilcar, conscious of his great talents, and that by the fault of others he had been obliged to give up his hopes of recovering Sicily, and filled with hatred to the Roman name, burned to possess the means of waging war with them once more. The possession of Spain he saw would give abundance of men and money, and the divided state of the nations and tribes which held it would make the acquisition of dominion easy. As soon, therefore, as the civil war was ended, and the Numidians who had shared in it were reduced, he embarked his army (514), and landed at Gades (*Cádiz*). He was attended by his son-in-law Hasdrubal and his son Hannibal, then a child of nine years of age. As he was offering sacrifice previous to embarkation, he made those who were present withdraw a little; then leading his son up to the altar, he asked him if he would go with him; and on his giving a cheerful assent, he made him lay his hand on the flesh of the victim, and swear eternal enmity to Rome.

During nine years Hamilcar carried on a successful war in Spain. He reduced the modern Andalusia and Estremadura, and penetrated into Portugal and Leon; but at length he fell (523) in an engagement with the people of the country. The army chose Hasdrubal to succeed him, and the Carthaginian senate confirmed their choice, and sent him additional troops. Hasdrubal, by his talents, his mildness, justice, and good policy, won the affections of the Spaniards, and extended the dominion of Carthage to the river Ibêrus (*Ebro*); and he founded on the east coast the city of New Carthage (*Carthago*) for the capital, which soon nearly rivalled Carthage itself in extent and wealth. This able general perished by the hand of an assassin in the eighth year of his command (531), and the army, as before, assuming the right of appointment, set Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, who had been second in command to Hasdrubal, in his place, and their choice was again confirmed by the government.

Hannibal, who was now twenty-five years of age, felt that the time for executing his father's projects against Rome was at hand. He proposed to march a veteran army into Italy, and he hoped that one or more decisive victories there would induce the Gauls and the Samnites and other Italian peoples to rise and assert their independence. In order to extend the Punic dominion still further in Spain, to enrich his troops, and

to give them confidence in themselves and their general, he led them into the country of the Olcades, on the Anas (*Guadiana*), and took their chief town, named Althæa or Carteia. The following spring (532) he entered the country of the Vaccæans, and took their towns of Elmantica or Hermandica, and Arbucala; and as he was on the way back to New Carthage, he defeated on the banks of the Tagus an army of more than one hundred thousand Spaniards who came to oppose him. The whole of Spain south of the Ebro, with the exception of the city of Saguntum, now obeyed the power of Carthage. The people of this town, who claimed a Greek origin, and the Greek towns on the coast of Spain, had put themselves under the protection of Rome, and a Roman embassy had been sent to Carthage, in the time of Hasdrubal, to stipulate for their independence, and to require that the Punic power should not be extended beyond the Ebro. The Saguntines, aware of the ultimate designs of Hannibal, sent pressing embassies to Rome, praying for aid, as Hannibal, having caused a quarrel between them and the Torboletans, menaced their existence. An embassy was therefore sent to Hannibal, who gave a haughty evasive reply, and sending to Carthage for instructions he received power to act as he deemed best. Under the pretext of aiding the Torboletans, he therefore came and laid siege to Saguntum with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. The conquest of this town was an object of the utmost importance in his eyes; as he would thus deprive the Romans of the place of arms which they had in view for carrying on the war in Spain; he would strike the Spaniards with a salutary dread of the Punic power, and leave no enemy of importance in his rear on his proposed way for Italy; and he would acquire vast wealth for the prosecution of the war.

During eight months the Saguntines made a most heroic resistance. Their applications to Rome for aid were vain, as they produced nothing but fruitless embassies to Hannibal and to Carthage. At length (533) the town was stormed, all within it slaughtered or enslaved, and the immense booty sent to Carthage or reserved for the war. The Romans, when they heard of the capture of Saguntum, issued a declaration of war unless Hannibal was given up to them, and sent an embassy for this purpose to Carthage. The chief of the embassy, Q. Fabius Maximus, simply stated the demands of Rome; the Carthaginian senate hesitated, not willing to surrender Han-

nibal, and as little inclined to say that he had acted by public authority. Fabius then, holding up his *toga*, said, "In this I bear peace or war, take which ye will." "Give which you please," replied the Suffes. "War, then," cried he, shaking it out. "We accept it," was shouted forth on all sides*. The embassy returned to Rome, whence the consul Tib. Sempronius was already gone to Sicily, with 160 ships and 26,000 men, in order to pass over to Africa, while his colleague P. Cornelius Scipio, had sailed for Spain with sixty quinqueremes and 24,000 men, and the prætor L. Manlius commanded a third army of about 20,000 men in Cisalpine Gaul.

During the winter Hannibal made all the requisite arrangements for the defence of Africa and Spain, and he formed treaties with the Gauls on both sides of the Alps. In the beginning of the spring (534) he assembled his army of 90,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and 37 elephants, at New Carthage, and committing the government of Spain to his brother Hasdrubal, and leaving him a force of about 15,000 men and fifty-seven ships of war, he crossed the Ebro on his way for Italy. In his progress thence to the Pyrenees he overcame the various peoples of the country, in which he left an officer named Hanno with 10,000 foot and 1000 horse. Desertion and other causes reduced his army, but at the foot of the Pyrenees it numbered 50,000 foot, and 9000 horse, all steady and well-disciplined soldiers. Having passed these mountains, he marched without delay for the Rhodanus (*Rhone*), on the further bank of which he found a large army of Gauls assembled to dispute his passage†. He collected, and caused to be constructed, a great number of boats and rafts, but it seemed too hazardous to attempt to pass a broad rapid river, in the presence of so large an army. He therefore sent at nightfall a division of his troops under Hanno, one of his principal officers, up the river, with directions to cross it a day's march off, and then to come down the left bank and take the enemy in the rear. Hanno did as directed, and having halted for a day on the other side to refresh his men, marched down the stream. When he made the fire-signal agreed on, Hannibal, who had everything ready, commenced the passage. The Gauls rushed down to oppose him; but they soon saw the camp behind them in flames, and after a short

* This was related somewhat differently by some of the annalists. See Gellius, x. 27.

† Opposite Beaucaire.

resistance turned and fled. The remainder of the Punic army then passed over*.

Meantime Scipio having coasted Etruria and Liguria, on his way to Spain, was encamped at the mouth of the Rhone, four days' march from the place where Hannibal was lying. He sent forward a party of horse to reconnoitre, who fell in with and drove back a body of Numidian cavalry sent out by Hannibal for the same purpose†. When they returned, and told the consul where the Punic army was, he embarked his troops, and sailed up the river to attack them; but on coming to the place he found them gone. He then returned with all speed, and sending his brother Cn. Scipio to Spain with the greater part of his forces, embarked for Pisa with the remainder to meet the foe on his descent from the Alps.

Hannibal, urged by an embassy from the Boian Gauls, had resolved to lose no time in advancing into Italy. He marched for four days up the left bank of the Rhone, to its junction with the Isara (*Isère*)‡. The country between these rivers was named the Island, and two brothers were at this time contending for the regal authority over it. Hannibal sided with the elder, who in return supplied him with clothing and provisions for his army, now reduced to 38,000 foot and 8000 horse, and gave him an escort through the country of the Allobroges to the foot of the Alps.

Hannibal went for ten days about one hundred miles up the Isara §; he then turned to the mountains. Here difficulties began to assail him. The Gallic people named Allobroges occupied the passes, but as they did not keep their plans secret, he learned that they were there; and also finding out that they only kept guard by day, retiring to their town by night, he set out in the night with some select troops and seized the heights they used to occupy. In the morning the

* He adopted the following plan to get the elephants over the river. Broad rafts were attached to the bank, and other rafts to these on the outside, and the whole covered with earth; the elephants readily went on this, two females being placed at their head. The outer rafts were then loosed, and towed over by boats, the elephants in general remaining quiet on them; some however jumped into the river, but they were saved. Polyb. iii. 46.

† The Romans were three hundred, the Numidians five hundred; the former being the number of the cavalry of a legion (above, p. 173), the latter that of a Numidian regiment.

‡ Polybius calls the other river the Scoras or Scaras, Livy the Arar (*Saône*); but the confluence of the Rhone and Saone is too far off, and the land between them does not agree with Polybius' description of the Island.

§ To Montmélian and Bourgneuf.

army set forward; but the Gauls assailed them in the pass, where they had to proceed along a narrow path over a deep ravine, and did much mischief, especially to the horses and beasts of burden. Hannibal, however, at the head of his select troops, drove them off. He then took and plundered several villages and their chief town. The march now lay for three days in a fruitful valley, where there were numerous herds of cattle. On the fourth day the people who dwelt at the other end of the valley sent to propose a peace with him, offering hostages and guides. Hannibal, though he distrusted them, agreed to the treaty, but he prudently remitted none of his precautions. After two days' march the troops entered a rugged precipitous pass leading out of the valley, and here the Gauls had made preparations to overwhelm them. But Hannibal had wisely put the baggage, and horse, and elephants in advance, and kept his troops of the line in the rear, which foresight saved the army. The loss, however, in men and beasts was considerable, as the Gauls showered stones and rolled down rocks from the heights above them. Hannibal was obliged to pass the night separate from his cavalry. In the morning, finding the Gauls gone, the army joined and moved on, though still harassed by their desultory attacks. It was remarked that they never assailed the part of the line of march where the elephants were, as the unusual appearance of these animals inspired them with terror.

On the ninth day the army reached the summit of the Alps, where they made a halt of two days to rest, and to enable those who had been left behind to rejoin. The snow which now fell, it being late in the autumn, and the prospect of the further difficulties they would have to encounter, dispirited the troops; but their leader, by pointing out to them the rich plain of the Po, and assuring them of the facility of conquest, soon raised their spirits, and they commenced the descent. Here however, though there were no enemies to attack them, the loss was nearly as great as in the ascent. The new-fallen snow made the path indiscernible, and those who missed it rolled down the precipices. They still however advanced, till they found themselves on the edge of a steep, which it was plain the elephants and beasts of burden could never get down. Hannibal tried to take a round to escape this steep; but the thin crust of ice which had formed on the snow gave way under the feet of the beasts, and held them impounded, and even the men could not get along it. He therefore clear-

ed away the snow on the edge of the steep, and encamped there for the night. Next day he set his men at work to level a way down*; and they made it that day passable for the horses and mules, which they brought down to the parts where there was pasturage; but it took three days to make a way for the elephants. The descent now offered no further difficulties, and the army was soon encamped at the foot of the mountains†.

Five months had now elapsed from the day they had set out from New Carthage, fifteen days of which had been occupied in the passage of the Alps. The army had in that time been considerably reduced by its various losses, and it now numbered only 26,000 men, *i. e.* 12,000 African and 8000 Spanish foot, and 6000 horse‡.

Having given his army sufficient rest, Hannibal advanced into the country of the Ligurian tribe of the Taurinians (*Piedmont*), whose capital he took by storm. This struck terror into the surrounding tribes, and they all joined the invaders. Hannibal, finding that those in the plains were only withheld from doing the same by the fear of the Roman armies in their country, resolved to advance at once, and deliver them from their apprehensions.

Scipio had meantime advanced from Pisa, and collecting what troops there were in Etruria and Cisalpine Gaul, crossed the Po with the intention of giving Hannibal battle at once. The Punic general was equally anxious to fight; both armies approached the river Ticinus, which the Romans crossed, and came to within five miles of Victumviæ where Hannibal lay.

* According to Livy, Appian, and others, Hannibal, in order to be able to cut down the rocks, had large trees hewn into pieces, and piled around them, and set fire to, and when the rocks were glowing-hot, vinegar poured on them, which rendered them soft and easy to cut. The truth of this circumstance has been disputed in modern times. Polybius, who does not notice, in effect contradicts it, by saying (iii. 59.) that the summits and upper declivities of the Alps are bare and devoid of trees.

† According to some critics the route of Hannibal was over Mt. Viso or Mt. Genevre. Ukert decides in favour of Mt. Cenis and the road traversed at the present day by the diligences between Lyons and Turin. De Luc, Wickham and Cramer, and Brockendon, are of opinion that it was over the Little St. Bernard the route of the Punic general lay, and this is the hypothesis most generally adopted. Some have supposed that he came over the Great St. Bernard or the Simplon.

‡ These and all the preceding numbers were engraved by Hannibal on a pillar in the temple of Juno at Lacinium, whence they were copied by Polybius.

Next morning Scipio went out to reconnoitre with his horse and light troops; Hannibal did the same, and the two parties met. An action ensued: the consul put his light troops and the Gallic horse in front, supported by the heavy horse; Hannibal set his bridled horse* in the centre, the Numidians on the flanks. At the first shock the Roman light troops gave way and fled; but the heavy horse maintained the conflict till the Numidians fell on their rear. Scipio himself received a severe wound, and is said to have been indebted for his life to his son, afterwards so famous, then a youth of seventeen. The Romans dispersed and fled to their camp; and Scipio, now aware of the enemy's great superiority in cavalry, resolved to retire without delay beyond the Po, where the country was less level. He reached this river, and got over before the Carthaginians came up, and he also had time to loosen the bridge of rafts. About six hundred men who remained on the other side fell into their hands; the rest of the army reached Placentia in safety. Hannibal went two days' march up the river, and passed it in a narrower place by a bridge of boats; he then came to within six miles of Placentia, and offered battle, but to no purpose. The Gauls now readily joined him; and a body of two thousand Gallic foot and two hundred horse, who were in the Roman service, cut to pieces the guard at one of the gates, and came over to him. Scipio, thinking his position no longer safe, led his troops out in the night, in order to occupy a stronger one on the hills about the river Trebia, where he might wait for the arrival of his colleague, who had been recalled from Sicily. When Hannibal found Scipio gone, he sent the Numidians after him; but they fell to rummaging the deserted camp for plunder, and the Romans thus had time to get safely over the river and encamp. Hannibal then came and sat down about five miles off, where the Gauls supplied him with abundance of provisions.

Sempronius, on receiving his recall, embarked his troops, and sailed up the Adriatic to Ariminum, where he landed, and lost no time in joining Scipio on the Trebia. The consuls differed in opinion: Scipio, who was still disabled by his wound, was for delay, which must be injurious to the enemy, and would probably cause the fickle Gauls to change their minds; beside which, he himself when recovered might be of some service to his country: Sempronius was for immediate action, as the time of elections was at hand, and moreover the

* The Numidians did not use bridles.

illness of his colleague would afford him the opportunity of gaining the sole glory of victory. An occasion of action soon presented itself.

The Gauls who dwelt from the Trebia to the Po, wishing to keep well with both parties, declared openly for neither. Hannibal, to punish them, sent a body of two thousand foot and one thousand Numidian horse to plunder their lands. They came to the Roman camp imploring protection, and Sempronius sent out some horse and light troops, who drove off those of the enemy. Elate with this success, he became still more anxious for battle, and Hannibal, who wished for an engagement for the very same reasons that Scipio was opposed to it, prepared to take advantage of Sempronius' ardour. Having observed in the plain between the two armies a stream whose banks were overgrown by bushes and briars, he placed in ambush in it during the night his brother Mago with one thousand foot and as many horse, and in the morning he sent the Numidian horse over the Trebia to ride up to the enemy's camp and try to draw them out; he meantime ordered the rest of the army to take their breakfast, and get themselves and their horses ready.

Sempronius, when he saw the Numidians, sent his horse to drive them off; his light troops followed, and he then led out the rest of the army. It was now mid-winter, the day was bitterly cold and snowy, and the troops had not had their breakfast; the Trebia was swollen by the rain that had fallen, and it was breast-high on the infantry as they waded through it. Cold and hungry they advanced to engage an army that was fresh and vigorous, for Hannibal had directed his men to anoint and arm themselves by the fires which were kindled out before the tents. When he saw the Romans over the river, he led out his troops, and drew them up about a mile from his camp. His advance-guard consisted of 8000 dart-men and Balearic slingers; he drew up his heavy infantry, Africans, Spaniards, and Gauls, about 20,000 in one line, with 10,000 horse, one half on each wing, and the elephants in front of the wings. Sempronius drew up his army of 16,000 Romans and 20,000 allies in the usual manner: he placed his horse (about 4000) on the wings. The Roman light troops being already fatigued, and having spent their weapons in the pursuit of the Numidians, were easily beaten; and while the troops of the line were engaged, the Punic horse charged and

scattered that of the Romans; the light troops and Numidians then advanced and fell on the flanks of the Roman line; the troops in ambush rose at the same time, and attacked them in the rear. The Roman wings, assailed in front by the elephants and in flank by the light troops, gave way and fled; the centre, about ten thousand men, drove back the Punic troops in front of it, but it suffered from those in its rear. At length, seeing their wings driven off the field, and fearing the number of the enemy's horse if they attempted to aid them, or to recross the river to their camp, they made a desperate effort, and breaking through the adverse line forced their way to Placentia. Most of the remainder were destroyed at the river by the horse and the elephants; those who escaped made their way to Placentia. The victors did not venture to cross the river; and all their elephants but one died in consequence of the extreme cold and wet. Scipio the next night led the troops in the camp over the Trebia to Placentia, and thence over the Po to Cremona.

Sempronius sent word to Rome that had it not been for the state of the weather he should have obtained a complete victory. The truth, however, was not to be concealed; but the Roman spirit only rose the more in adversity. Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius* were created consuls, Sempronius having gone to Rome to hold the elections.

Hannibal, having made an ineffectual attempt on a magazine near Placentia, and taken Victumviæ, gave his troops some repose. Early in the spring (535) he attempted to cross the Apennines; but a violent storm of thunder, hail, wind and rain forced him to give over his project†. He then gave Sempronius a second defeat near Placentia, after which he led his troops into Liguria. Flaminius went to his province in the spring, and having received four legions, two from Sempronius and two from the prætor Atilius, crossed the Apennines and encamped at Arretium in Etruria. Hannibal, finding the Gauls so discontented at his remaining in their country that he was obliged to change his dress frequently, and to wear various kinds of periwigs in order to escape their attempts on his life‡, resolved to enter Etruria without delay. Of the dif-

* This was the Flaminius who had caused the Gallic war. See above, p. 194.

† Liv. xxi. 58. Polybius does not mention this attempt.

‡ Polyb. iii. 78.

ferent routes into that country, he fixed on that through the marshes formed by the river Arno*, as he could thus elude the Roman consul. He placed his African and Spanish infantry with the baggage in advance; these were followed by the Gauls, and last came the horse. He himself rode on his only remaining elephant. For four days and three nights they had to march through the water, enduring every kind of hardship. Most of the beasts of burden perished, several of the horses lost their hoofs, and Hannibal himself lost the sight of one of his eyes.

Having learned the character of the Roman consul, a vain rash man, utterly unskilled in military affairs, Hannibal resolved to provoke him to a battle before the arrival of his colleague. He therefore proceeded to lay waste the country between Fæsulæ and Arretium. The sight of the devastations he committed enraged Flaminius, and he would not be withheld by his officers from giving battle. Hannibal had now reached the fertile plain of the Clanis, in the vicinity of Cortona, and when he found that Flaminius was following him, he prepared to select the most advantageous position for engaging. He therefore advanced, with the hills of Cortona on his left, till he came to a spot where the hills approach the Trasimene lake, leaving a narrow way, and then recede, forming a valley closed at the one end by an eminence, while its other extremity is washed by the waters of the lake. He stationed his line-troops at the further end of this valley, placing his light troops on the hills on the right side of it, and his horse and the Gauls on those on the left. He thus awaited Flaminius, who arriving in the evening encamped on the shores of the lake without the pass, along which he led his troops early the next morning. A dense fog happening to rise and spread over the valley concealed the enemy from the view of the Romans; the head of their column had just reached the place where the Punic troops awaited them†, when Hannibal gave the signal for attack, and they were assailed at once in front and flank. Not having time to form, they were cut down in their line of march. Flaminius himself was killed by the Gauls early in the action.

* Livy, xlii. 2. They were on the right bank of the lower Arno (Nieb. i. 128). Micali and some other moderns maintain that they were the marshes formed by the Upper Po.

† It would seem from this that Flaminius had gotten information that Hannibal had marched for the head of the valley, instead of the pass at the opposite end, the modern Passignano.

Numbers ran up to their necks in the water ; but the enemy's horse charged after them and cut them to pieces*. The number of the slain was fifteen thousand ; a body of six thousand broke through in front, and made their way over the hills to a neighbouring village, whither they were pursued by the Punic general Maharbal and forced to surrender, on promise of being allowed to depart without their arms ; but Hannibal, denying the right of Maharbal to grant these terms, assembled all his prisoners to the number of upwards of fifteen thousand, and separating the Romans, whom he retained, he dismissed the allies, declaring, as was his wont, that he was come as the deliverer of Italy from Roman tyranny. His own loss was about fifteen hundred men, chiefly Gauls, on whom he generally contrived to make the loss fall most heavily.

This defeat was of too great a magnitude for the government at Rome to be able to conceal or extenuate it. In the evening of the day that the news arrived, the prætor mounted the Rostra and said aloud, " We have been overcome in a great battle." The people, unused to tidings of defeat, were quite overwhelmed ; but the senate remained calm and resolute as ever in adversity. Soon after, another piece of ill news arrived ; a body of four thousand horse, which the consul Servilius had sent on from Ariminum, were cut to pieces or forced to surrender by the Punic horse and light troops. It was now resolved to revive the dictatorship, an office for some time out of use, and Q. Fabius Maximus was appointed†, with M. Minucius for his master of the horse.

Hannibal marched through Umbria and Picenum, wasting and destroying the country on his way. On reaching the sea he sent home word of his successes ; and having halted some time, to give his men and horses rest, he advanced through the country of the Marsian League into Apulia. The dictator, having received the two legions of the consul Servilius, and added two newly raised ones to them, advanced with all speed to Apulia, and encamped in presence of Hannibal near Arpi. The Punic general offered battle to no purpose ; it was the

* According to Livy (xxii. 5.) and Zonaras (viii. 125.), the ardour of the combatants was such, that they did not perceive the shock of an earthquake which occurred at that time, and threw down large portions of several towns, sank mountains, and turned rivers from their course. Of this Polybius says nothing. It was related by the annalist Cælius, Cic. Div. i. 35.

† As there was no consul at Rome to nominate him, he was created Prodictator.

plan of Fabius, thence named the Delayer (*Cunctator*), to give him no opportunity of fighting, but to wear him out by delay. He accordingly kept on the hills above him, followed him whithersoever he went, made partial attacks under advantageous circumstances, and thus raised the spirit and confidence of his troops. Hannibal, having exhausted Apulia, entered Samnium, where he plundered the district of Beneventum and took the town of Telesia; Fabius still following him at a distance of one or two days' march, but giving no opportunity for fighting. It is remarkable, that though the Romans had suffered such defeats, not one of their allies had as yet fallen off. Hannibal hoped that by an irruption into Campania he should be able to force Fabius to give battle, or if he did not, that this confession of the inferiority of the Romans in the field would have its due effect on the minds of the allies. He therefore marched by Allifæ and Cales to Casilinum, wasted the Falernian district as far as Sinuessa, and encamped on the Volturnus. Fabius moved along the Massic hills*; but neither the sight of the burning villages in the plain beneath, nor the reproaches and entreaties of Minucius and the other officers, could induce him to change his system and descend into the plain.

Hannibal, seeing there was no chance of a battle, prepared to retire by the way he came, into quarters for the winter. Fabius hoped now to take him at an advantage: having placed a sufficient force to guard the pass of Lautulæ, he occupied the town of Casilinum and the hill of Callicula, and posted his army on an eminence on the road by which the enemy must move for the pass into Samnium. Hannibal, seeing the way thus impeded, and despairing of being able to force it, had recourse to stratagem. He made two thousand of the strongest oxen in the booty be collected, and bundles of brushwood tied on their horns. In the latter part of the night, he directed the baggage-drivers to set fire to these bundles, and drive the oxen up the hill close to the pass; and the light troops to hasten and occupy its summit. The oxen, infuriated by the heat and flame, ran wildly up the hill; the Romans, who guarded the pass, thinking from the number of lights that the enemy was escaping that way, made all the speed they could to occupy the summit; but they found the Punic light troops there already. Both remained inactive waiting for the daylight.

* These hills (*Monte Massa*) separate the plain of the Liris from that of the Volturnus.

Hannibal meantime had led the rest of his army through the pass, and he sent some Spanish troops, who speedily routed the Romans on the hill. He then marched leisurely through Samnium into Apulia, where he took the town of Geronium, before which he pitched his camp; Fabius, who followed him, encamped at Larinum.

The dictator, being obliged to return to Rome on some religious affairs, committed the command of the army to the master of the horse, imploring him on no account to give battle. But Minucius little heeded these admonitions; he quitted the hills where he was posted and came nearer to the Punic camp; and he had the advantage in some slight actions which ensued. These successes were greatly magnified at Rome; and the people, who were weary of the salutary caution of Fabius, were induced to pass a decree for making the authority of the master of the horse equal with that of the dictator. Fabius, who had returned to the army, made no complaint: he divided the troops with Minucius, and they formed two separate camps, about a mile and a half asunder.

Hannibal, who was informed of all that occurred, hoped now to be able to take advantage of Minucius' impetuosity. There was a valley between their camps, in which, though it contained no bushes suited for an ambuscade, there were sundry hollows where troops might lie concealed, and in these he placed during the night five hundred horse and five thousand foot; and that they might not be discovered by the Roman foragers, he sent at dawn some light troops to occupy an eminence in the middle of the plain. Minucius, as soon as he saw these troops, directed his light troops to advance and drive them off; he then sent his horse, and finally led out his heavy infantry. Hannibal kept sending aid to his men, and meantime led on his horse and heavy foot. His horse drove the Roman light troops back on those of the line, and he then gave the signal to those in ambush to rise; the Romans were now on the very verge of a total defeat, when Fabius led his troops to their relief. Hannibal, when he saw the good order of the dictator's army, drew off his men, fearing to hazard an action with fresh troops. As he retired, he observed that the cloud which had lain so long on the tops of the mountains had at last come down in rain and tempest. Minucius candidly acknowledged his fault, and the superior wisdom of the dictator, and the whole army encamped together again.

The winter passed away, only marked by some slight skir-

mishes. At Rome, when the time of the elections came, the consuls chosen were C. Terentius Varro, a plebeian*, and L. Æmilius Paulus, a patrician. Instead of the usual number of four legions, eight were now raised, each of five thousand foot and three hundred horse, and the allies gave as usual an equal number of foot and thrice as many horse. King Hiero sent a large supply of corn, and one thousand slingers and Cretan archers.

As soon as the season for the ripening of the corn approached (536), Hannibal moved and occupied the citadel of a town named Cannæ, in which the Romans had their magazines. The consuls of the former year, who commanded the army in these parts, finding their situation hazardous, and the allies inclined to revolt, sent to Rome for instructions, and it was resolved that battle should be given without delay. Æmilius and Terentius set out from Rome with the new-raised troops, and their whole united force amounted to eighty-seven thousand horse and foot. Fabius and other prudent men, placing their only reliance on Æmilius, who had distinguished himself in the Illyrian wars, anxiously impressed on him the necessity of caution, and of restraining his vain and ignorant colleague, as this army might be in a great measure regarded as Rome's last stake.

As Hannibal was greatly superior in cavalry, it was the advice of Æmilius not to risk an action in the plain; but Varro, ignorant and confident, on his day of command (for the Roman consuls when together took it day and day about) led the army nearer to where the enemy lay. Hannibal attacked the line of march, but was driven off with some loss; and next day, Æmilius, not wishing to fight, and unable to fall back with safety, encamped on the Aufidus, placing a part of the army on the other side of the river, a little more than a mile in advance of his camp, and equally distant from that of Hannibal, to protect his own and annoy the enemy's foragers. Hannibal, having explained to his troops the advantages to be derived from an immediate action, led them over the river and encamped on the same side with the main army of the Romans, and on the second day he offered battle, which Æmilius prudently declined. He then sent the Numidians across the river to attack

* From Livy's account of Varro, we are to suppose that he was a vulgar, low-born demagogue. He says (xxii. 25.) that he was the son of a butcher; yet we find him continued in office or command for many years after his defeat, which can hardly be ascribed to mere popular favour.

those who were watering from the lesser camp. The patience of Varro was now exhausted, and the next day (Aug. 2.) at sunrise he led his troops over the river, and joining with them those in the lesser camp drew them up in order of battle. The line faced the south *; the Roman horse were on the right wing by the river side; the troops of the line, drawn up deeper than usual, extended thence; the horse of the allies were on the left wing, the light troops in advance of the line. Hannibal, having first sent over his light troops, led his army also to the other side of the river. He set his Spanish and Gallic horse on his left wing, opposite that of the Romans; then one half of his heavy African infantry†; next, the Spaniards and Gauls; after them the rest of the African foot, and on the right wing the Numidian horse. When his line had been thus formed, he put forward the centre so as to give the whole the form of a half-moon. His whole force, inclusive of the Gauls, did not much exceed 40,000 foot and 10,000 horse, while that of the Romans was 80,000 foot and about 6000 horse. On the one side, Æmilius commanded the right, Varro the left wing, the late consul Servilius the centre; on the other, Hanno led the right, Hasdrubal the left wing, Hannibal himself the centre.

The battle was begun, as usual, by the light troops; the Spanish and Gallic horse then charged; the Roman horse, after a valiant resistance, overborne by numbers, broke and fled along the river; the light troops having fallen back on the heavy-armed on both sides, then engaged: the Gauls and Spaniards, who formed the top of the half-moon, being borne down by the weight of the Roman maniples, gave way after a brief but gallant resistance. The victors heedlessly pressing on, the African foot on either side wheeled to the right and left and surrounded them. Æmilius, who had commanded on the right, now came with a party of horse to the centre and took the command. Here he was opposed to Hannibal himself. The Numidians meantime kept the horse of the allies engaged; till Hasdrubal, having cut to pieces the Roman horse which he had pursued, came to their aid: the allies then

* Livy says that the arid wind named the Vulturus blew clouds of dust in the faces of the Romans. This circumstance is not noticed by Polybius; and if it was the case, it was probably the fault of Varro, not the skill of Hannibal, as some suppose, that placed them in this position.

† Hannibal had armed his African and Spanish infantry after the Roman manner, with the Roman arms which had fallen into his hands.

turned and fled; Hasdrubal, leaving the Numidians to pursue them, fell with his heavy horse on the rear of the Roman infantry. Æmilius fell bravely fighting; that part of the Roman infantry which was surrounded was slaughtered to the last man; the rest of the infantry was massacred on all sides; the Numidians cut to pieces the horse of the allies. The consul Varro escaped to Venusia with only seventy horse. A body of ten thousand foot, whom Æmilius had left to guard the camp, fell during the battle on that of Hannibal, which they were near taking; but Hannibal coming up after the battle, drove them back to their own camp with a loss of two thousand men, and there forced them to surrender.

This was the greatest defeat the Roman arms ever sustained. Out of 80,000 foot, according to Polybius, only 3000 escaped, and 10,000 were made prisoners; of 6000 horse there remained but 370 at liberty, 2000 were taken. Among the slain were two quæstors; twenty-one tribunes; several former consuls, prætors, and ædiles, among whom were the consul Æmilius, the late consul Servilius, and the late master of the horse Minucius; and eighty senators, or those who were entitled to a seat in the senate. The loss of the enemy was 4000 Gauls and 1500 Spaniards and Africans of his infantry, and about 200 horse.

A part of the Roman troops, who escaped to Canusium, put themselves there under the command of Ap. Claudius and the young P. Cornelius Scipio, who were military tribunes; and as these were consulting with some of the other officers, word came that L. Cæcilius Metellus and other young noblemen were planning to fly to the court of some foreign prince, utterly despairing of their country. Scipio instantly rose, and followed by the rest, went to the lodgings of Metellus, where the traitors were assembled; and there, drawing his sword, made them, under terror of death, swear never to desert their country*.

When tidings of this unexampled defeat reached Rome, the consternation which ensued is not to be described. Grief and female lamentation were everywhere to be heard, but the unanimity of the senate remained unshaken. By the advice of Fabius Maximus measures were taken for preserving tranquillity in the city, and ascertaining the position and designs of

* Liv. xxii. 53. The censors of the year 538 deprived Metellus and his companions of their horses, and made them ærarians, on account of their conduct on this occasion.

the victorious and the condition of the vanquished army. On account of the number of the slain, a general mourning for thirty days was appointed, and all public and private religious rites were suspended; Q. Fabius Pictor* was sent to inquire of the god at Delphi; the Fatal Books were consulted, and by their injunction a Greek man and woman, and a Gallic man and woman were buried alive in the Ox-market. Measures being thus taken to appease the wrath of Heaven, they proceeded to employ the means of defence. C. Claudius Marcellus, the proprætor, was directed to take the command at Canusium, where about ten thousand men were now assembled. M. Junius was made dictator, and by enrolling all above and some under seventeen years of age, four legions and one thousand horse were raised; eight thousand able-bodied slaves were, with their own consent†, purchased from their masters and enrolled in the legions; the arms, the spoils of former wars, which hung in the temples and porticoes, were now taken down and used.

It was apprehended at Rome that Hannibal might march at once for the city, and it is said that Maharbal had urged him to do so‡, and on his hesitating, told him that he knew how to conquer but not to use his victory. But the able general knew too well the small chance of success in such an attempt, and was well aware of how much more importance it was to try to detach the allies of Rome; and in this he soon had abundant success. The Samnites, Lucanians, Bruttians, most of the Greek towns, great part of Apulia and Campania, and all Cisalpine Gaul turned against Rome, whose power was now thought to be at an end.

Yet never was Rome's steadfastness greater than at the present moment. Hannibal being in want of money, offered his Roman prisoners their liberty at a moderate ransom. Ten of them were sent to Rome, with Carthalo, a Punic officer, to consult the senate, on their oath to return. When they drew nigh to Rome, a lictor met Carthalo, ordering him off the Roman territory before night: the senate, though assailed by the tears and prayers of the families of the captives, were swayed by the stern rigid sentiments of T. Manlius Torquatus, and

* This is the earliest Roman historian.

† Hence they were named Volônes.

‡ "Igitur dictatorum Karthaginensium magister equitum monuit: Mitte mecum Romam equitatum; die quinta in Capitolio tibi cena cocta erit."—Cato, *ap. Gell.* x. 24.

replied that they should not be redeemed. One of the envoys had, when leaving the Punic camp, returned to it on some pretext, and thinking, or affecting to think, himself thereby released from his oath, remained at Rome; but the senate had him taken and sent back to Hannibal. When Terentius Varro returned to Rome, all orders went out to meet him, and thanked him for not having despaired of the republic. How different, as Livy remarks, would have been the reception of a defeated Punic general!

Hannibal having entered Samnium, and made himself master of the town of Compsa, advanced to Campania, where the popular party in Capua, under the guidance of a demagogue of noble birth, named Pæuvius Calavius, had made an alliance with him, and took up his quarters in that luxurious city. About this time he despatched his brother Mago to Carthage, with an account of his successes, and a demand of men, money, and supplies. Mago, it is said, emptied out before the senate a bushel full of gold-rings, the ornament of the equestrian order at Rome, to prove the magnitude of the losses of the Romans; but the anti-Barcine* party still opposed the war, and advised to seek peace. The opposite party however prevailed: it was voted to send him 4000 Numidians, 40 elephants, and a large sum of money; and Mago and another officer were sent to Spain to hire a body of 20,000 foot and 4000 horse.

CHAPTER IV.*

Hannibal in Campania.—Defeat of Postumius.—Affairs of Spain.—Treaty between Hannibal and king Philip.—Hannibal repulsed at Nola.—Success of Hanno in Bruttium.—Affairs of Sardinia,—of Spain,—of Sicily.—Elections at Rome.—Defeat of Hanno.—Siege of Syracuse.—Affairs of Spain and Africa.—Taking of Tarentum.—Successes of Hannibal.

IN the city of Nola, as at Capua, the popular party was adverse, the aristocratic favourable, to the cause of Rome. Hannibal, therefore, hoping to gain possession of this town as he

* The party who supported Hannibal at Carthage was named Barcine, from his father's epithet Barcas.

† Livy, xxiii.—xxv. 21. Polyb. *Fragm.* vii. viii. Appian, *Bell. Hann.* 29—37. Plut. *Marcell.* 9—17. Silius *Ital.* xi.—xii. 450; the Epitomators.

had gotten Capua, led his troops into its territory. The Nolan senate instantly sent off to the prætor Marcellus*, who was at Casilinum with an army, and he immediately set out, and keeping mostly to the hills, reached the town, from which Hannibal had just departed, in order to make an effort to gain Neapolis, for he was extremely anxious to get possession of a good sea-port on that coast. Failing, however, in his attempt, he went on to Nuceria, which he forced to surrender; and he then returned and encamped before the gates of Nola. Marcellus, fearing treachery on the part of the people, retired into the town. Each day the two armies were drawn out, and slight skirmishes, but no general action, took place. At length the senators gave Marcellus information of a plot to shut the gates behind him when he had led his army out, and to admit the enemy. He therefore next day, instead of leading out his forces as usual, stationed them within the town; the legionaries and Roman horse at the middle gate, the recruits, the light troops, and the allies' horse at the two side ones; and he gave strict orders for no one to appear on the walls. Hannibal, when he drew out his army as usual, and saw no one to oppose him, judged at once that the plot was discovered, and he resolved to attempt a storm, in reliance on a rising of the people in his favour. Having sent a part of his troops back to the camp for ladders and the other requisite implements, he led his army up to the walls. Suddenly the gates all opened, the trumpets sounded, the Roman army rushed out on all sides, and he was forced to retire with some loss. Marcellus then closed the gates again, and having instituted an inquiry, put to death upwards of seventy persons whose guilt was proved.

Hannibal having retired from Nola, went and laid siege to Acerræ, the people of which town, despairing of being able to defend it, fled from it in the night. He then advanced and invested Casilinum, which was gallantly defended by a small but resolute garrison; and finding that he had no chance of taking it, he put his army into winter-quarters at Capua. Here, as was to be expected, his troops indulged in all kinds of luxury and debauchery; and ignorant rhetorical writers, who could not discern the real causes of the subsequent decline of Hannibal's power, ascribe it to this wintering in Capua.

When the weather grew milder, Hannibal again invested Casilinum. The dictator Junius was at hand with an army of twenty-five thousand men, but he was obliged to go to Rome

* The conqueror of the Gauls. See above, p. 195.

on account of the auspices, and he charged his master of the horse, Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, not to attempt anything during his absence. Gracchus, therefore, though the garrison were suffering the extremes of famine, could not venture to convey them supplies. All he could do was to send barrels filled with corn down the stream by night, which the people watched for and stopped; quantities of nuts were in like manner floated down to them. Unfortunately, the Vulturnus, happening to be swollen one night, overflowed, and some of the barrels were carried out on the bank where the enemy lay. The river now was strictly watched; and the garrison, having eaten the leather of their shields, and every species of vile food, at length capitulated. Most of the towns of Bruttium which remained faithful to Rome, were soon after forced to surrender.

But a still greater misfortune befell the Romans in the north of Italy: L. Postumius, the consul-elect, as he marched with an army of twenty-five thousand men, through a wood in which the Gauls had sawn the trees on the way-side, so as to be easily thrown down, was attacked by them; numbers were crushed to death by the falling of the trees, and few of the whole army escaped. The consul's skull was fashioned into a drinking-cup by the victors, to be used at their principal temple. The news of this misfortune caused great terror at Rome; but the senate carried on the business of the state with their usual equanimity. Their body, which had been greatly reduced, received at this time an accession of one hundred and seventy-seven members*. Marcellus was elected as colleague to Gracchus in the room of Postumius; but the election being pronounced faulty by the augurs, Fabius Maximus was chosen in his stead.

Having brought the war in Italy to the end of the third year, we will now take a view of the progress of affairs in Spain.

* Sp. Carvilius on this occasion proposed that two out of the senate of each of the peoples of the Latin Name should be given the full Roman franchise, and admitted into the Roman senate. This liberal and prudent project was of course treated with scorn. M. Fabius Buteo was made dictator for the purpose of completing the senate, which he did in the following manner: he selected first those who had borne curule offices since the censorship of L. Æmilius and C. Flaminius, and had not yet been admitted into the senate; then those who had been ædiles, tribunes of the people, or quæstors; finally, those who had held no office, but had in their houses the spoils of enemies or a civic crown. It is remarkable that there were now two dictators at a time, and that Fabius had no master of the horse.

Cn. Scipio on arriving in that country (534) speedily reduced the whole coast from the Pyrenees to the Ebro. He advanced into the interior, and defeated Hanno at a place named Scissis. The Punic general was made prisoner, with two thousand of his men, and six thousand were slain. Hasdrubal meantime crossed the Ebro, and fell on and drove to their ships, with loss, the crews of the Roman fleet at Tarraco (*Tarragona*). He however always retired before Scipio, who reduced the Ilergetans and some other peoples of that country. The following spring (535) Scipio sailed to the mouth of the Ebro, where the Punic fleet and army lay, and by a sudden attack drove the fleet of forty ships ashore, and carried away twenty-five of them; and he afterwards defeated the Ilergetans, who had resumed their arms. As Hasdrubal was coming to their aid, he was recalled by tidings that the Celtiberians, instigated by the Romans, had invaded the Punic province and taken three towns; he hastened back to its defence, but was defeated in two battles, with the loss of fifteen thousand men slain and four thousand taken.

In this state of affairs, P. Scipio, whose command had been prolonged, arrived with thirty ships of war, eight thousand troops, and a large supply of stores. The Romans now crossed the Ebro, and advanced to Saguntum, as it was there that the hostages which Hannibal had required from the Spanish princes were kept, and the garrison was not strong, and if the hostages were released, those princes might be more easily induced to join the Romans. Fortune here favoured them; a Spaniard named Abelux persuaded Bostar, the commandant, that his wisest course would be to send the hostages back to their friends, whose gratitude might then be relied on; and he offered to be himself the agent in the business. Bostar gave his consent; Abelux went that night secretly to the Roman camp, and engaged with Scipio to put the hostages into his hands; and the following night, when he left the town with them, a party of Romans, as had been arranged, captured him and then, and brought them into the camp. The hostages were forthwith sent off to their friends, and this apparent generosity produced a great effect in favour of the Romans. The approach of winter put a stop to all further operations.

The following year (536) Hasdrubal found it necessary to turn all his forces against a people named the Carpesians*, who had risen in arms. When he had subdued them, he re-

* This people dwelt on the Tagus; their capital was Tolétum (*Toledo*).

ceived orders from home to lead his army into Italy to join his brother. At his earnest desire, Himilco was sent with a fleet and army to succeed him, as otherwise he assured the senate all Spain would be lost. He then marched for the Ebro; the Romans, learning his intentions, crossed that river, and an engagement ensued, in which Hasdrubal sustained a total defeat. This victory decided those who were wavering, and nearly all Spain now joined the Romans.

In Italy, at the commencement of the next campaign (537), the two main armies remained long inactive. The Romans were encamped at Suessula; Hannibal at Tifata, over Capua. During this time the Romans found that a contest with a new and powerful enemy awaited them. Philip, king of Macedonia, having ended the Confederate War*, resolved to join his arms with those of Hannibal, to whom he sent an embassy; and a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was concluded†. Fortunately for the Romans, the ship in which the envoys were returning fell into their hands, and the summer was gone before a second embassy could reach the Punic camp and return, so that the season of action was lost. P. Valerius Flaccus was stationed with fifty ships at Tarentum to watch the progress of events beyond the sea, and the prætor M. Valerius Lævinus had orders, in case of any hostile movements there, to proceed to Tarentum, and to land his troops on the opposite coast, and transfer the war thither.

The consul Fabius at length put his army in motion, and having passed the Volturnus, and taken some of the revolted towns, marched between Hannibal's camp and Capua‡ to Ve-suvius, where Marcellus lay, whom he sent with his troops to the defence of Nola. Marcellus while there made frequent incursions into the adjoining parts of Samnium and laid them waste; and at the urgent desire of the Samnites Hannibal led his troops against Nola, where he was joined by Hanno with his forces from Bruttium. Marcellus having drawn up his troops, as before, within the town, made a sally; but a sudden storm of wind and rain came on and parted the combatants.

* History of Greece, Part III. chap. vii.

† Polybius (vil. 9.) gives a copy of the treaty, which is a very curious document. It only speaks as in the text of an alliance offensive and defensive, and of obliging the Romans to give up all their possessions on the further coast of the Adriatic. Livy (xxiii. 33.) mentions several particulars which are not in it.

‡ In this case Hannibal must have moved from Tifata, which is quite close to Capua.

The rain lasted all that night and part of the next day. On the third day a general engagement was fought, and Hannibal, it is said, was repulsed with the loss of five thousand men and six elephants; and the next day a body of upwards of twelve hundred Spanish and Numidian horse went over to the Romans, whom they served faithfully till the end of the war.

Hannibal having dismissed Hanno went into Apulia for the winter, and fixed his camp near the town of Arpi. Hanno meantime endeavoured to reduce the Greek towns in Bruttium, which, chiefly out of fear and hatred of the Bruttians, remained faithful to Rome. His attempt on Rhegium failed; but the Locrians were forced to form an alliance with Carthage. The Bruttians, enraged at being balked of the plunder of these two towns, collected a body of fifteen thousand men, and resolved to win the wealthy city of Croton for themselves. In this, as in almost every other town, the men of property were for, the lower orders against, the Romans. The latter put the town into the possession of the Bruttians; the former retired to the citadel, and the Bruttians and the people being unable to take it applied to Hanno. As the circuit of the town greatly exceeded the wants of the inhabitants, Hanno proposed to those in the citadel to receive a colony of Bruttians into the town; but they declared that they would sooner die: at last they consented to emigrate, and retire to Locri. In these parts Rhegium alone now remained to the Romans.

In Sardinia a man named Hampsicora had, at the instigation of the Carthaginians, raised the standard of revolt against the Romans. Ill-health prevented active operations on the part of the pro-prætor Q. Mucius, but his successor, the prætor P. Manlius, finding himself at the head of a force of twenty-two thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, advanced, and encamped near the Sardinian army. Hampsicora had left the command with his son, and the inexperienced youth venturing to engage the Romans was defeated, with a loss of three thousand men killed and eighteen hundred taken. This victory would have ended the war, had not Hasdrubal landed with a Punic army. This general having joined Hampsicora, gave Manlius battle. After a conflict of four hours victory declared for Rome: the enemy had twelve thousand slain, and three thousand seven hundred taken, among whom were Hasdrubal and two other Carthaginians of rank. Hampsicora put an end to himself a few days after, and the whole island then submitted.

In Spain the Scipios gave a decisive defeat to the three Punic generals Hasdrubal, Mago, and Hamilcar, who were besieging the town of Illiturgis*. It is said that with but sixteen thousand men they routed sixty thousand, killing more men than were in their own army. Shortly after they gave them another great defeat at a town named Intibili. Several more of the native peoples now declared for the Romans.

The steady ally of Rome, the good king Hiero, died this year, after a life of ninety, a reign of fifty years. He was succeeded by his grandson Hieronymus, a boy of but fifteen years of age. A party in Syracuse adverse to Rome persuaded this giddy profligate youth to seek the friendship of Carthage, and he sent an embassy with that view to Hannibal. His overtures were eagerly accepted; a treaty was formed, by which the island was to be divided between them, and Hieronymus commenced hostilities. He was however assassinated shortly afterwards at Leontini; but the anti-Roman party still maintained the superiority at Syracuse.

The time of the elections at Rome being arrived (538), the consul Fabius returned to hold them. The prerogative tribe (*i. e.* the one allotted to vote first) having named T. Otacilius and M. Æmilius, the consul addressed them, and reminding them of their bounden duty in the present condition of their country to elect none but the ablest men, desired them to vote over again. They then chose himself and M. Marcellus; all the other tribes followed their example, in selecting the only men fit to oppose to Hannibal; and old men called to mind the similar consulates of Fabius Maximus and P. Decius in the Gallic, and of Papirius and Carvilius in the Samnite war. It was resolved to have eighteen legions this year, (for which purpose six new ones were to be raised,) and a fleet of one hundred and fifty ships of war. One hundred new ships were built, and every citizen whose fortune had been rated at fifty thousand asses and upwards in the last census was obliged to furnish one or more sailors, according to his property, and to give them a year's pay.

The consul Fabius having returned to his army, the Campanians, fearing that he would open the campaign with the siege of Capua, sent to Arpi to implore Hannibal to return to their defence. He therefore came and resumed his position at Mount Tifata, whence he moved down to the coast; and after making an ineffectual attempt on Puteoli, which the Ro-

* Near the modern town of Andujar.

mans had fortified, he, at the invitation of the popular party, approached Nola. But Marcellus had thrown himself into that town with a force of six thousand foot and three hundred horse. An action, as before, was fought under the walls, rather to the disadvantage of Hannibal, who, giving up all hopes of taking the town, broke up in the night and marched for Tarentum, where he had a secret understanding with some of the citizens, who had formerly been his prisoners.

As the Roman power was annihilated in Bruttium and Lucania, Hanno led his army of seventeen thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, composed of Punic, Lucanian, and Bruttian troops, into Samnium, to occupy the important town of Beneventum. But Fabius had sent orders to Tib. Gracchus, who was at Nuceria in Campania with two legions, principally composed of the Volones*, to hasten to pre-occupy it. Gracchus had executed his orders, and when Hanno came, and, encamping on the river Calor about three miles off, began to lay the country waste, he led his troops out against him. As the Volones, when leaving their winter-quarters, had begun to murmur at not having yet received their freedom, he had written to the senate on the subject, and had received authority to act as he deemed best. He now assembled his troops, and told them that whoever next day brought him the head of an enemy should have his freedom. At sunrise he led them out; the enemy did not decline the proffered battle. They fought for four hours with equal advantage, when Gracchus, being told by the tribunes that the condition on which he had promised freedom greatly retarded the men, gave orders for them to fling away the heads and grasp their swords. The enemies were soon driven to their camp with great slaughter; the victors entered pell-mell with them, and of the whole army but two thousand, (the number of the slain on the side of the Romans,) and these chiefly horse, escaped. Gracchus conferred the promised boon of freedom on the spot, and led back his triumphant army to Beneventum, where the people all poured out to meet them, and craved the proconsul's permission to entertain them. Leave was granted; tables were then spread in the streets; and the Volones feasted, with caps or bands of white wool on their heads. Gracchus had this scene afterwards painted in the temple of Liberty, which his father had built on the Aventine.

○ The two consuls meantime had laid siege to and reduced

* That is, the volunteer slaves who had been armed. See above, p. 212.

Casilinum; Fabius then entered Samnium and laid it waste; Hannibal's plans on Tarentum were foiled by M. Valerius, who put a garrison into the town. On the other hand, Gracchus having sent some cohorts of Lucanians to plunder the hostile territory, they were fallen on and totally cut to pieces by Hanno.

In Syracuse, after some of the atrocities familiar to the Greek democracies, the supreme power was transferred from the hands of the party who were for moderation and remaining faithful to Rome, to the rabble and the mercenary soldiers. War was resolved on, and the chief command given to Hippocrates and Epicydes, two Carthaginians of Syracusan descent, whom Hannibal had sent to Hieronymus. Marcellus, to whom the conduct of the war against Syracuse was committed, took Leontini by assault, and then came and encamped at the Olympium before Syracuse*, while his fleet assailed the wall of Acradina on the sea-side. Quinqueremes were lashed together, on which wooden towers were erected, and engines plied, while light troops kept up a constant discharge from vessels ranged behind them. But Archimedes, the greatest mechanist of the age, was in Syracuse; and in the time of Hiero he had placed engines along the walls which now baffled all the skill and efforts of the Romans†, and Marcellus found himself obliged to convert the siege into a blockade. Himilco, with a Punic army, having gained over Agrigentum and some other towns, came and encamped on the Anapus, about eight miles from Syracuse; but finding it in no want of aid, he led off his forces to the town of Murgantia, which the people put into his hands, with the Roman garrison and magazines which were in it. The people of Euna, in the centre of the island, being suspected by the Roman commandant of a similar design, he fell on and massacred them as they were sitting in assembly; and Marcellus, so far from blaming the act, gave the plunder of the town to the soldiers. As Enna was sacred to the goddesses Ceres and Proserpina, the horror of this impious deed made most of the remaining towns declare for the Punic cause. Marcellus now fixed his winter-camp at Leon, about five miles north of Syracuse.

* See the description and plan of Syracuse, *History of Greece*, p. 231, 2nd, p. 224, 4th edit.

† We are told that some of his machines were iron hands, which seizing the ships by the prow turned them up on the poop, and then let them fall; and that by means of burning-glasses he set fire to several of the Roman vessels. Polyb. viii. 8. Livy, xxiii. 34. Zonaras, ix. 4.

The Romans commenced this year active operations against the king of Macedonia, whom Lævinus defeated near the town of Apollonia in Epirus*. In Spain the advantage was on the side of the Romans, who gained some victories over their antagonists.

The consuls for the next year (539) were Q. Fabius Maximus (son of the late consul) and Tib. Sempronius Gracchus. The year is remarkably barren of events. Hannibal remained inactive in the neighbourhood of Tarentum; Marcellus lay before Syracuse; the consul Fabius only recovered the town of Arpi. In Spain the Scipios were still successful; they began to follow the example of the Carthaginians by taking the natives into pay, and a body of Celtiberians served under their standard. They also extended their views to Africa, where a Numidian prince named Syphax was at war with the Carthaginians. They sent three centurions to him to propose an alliance; their offer was gladly accepted by the Numidian, and at his request one of the centurions remained with him to form and discipline a body of infantry, an arm in which the Numidians had been hitherto very deficient. But the Carthaginians formed an alliance with Gala, the king of that portion of the Numidians named Massylians; and his troops, led by his son Massinissa, a youth of seventeen years of age, being joined with theirs, they gave Syphax a total defeat. He fled to the Maurusians, who dwelt on the coast of the Atlantic ocean, and collected another army; but Massinissa pursued and prevented him from passing over to Spain as he had intended.

The following year (540) was one of the most eventful of the war. Q. Fulvius Flaccus and Ap. Claudius were chosen consuls, and the army was raised to three-and-twenty legions.

Early in the year Tarentum fell into the possession of Hannibal in the following manner†. A Tarentine envoy at Rome, named Phileas, persuaded his countrymen who were retained there as hostages to make their escape. They were pursued and taken at Tarracina, and being brought back were scourged and cast from the Tarpeian rock. This piece of cruelty irritated the minds of their friends and relatives at Tarentum, and thirteen young men entered into a plot to make Hannibal master of the town. Going out under the pretext of hunting, they sought the Punic camp, which lay at a distance of three days'

* The whole of the wars between Philip and the Romans will be found in the History of Greece, Part III. chap. vii. and viii.

† Polybius, viii. 26. Livy, xxv. 7-11.

March; and two of them, named Nico and Philemenus, giving themselves up to the guards, demanded to be led into the presence of Hannibal. The plan was soon arranged, and Hannibal desired them, as they were going away, to drive off the cattle which would be sent out of the camp next morning to graze, as this would give them credit in the eyes of their countrymen, and help to conceal their dealings with him. They did as directed, and by sharing their booty gained great favour and many imitators. They thus went backwards and forwards several times, and it was arranged that the rest should remain quiet, while Philemenus, whose passion for the chase was well known, should keep going in and out of the town under the pretext of hunting. He always went and came at night, alleging his fear of the enemy, and always returned loaded with game, partly killed by himself, partly given him by Hannibal. A portion of this he took care to give to M. Livius, the Roman commandant, and another part to the guards at the gate by which he used to come in. At length he won their confidence so completely, that as soon as his whistle was heard outside in the night, the gate was opened, without any inquiry.

Hannibal judged that the time for action was now arrived. He had hitherto feigned illness, lest the Romans should wonder at his staying so long in the one place; and he now did so more than ever. Then selecting ten thousand of his boldest and most active troops, both horse and foot, and directing them to take four days' provision, he set out with them before dawn; a party of eighty Numidian horse preceded them in order to scour the country, and prevent information of their approach from being conveyed to Tarentum. Philemenus was with him as his guide, and the march was arranged so that they should reach the city by midnight.

The day fixed on by the conspirators was one on which Livius was to be at a banquet at a place named the Museum, close by the market. It was late in the evening when tidings came of the Numidians being seen; he merely directed a party of horse to go out early in the morning and drive them off; and at night he returned home without any suspicion, went to bed, and fell asleep. The conspirators remained on the watch for the signal arranged with Hannibal, who, when he drew near to the gate which had been agreed on, in the east part of the city, was to kindle a fire on a certain spot, and when those within had replied by a similar signal, both fires were to be

extinguished. The signal was made and returned in due time; the conspirators then rushed to the gate, killed the guards, and admitted Hannibal, who, leaving his horse without, moved on with his infantry, and took possession of the market. Mean-time Philemenus was gone round with a thousand Africans to the gate he was used to enter at. He had the carcass of a huge wild-boar prepared for the purpose, and giving a whistle as usual the wicket was opened. He himself and three others bore the carcass on a barrow, and while the guard was handling and admiring it, they killed him: they then let in thirty Africans who were behind them, and cutting the bars opened the gates and admitted all the rest, and they joined Hannibal at the market. Hannibal then divided a body of two thousand Gauls into three parts, and sent them through the town, with orders to kill all the Romans they met; and the conspirators, who had gotten some Roman trumpets and learned how to sound them, stood at the theatre and blew, and as the soldiers hastened on all sides to the signal, they were met and slain. Livius at the first alarm had run down to the port, and getting into a boat passed over to the citadel.

As soon as it was daylight Hannibal invited all the Tarentines to come without arms to the market. When they appeared he spoke to them kindly as their friend, and dismissed them with directions to set a mark on their houses. He then gave orders to pillage all the houses not marked, as belonging to the Romans or their friends.

As the citadel lay on a small peninsula, and was secured on the town-side by a deep ditch and wall, there were no hopes of being able to take it. To secure the city, therefore, Hannibal began to run a rampart parallel to that of the citadel: the Romans attempted to impede the works, but were driven back with great loss. The rampart was then completed, and a ditch also run between it and the town; and Hannibal retired and encamped on the banks of the Galæsus, about five miles off. When all was finished, some works were carried on against the citadel; but the Romans, having been reinforced from Metapontum, made a sally by night and destroyed them. Hannibal saw that unless the Tarentines were masters of the sea there was no chance of reducing the citadel. But their ships which were in the harbour could not get out, as that fortress commanded the entrance; he therefore had them hauled along a street which ran across the peninsula into the open sea on the south-side. The fleet then anchored before

the citadel; and Hannibal, leaving a garrison in the town, returned to winter in his former camp*.

In the beginning of May the Roman consuls and prætors set out for their respective provinces. The two consuls, Q. Fulvius and Ap. Claudius, encamped at Bovianum, in Samnium, intending to lay siege to Capua. The Campanians, being prevented by their presence from cultivating their lands, sent to Hannibal, imploring him to supply them with corn before the Romans entered their country. He ordered Hanno to attend to this matter, and this general came and encamped near Beneventum; and having collected there a large supply of corn, sent word to the Campanians to come and fetch it. With their usual indolence and negligence, they brought little more than forty waggons, and Hanno, having rated them well for it, appointed another day. But the Beneventines hearing of it, sent to inform the consuls; and Fulvius set out with his army, and entered Beneventum by night. The Campanians came this time with two thousand waggons and a great crowd of people; and Fulvius, on learning that Hanno was away to get corn, came before daylight and assailed the camp. As this lay on a hill, it cost the Romans much labour and loss to reach it; and the consul having advised with his officers, ordered the call for retreat to be sounded; but the soldiers heeded it not; they rushed on with emulative ardour, carried the rampart, and made themselves masters of the camp and all it contained. The consuls shortly after, having summoned Gracchus from Lucania to the defence of Beneventum, proceeded to lay siege to Capua. But Gracchus was drawn by the treachery of a Lucanian into an ambush laid for him by Mago, and he and all that were with him were slain.

When the consuls entered Campania and began to lay it waste, the Campanians, aided by a body of two thousand horse which Hannibal had sent them, sallied forth and killed about fifteen hundred of the Romans. Hannibal himself soon appeared, and gave the consuls battle; but the engagement was broken off by the sudden appearance in the distance of the army lately commanded by Gracchus, which each supposed to

* Livy says that his authorities differed as to the year of the revolt of Tarentum, some placing it in 539, but the greater number, and nearest to the events, in 540. If this last be the true date, it must have been early in the spring; yet Livy himself says that Hannibal went into winter-quarters immediately after it; and Polybius (viii. 36. 13.) says that he remained there the rest of the winter. It seems therefore most probable that the true time was the autumn or beginning of the winter of 539.

be coming to the aid of the other side. The consuls in the night divided their forces, Fulvius going toward Cumæ, Claudius into Lucania. Hannibal pursued this last, who gave him the slip and returned to Capua: chance however threw a victory into the hands of the Punic general; for a centurion named M. Centenius having boasted to the senate of all the mischief he could do the enemy, from his knowledge of the country, if they would let him have five thousand men, they had the folly to give him eight thousand, half citizens, half allies, and so many volunteers joined him on the way as doubled his army. With this force he entered Lucania, where Hannibal now was. But it was a far different thing to lead a company, and to command an army opposed to such a general as Hannibal, who speedily brought him to an action; and of his whole force not more than one thousand men escaped. Hannibal moved thence into Apulia, where the prætor Cn. Fulvius lay with an army of eighteen thousand men at the town of Herdonia. The Roman general was rash and unskilful, and his army completely demoralised by laxity of discipline; they therefore yielded the able Carthaginian an easy victory, and but two thousand men escaped from the field.

CHAPTER V.*

Taking of Syracuse.—Defeat and death of the Scipios.—Hannibal's march to Rome.—Surrender of Capua.—Scipio in Spain.—Taking of New Carthage.—Affairs in Italy.—Retaking of Tarentum.—Defeat of Hasdrubal in Spain.—Death of Marcellus.—March of Hasdrubal.—His defeat on the Metaurus.

WHILE the war thus proceeded in Italy, Marcellus urged on the siege of Syracuse. Taking advantage of a festival of Diana (Artemis), which the Syracusans were wont to celebrate with abundance of wine and revelry, he one night scaled the walls and made himself master of the Epipolæ. He encamped between Tycha and Neapolis†, to the inhabitants of which he

* Liv. xxv. 22.—xxvii. Polyb. Frag. ix., x., xi. Appian, Bell. Han. 26–54. De Reb. Hispan. 15–24. Plut. Fab. Max. 19–23. Marcel. 18 to the end. Sil. Ital. xii. 450–xv.; the Epitomators.

† Part of the Temenites. See History of Greece.

granted their lives and dwellings, but both quarters were given up to plunder. The commandant at Euryalus surrendered that important post on condition of the garrison being allowed to re-enter the town. Marcellus then formed three camps in order to blockade Acradina, while a Roman fleet lay without to prevent succours or provisions from being brought in by sea.

After a few days, Himilco and Hippocrates came to the relief of the town; they encamped at the Great Harbour, and it was arranged, that while they attacked the division under the legate T. Quinctius Crispinus at the Olympium, Epicydes should make a sally from Acradina against Marcellus, and the Punic fleet in the Harbour get close in to shore, to prevent any aid being sent to Crispinus. The whole plan however miscarried, for they were repulsed on all sides. It being now the autumn, fevers, produced by the moisture of the soil, broke out in both armies: the Sicilians in the army of Hippocrates returned home to escape it; but the Punic troops having no retreat all perished, and among them their two generals. The Romans suffered less, as they were in the city, and had the shelter of the houses.

Bomilcar, who had run out of the Great Harbour after the capture of Epipolæ, was now at cape Pachynus with one hundred and thirty ships of war and seventy transports, but the easterly winds kept him from doubling it. Epicydes fearing he might go back, gave the command at Acradina to the leaders of the mercenaries, and went to him in order to induce him to give battle to the Roman fleet, which was inferior to his in number. The two fleets were now lying one on each side of the cape; and as soon as the wind ceased to blow from the east, Bomilcar stood out to sea in order to double it, but seeing the Roman ships in motion he lost courage, and sending word to the transports to go back to Africa, made all sail for Tarentum. Epicydes then giving up Syracuse for lost retired to Agrigentum.

A surrender of Syracuse, on favourable terms, was now near being effected. Some of the inhabitants, learning that Marcellus would consent to leave them in the enjoyment of their liberty and laws, under the dominion of Rome, fell on and slew the governors whom Epicydes had left, and having called an assembly of the people, elected prætors (*strategi*), some of whom were sent to treat with the Roman general. Matters were thus on the point of being accommodated, when the deserters in the town persuading the mercenaries that their cause

was the same with theirs, fell on and killed the prætors and several of the inhabitants, and then appointed six governors of their own, three for Acradina, and three for the Island. The mercenaries, however, soon saw that their case was very different from that of the deserters; and one of the three commandants of Acradina, a Spaniard named Mericus, made a secret agreement to put the town into the hands of Marcellus. For this purpose he proposed that each commandant should take charge of a separate part of the town. This was agreed to, and the part assigned to himself being the Island, from the fount of Arethusa to the mouth of the Great Harbour, he one night admitted a party of Roman soldiers at the gate next to the fount. In the morning, at daybreak, Marcellus made a general attack on Acradina, and while all the efforts of the besieged were directed against him, troops were landed on the Island, and, with little loss, they made themselves masters of it and of a part of Acradina. Marcellus then sounded a recall, lest the royal treasures should be pillaged in the confusion.

The deserters who were in Acradina having made their escape, the town surrendered unconditionally, and Marcellus, when he had secured the royal treasure for the state, gave the city up to pillage. During the pillaging a soldier entered the room where Archimedes was deeply engaged over his geometrical figures, and not knowing who he was killed him. Marcellus, who was greatly grieved at this mishap, gave him an honourable sepulture. The numerous pictures, statues, and other works of art, in which Syracuse abounded, were sent to Rome to adorn that capital*. Marcellus shortly after gave the Punic forces and their allies a great defeat on the river Himera.

But equal success did not attend the Roman arms in Spain, for the Scipios having divided their forces, Publius, hearing that a Spanish prince named Indibilis was coming with seven thousand five hundred men to join the Punic army, set out to give him battle on the road. In the midst of the action which ensued the Numidian horse came up, and then the rest of the Punic army; and the Romans were cut to pieces, and Scipio himself was among the slain. About a month after a similar fate befell Cn. Scipio and his army. From the wrecks of the two armies and the garrisons a new one was formed; the soldiers themselves chose a knight, named L. Marcius, to be their general, and under his command they repelled an attack on

* See the just remarks made by Polybius (ix. 10.) on this occasion.

their own camp, and afterwards stormed two Punic camps with great slaughter of the enemies.

The siege of Capua was now (541) the chief object of interest in Italy. Fulvius and Claudius had shut in that town completely by a double ditch and rampart; famine pressed, and the difficulty of communicating with Hannibal was extreme. At length, on being informed of the condition of his allies, the Punic general came to their aid, and a combined attack from within and without was made on the Roman lines. It was however repulsed with great loss on the part of the assailants, and Hannibal saw that the only chance of saving Capua was to menace Rome, as the army would probably be recalled to its defence. Having therefore sent word to the people of Capua to hold out manfully, he collected boats, and put his army over the Vulturnus; then crossing the Liris, marched rapidly along the Latin road by Ferentinum, Anagnia, Lavici, Tusculum, and Gabii, and encamped within eight miles of the city.

The news of Hannibal's march caused great alarm at Rome. It was at first proposed to recall all the troops to the defence of the city; but at last it was thought sufficient for one of the proconsuls to leave Capua, and come with a part of their forces. As Claudius was confined by a wound, Fulvius proceeded with sixteen thousand men along the Appian Road. He entered Rome at the Capene gate, and being joined in command with the consuls, marched his forces through the city, and encamped without the Colline gate. Hannibal, who now lay beyond the Anio, only three miles from the city, advanced with two thousand horse as near as the temple of Hercules, in order to view it. Fulvius ordered the Roman horse to charge, and the consuls at the same time directed a body of twelve hundred of the Numidian deserters who were on the Aventine to come down to the Esquilæ. The people who were on the Capitol seeing them, thought that the Aventine was taken, and the consternation that prevailed is not to be described.

Next day Hannibal offered battle, but just as the two armies were drawn out there came on a violent storm of rain and hail which separated them; and the very same thing occurred the following day. As soon as they returned to their camps the sky cleared, and Hannibal, it is said, seeing the hand of Heaven in it, resolved to retire*. It is also said that he was moved

* For a similar event, see Livy, ii. 62.

thereto by intelligence of troops having actually left the city at this time for the army in Spain, and of the very ground on which he was encamped being sold, and having brought its full value,—all which proved to him that Rome was not to be conquered*. He then, it is added, in derision called for an auctioneer, and desired him to put up and sell the bankers' shops round the Forum. He moved thence to the river Tutia, six miles from the city, then pillaged the temple of Feronia near Capenum, passed rapidly through the Sabine and Marsian countries†, and thence to the extremity of Bruttium, in the hopes of surprising Rhegium.

On the return of Fulvius to the camp before Capua, the Campanians, hopeless of relief, agreed to an unconditional surrender. Twenty-eight of the principal senators having partaken of a splendid supper at the house of Vibius Virrius, one of the chief authors of the revolt, took poison to escape the vengeance of the Romans. Seventy of the remaining senators were put to death, others were imprisoned in various places, the rest of the people sold for slaves, the town and its territory confiscated to the Roman state.

A part of the besieging army was immediately embarked for Spain under C. Claudius Nero. Being joined by the troops there he advanced against Hasdrubal, whom he inclosed in a valley; but the Carthaginian, by pretending to treat, contrived to get his troops out of it by degrees, and then bade defiance to the baffled Roman.

Spain, where the chief resources of the enemy lay, was now of equal importance with Italy in the eyes of the Roman people, and *comitia* were held for appointing a proconsul to take the command of the army there. No candidates presented themselves: the people were dejected; when suddenly P. Scipio, the son of Publius, who had lately fallen in Spain, a young man of only four-and-twenty years of age, came forward and sought the command. It was voted to him unanimously; but soon, when the people thought of his age, and of the ill-fortune of his family in that country, they began to repent of their precipitation. Scipio then called an assembly,

* If these are not the fictions of Roman vanity, they were mere artifices to keep up the spirits of the people.

† According to the historian Cœlius (Liv. xxvi. 11.), this was Hannibal's route *to*, not *from*, Rome. Polybius (ix. 5, 8.) seems to agree with Cœlius; his account of Hannibal's expedition to Rome at this time differs in many respects from that of Livy given above.

and spoke in such a manner on these points as completely reassured them, and changed their fears into confidence.

We have already seen Scipio distinguish himself at the Ticinus and after the battle of Cannæ*. His was destined to be one of the greatest names in Roman story. To the advantages of nature he joined such arts as were calculated to raise him in the eyes of the people. From the day on which he assumed the virile *toga*, he never did anything either public or private without first ascending the Capitol, entering the temple, and sitting there for some time alone. Hence an opinion spread among the vulgar, that, like Alexander the Great, he was of divine origin, and some even talked of a huge serpent that used to be seen in his mother's chamber, and which always vanished when any one entered†. These things Scipio never either affirmed or denied, and thus enjoyed the advantage or the popular belief. As a man, a statesman, and a general, his deeds will best display his character.

Having received an additional force of ten thousand foot and one thousand horse, with M. Junius Silanus as proprætor under him, Scipio sailed for Spain. He landed at Emporiæ, and went thence to Tarraco, where he held a meeting of the deputies of the allies; he then visited the troops in their quarters, and bestowed great praises on them for their gallant conduct. To the brave Marcius he showed the most marked favour. As it was now late in the year, he returned to Tarraco for the winter.

In Greece this year, M. Valerius Lævinus formed a treaty of alliance with the Ætolians against king Philip.

While Lævinus was absent in Greece, he was chosen consul with Marcellus for the ensuing year. The army was reduced to twenty-one legions, by discharging those who had served a long time. On the proposal of Lævinus, when pay was not to be had for the seamen, and private persons murmured at being called on to supply rowers as before, the senators set the example, in which they were followed by all orders, of giving their plate and jewels for the service of the state; and an abundant supply was thus obtained.

Early in the spring (542) Scipio set out from Tarraco, and crossed the Ebro at the head of an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. The fleet, under C. Lælius, having arrived at the mouth of that river, sailed thence along the coast, Lælius alone knowing its desti-

* See above, pp. 202, 211.

† Liv. xxvi. 19. Gell. vii. 1.

nation ; and it entered the port of New Carthage just as the army appeared before the walls. Scipio had resolved to open the campaign by the siege of this important town, where all the money, arms, and stores of the enemy lay ; and, what was of still more consequence, where the hostages of the native princes were kept*.

The town of New Carthage was thus situated. On the east coast of Spain, a bay, somewhat more than five hundred paces wide, runs for about the same length into the land ; a small island at its mouth shelters it from every wind but the south-east. At the bottom of the bay an elevated peninsula advances, on which the town was built. The sea is deep on the east and south side of it ; on the west and partly on the north, it is so shallow as to resemble a marsh, varying in depth with the tide. An isthmus two hundred and fifty paces long, led from the town to the mainland.

Scipio having secured his camp in the rear, attempted to take the town by escalade on the land-side, but the ladders proved too short, and the walls being vigorously defended he sounded a retreat. After a little time he ordered those who had not been engaged to take the ladders and renew the attack. It was now midday, and the retiring sea, combined with a strong wind from the north, had rendered the marsh quite shallow. Scipio, learning this circumstance, represented it as a visible interference of the gods, and ordered a party of five hundred men to take Neptune as their leader, and wade through the marsh to the town. They easily accomplished this task ; and as the wall on that side was low and without guards, they penetrated into the town, and rushing to the gate, on the side where the rest of the army was making its attack, forced it open. The wall was now scaled at all points ; the soldiers poured in and slaughtered all they met, till the citadel surrendered, when orders were given to cease from the carnage.

Thus was New Carthage attacked and taken in the one day. The quantity of naval and military stores and of the precious metals found in it was immense. The hostages were numerous ; some accounts said three hundred, others seven hundred and twenty-five ; and Scipio, having learned from them to what states they belonged, sent to people of these states desiring them to come and fetch home their hostages. The wife of

* This siege is related by Polybius, lib. x.

Mandonius, the brother of Indibilis, who was one of them, then came and besought him to have a due regard for the honour of the daughters of Indibilis and other noble maidens who were among the hostages, and the young hero gave them in charge to an officer of well-known honour and integrity.

Among the captives was a maiden of distinguished beauty. When led by the soldiers before the conqueror, he inquired who and whence she was ; and finding, among other things, that she was betrothed to a Celtiberian prince, named Allucius, he sent to summon her parents and her lover. On their arrival he first spoke with Allucius, and assured him that the maiden, while in his hands, had been treated with the same respect as if she had been in her father's house. In return, he asked him to become the friend of the Roman people. The prince grasped his hand, and with tears assured him of his gratitude. The parents and relatives of the maiden were then called in, and finding that she was to be released without ransom, they pressed Scipio to receive as a gift the gold they had brought. He yielded to their instances ; the gold was laid at his feet ; he then called Allucius and desired him to take it as an addition to his bride's dower*. The grateful Spaniard on his return home extolled the magnanimity of Scipio to the skies, and having raised a body of fourteen hundred horse came and joined him shortly after. Scipio sent Lælius home with the prisoners and tidings of his success, and then led his troops back to Tarraco.

The consul Marcellus had meantime recovered the town of Salapia in Apulia, and taken by storm two Samnite towns. But the proconsul Cn. Fulvius, venturing to give battle to Hannibal near Herdonia, sustained a total defeat. Himself and eleven tribunes, and seven thousand—or according to some thirteen thousand—men, fell in the action. Marcellus hastened and engaged Hannibal at Numistro in Lucania ; the battle, which lasted all through the day, was indecisive ; Han-

* This is told in a much less romantic manner by Polybius (x. 19.). He says that some young Romans brought the maiden to Scipio, who was known to be of an amorous complexion. He thanked them, and said that nothing could be more agreeable to him if he were a private person than such a gift, but that his office of general did not allow him to accept it. He then sent for her father, and giving her to him desired him to match her with whichever of the citizens he preferred. Polybius, who omits no occasion of extolling the Scipios, could hardly have known anything of the prince Allucius. Valerius Antias, in opposition to all the other authorities, said that Scipio took the maiden and retained her as his mistress. Gell. vi. 8.

nibal then retired by night into Apulia, whither Marcellus followed him, but nothing of moment occurred.

An embassy came at this time from Syphax to form a friendship with the Roman people. It was received with great favour, and envoys bearing gifts were sent back with it. Two ambassadors were also sent to Egypt to renew the friendship with the king of that country.

The consuls of the following year (543) were Q. Fabius Maximus and Q. Fulvius Flaccus. Fabius being resolved, if possible, to recover Tarentum, where M. Livius still held out in the citadel, besought his colleague and Marcellus to keep Hannibal in occupation; and Marcellus, who deemed himself alone able to cope with that great general, gladly took the field. They came to an engagement near Canusium, which was terminated by night. Next day it was renewed, and the Romans were defeated with the loss of two thousand seven hundred men. Marcellus, having severely rebuked and punished his men, led them out again the following day, and after a bloody conflict they remained victorious. The loss of the enemy is said to have been eight thousand slain and five elephants, that of the Romans three thousand slain and a great number wounded. Hannibal retired thence to Bruttium.

Fabius, on coming to Tarentum, fixed his camp at the mouth of the harbour, and prepared to assail the town by machines worked on shipboard, as Marcellus had done at Syracuse; but treachery enabled him to take it with less hazard. The garrison was composed of Bruttians, left there by Hannibal, and its commander was in love with the sister of a man in the army of Fabius. This man, with the consul's consent, went into the town as a deserter, and by means of his sister induced the Bruttian to betray it. On the appointed night the trumpets sounded from the ships, the citadel, and camp, as for a general assault; and Fabius, who had secretly gone round with a select body of troops to the east side, was admitted over the wall by the Bruttians. The town was speedily won: the booty was immense; but Fabius abstained from taking the pictures and statues, which nearly equalled those of Syracuse in number and value. Hannibal, who was hastening to its relief, on hearing that it was taken, said, "The Romans have their Hannibal. We have lost Tarentum in the same way that we gained it."

Scipio, having spent the winter in forming alliances with the

native princes, crossed the Ebro early in the spring of this year. Near the town of Bæcula he found Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal, strongly encamped on an eminence, with the river Tagus in his rear. But the valour of the Roman soldiers led by Scipio overcame all obstacles, and Hasdrubal was routed with the loss of eight thousand men slain, and twelve thousand taken in his camp. Among these last was a youth, the nephew of Massinissa the Numidian, whom Scipio treated with great kindness, and sent safe to his uncle. In imitation of Hannibal's policy, he gave their liberty to all the Spaniards, but sold the Africans for slaves. He then returned to Tarraco.

The consuls of the ensuing year (514), Marcellus and T. Quinctius Crispinus, were joined in command against Hannibal. Crispinus, having made an ineffectual effort to take Locri, proceeded to Apulia to join his colleague, and the two consuls encamped about three miles asunder, between Venusia and Bantia. Hannibal came from Bruttium and took up a position near them. There was an eminence covered with wood between his camp and those of the Romans, and expecting that the latter would seek to occupy it, he sent in the night some of his Numidians to lie in ambush on it. The general cry in the Roman camp was to secure this hill, lest Hannibal should get possession of it; and to comply with the wishes of their men, the consuls themselves set out with a party of two hundred and twenty horse to explore it. When they had gone a little way up the hill they were suddenly assailed on all sides by the Numidians, and Marcellus was killed, and Crispinus escaped badly wounded. Hannibal instantly occupied the height, and Crispinus retired the following night and encamped in the mountains. The Punic general gave honourable sepulture to the body of his rival; but having gotten his ring he resolved to derive what advantage he could from it, and he wrote in his name to the people of Salapia, by a deserter, to say that he would come thither the following night. Crispinus, however, had prudently sent to all the towns to inform them of his colleague's death, and to warn them against letters sealed with his ring. The attempt on Salapia, therefore, miscarried, and Hannibal returned to Bruttium, where he forced the Romans to raise the siege of Locri.

While Hannibal was thus engaged, his brother Hasdrubal was on his march from Spain to join him. After the victories gained by Scipio, and the influence he had obtained over the minds of the natives, the Carthaginians began to consider

their cause in that country as nearly hopeless ; and as Hannibal had long been urgent for succours, it was resolved that Hasdrubal should lead an army into Italy. He was preparing to do so at the time when he sustained the defeat from Scipio above related ; but as he had before the battle placed his elephants and treasure in safety, he retired to the north coast of Spain, and there enlisted a large body of Celtiberians ; and finding that Scipio had sent troops to guard the eastern passage of the Pyrenees, he entered Gaul at the west side, and directed his march through Aquitania for the Alps. He had sent to raise troops in Liguria, and eight thousand Ligurians were ready to join him when he appeared in Italy. The Gauls of the Alps, grown familiar with the passage of strangers, offered no opposition ; the asperities of the road had been removed by his brother, and he descended into the plain of the Po without having suffered any losses ; but instead of passing on to join Hannibal, he consumed the time which was of so much value in besieging the strong colony of Placentia.

The consuls elected for this year (545) were C. Claudius Nero and M. Livius Salinator* ; the former was opposed to Hannibal, the latter advanced to meet Hasdrubal. Claudius, having selected forty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse out of the troops in the south, took his post at Venusia ; Hannibal collected his forces from their quarters, and advanced to Grumentum in Lucania, whither Claudius also came ; and the two armies were encamped about a mile and a half asunder. An engagement, in which the former it is said was defeated, was fought in the plain which separated the camps, after which Hannibal, as was his wont, decamped in the night. Claudius followed, and coming up with him at Venusia gave him a slight defeat. Hannibal went thence to Metafontum, then back again to Venusia, and on to Canusium, still followed by Claudius.

Meantime Hasdrubal, having given over the siege of Placentia, was advancing southwards. He wrote to his brother to desire him to meet him in Umbria ; but his letters fell into the hands of Claudius, who, deeming the time to be come for venturing on something extraordinary, sent the letters to the senate, informing them of what he intended to do, and directing them how to provide for the safety of the city in case of any mishap. He then despatched orders to the peo-

* This title was given him at a subsequent period on account of a duty which he laid on *salt*, when censor.

ple of the country through which he intended to pass to have provisions, horses, and beasts of burden prepared; and selecting six thousand foot and one thousand horse, desired them to be ready at night for an attempt on the nearest Punic garrison. At night he led them in the direction of Picenum, and when at a sufficient distance, informed them that it was his intention to go and join his colleague. Everywhere as they passed the people came forth to congratulate them and pray for their success; supplies poured in in abundance; the soldiers marched day and night, taking barely the necessary repose.

Claudius had sent on to inquire of his colleague whether he would wish them to join him by day or by night, and whether they should enter his camp or encamp separately. Livius desired them to enter his camp in secret, and by night; and he arranged that the officers should receive the officers, the men the men, of Nero's army, into their tents, so that the camp need not be enlarged, and the enemy might be thus kept in ignorance of their arrival. As Livius was encamped near the colony of Sena, about half a mile from the Punic camp, Nero halted in the neighbouring mountains till night came, and he then entered the consul's camp. A council of war was held next day, at which the prætor L. Porcius, who had followed Hasdrubal along the hills, and who was now encamped near the consul, assisted. Most were for a delay of a few days to rest Nero's men, but he himself was decidedly against this course, lest Hannibal, having learned how he had been deceived, should be enabled to join his brother. It was therefore resolved to give battle at once.

The suspicions of Hasdrubal were aroused when he saw the old shields of a part of the Roman soldiers, and marked that their horses were leaner than usual, and the number of the men was increased. He therefore sent some down to where the Romans used to water, to observe if any of them were sunburnt as off a journey; and others to go round their camp, and discover if it had been enlarged, and if the trumpet was blown twice or only once. They reported that it was blown twice in one camp, once in the other; and though they had remarked no change in the size, the wary general became convinced that the other consul must be there, and he began to fear that his brother had sustained a decisive defeat; still, thinking that his letters might have been intercepted, he resolved to decamp in the night and fall back into Cisalpine Gaul, and there wait till he had some sure tidings of Hannibal.

He therefore set out early in the night ; but his guides made their escape, and he sought to no purpose for a ford in the river Metaurus, whose banks increased in height as it receded from the sea. In the morning the Roman army came up, and Hasdrubal could no longer decline an engagement.

The Roman army consisted of 45,000 men. Livius led the left, Nero the right wing, Porcius the centre. Hasdrubal's forces exceeded 60,000 men; he placed his Spanish troops, himself at their head, on the right; the Gauls, protected by a hill, on the left; the Ligurians in the centre, with the elephants in their front. The conflict between Livius and Hasdrubal was severe. Claudius, finding that the hill prevented him from attacking the Gauls, took some cohorts round in the rear, and fell on the left flank of the Spaniards and Ligurians, who being thus assailed on all sides gave way; the Gauls were also attacked, and easily routed; the elephants were mostly killed by their own drivers. Hasdrubal, who had performed all the parts of an able general, seeing the battle lost, spurred his horse, and rushing into the midst of a Roman cohort, died as became the son of Hamilcar and the brother of Hannibal. This victory nearly compensated for Cannæ; 56,000 men, we are told, lay dead; 5400 were taken: the loss of the victors was 8000 men*.

That very night Nero set out, and reached his camp on the sixth day, bearing with him the head of Hasdrubal, which, with a refinement of barbarity, he caused to be flung to the guards of Hannibal's camp, and he sent some of his prisoners in with the intelligence. Hannibal, struck with both the public and private calamity, cried, "I see the doom of Carthage;" and instantly removed to the extremity of Bruttium, being resolved to act merely on the defensive.

* Livy, xxvii. 49. Polybius however (xi. 3.) is much more moderate; he makes the slain on one side 10,000, on the other 2000 men.

CHAPTER VI.*

Successes of Scipio in Spain.—Mutiny in his army.—Carthaginians expelled from Spain.—Scipio's return to Rome.—His preparations for invading Africa.—Invasion of Africa.—Horrible destruction of a Punic army.—Defeat of the Carthaginians.—Attack on the Roman fleet.—Death of Sophonisba.—Return of Hannibal.—Interview of Hannibal and Scipio.—Battle of Zama.—End of the War.

THE war in Italy may now be regarded as terminated ; in Greece also little of importance occurs ; Spain alone, in which Hasdrubal the son of Gisco, and Hanno and Mago still sustained the Punic cause, attracts attention. Against these two last, who had combined their forces, Scipio sent his legate Silanus, who defeated them and took Hanno prisoner ; he also sent his brother L. Scipio to lay siege to a strong town named Oringis, and after a stout defence it was reduced.

The following year (546) Hasdrubal and Mago, having raised an army of fifty thousand foot and four thousand five hundred horse, took their position at a place named Silpia in Bætica, and prepared to give the Romans battle. Scipio moved from Tarraco to Castulo, and thence to Bæcula, near which he encamped. His army now amounted to forty-five thousand men. The Punic army came and encamped near him, and for several successive days the two armies stood in array without venturing to engage. At length Scipio, having changed the disposition of his forces without the knowledge of the enemy, brought them to an engagement, and completely routed them. Most of their Spanish troops went over to the Romans, and Mago, decamping in the night, hastened away to Gades. The Romans pursued, and the sword and desertion reduced his army to nought. Scipio then returned to Tarraco, leaving Silanus in the vicinity of Gades.

Massinissa took occasion at this time to have a secret interview with Silanus, in which he expressed his desire to be on friendly terms with the Romans. Scipio, as the Punic power was now at an end in Spain, began to think of transferring the war to Africa. He therefore sent Lælius with presents to Syphax ; and, at the desire of this prince to hold a personal conference with him, he himself crossed over to Africa. Has-

* Livy, xxviii.—xxx. Polyb. *Fragm.* xiv., xv. Appian, *Bell. Han.* 55. to the end. *De Reb. Hispan.* 25–37. *De Reb. Pun.* 6–67. *Sil. Ital.* xvi., xvii., the Epitomators.

drubal happened to enter the same port a little time before him, and the two hostile generals were placed on the same couch at the entertainment given them by the king. Having formed a treaty of alliance with Syphax, Scipio returned to New Carthage.

After the death of the two Scipios the cities of Illiturgis and Castulo had gone over to the enemy, and the people of the former had added to their defection the guilt of murdering the Romans who had sought refuge with them. The time was now come for taking the long-meditated vengeance: Scipio sent L. Marcius with one-third of the army against Castulo, while he himself sat down before Illiturgis with the remainder. The Illiturgians, knowing that they had no mercy to look for, made a most obstinate defence; but the African deserters in the Roman service having secretly scaled a part which, from its height, was left unguarded, the town was taken. Men, women, and children were slaughtered without mercy or distinction; the town was burnt, and all traces of it effaced. The fate of Castulo was less severe, as a party there betrayed the town and the Punic garrison into the hands of the Romans. Marcius then crossed the Bætis, and laid siege to a town named Astapa, whose inhabitants lived mostly by plunder. Their town was not strong, and they knew that they had no favour to expect. They therefore resolved to perish nobly; and collecting in their market all their valuable property, they piled it up, and making their women and children sit on the pile, heaped wood and fagots around them. They set fifty armed youths to guard it, charging them, when they saw the town on the point of being taken, to destroy all there with the sword and fire. They then opened the gates and rushed forth; they drove off the horse and light troops: the legions had to come out against them, and at length, overwhelmed by numbers, they all perished. The fifty young men then drew their swords, slaughtered the women and children, threw their bodies on the pile, set fire to it, and flung themselves into the flames.

Some time after Scipio happened to fall sick, and the Spanish princes Indibilis and Mandonius immediately seized arms and wasted the lands of the Roman allies. A mutiny also broke out in the Roman camp at Sucro (*Xucar*). The men complained of being detained in Spain, and of their pay being withheld; and on hearing a false rumour of the death of Scipio, they drove away their officers and gave the command to

two common soldiers. But when they learned that he was still alive, their courage fell, and they consented, seeing they had no chance of being able to resist, to go to New Carthage, and submit themselves to their general, with whose leniency they were well acquainted. They entered the town at sunset, and saw all the other troops preparing to march that night against the Spaniards. This sight filled them with joy, as they thought they should now have their general in their power. The other troops marched out at the fourth watch of the night; but they had orders to halt outside the town, and all the gates were secured.

In the morning Scipio mounted his tribunal in the market and summoned the mutineers before him. They came prepared with fierce mien and insolent words, hoping to bully him; but when they saw his healthy looks, and found that the other troops had re-entered the town and were now surrounding them, while they were themselves unarmed, their spirits sank. Scipio sat in silence till he heard that the ring-leaders, who had been secured in the night, were at hand and that all was ready. He then rose and addressed the troops, reproaching them with their mutiny, and concluded by offering pardon to all but their leaders. The soldiers behind clashed their swords on their shields, and the crier's voice was heard proclaiming the names of the condemned; who were dragged forth naked, thirty-five in number, bound to the stake, scourged and beheaded, their comrades in guilt not daring even to utter a groan. The mutineers were made to renew their military oath, and they then received their arrears of pay.

When Scipio had reduced his troops to obedience he took the field against Indibilis and Mandonius, and having given them a decisive defeat, granted them peace on the condition of their supplying him with a large sum of money for the pay of the Roman army. He then proceeded toward Gades to meet Massinissa, who was anxious to have a personal conference with him.

The Numidian prince had been, as we have seen, for some time wavering in his faith to Carthage. It is said* that injured love was the motive that now decided him to revolt. He had been educated at Carthage, where Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, pleased with his noble qualities, had promised him the hand of his daughter Sophonisba, the most lovely, accom-

* Appian, *Pun.* viii. 37. Zonaras, ix. 11.

plished, and highly endowed maiden of her time*. He had attended his future father-in-law to Spain, and shown himself worthy of the honour designed him. But Syphax was also an admirer of the fair Sophonisba, and the desire of withdrawing this powerful prince from his alliance with the Romans overcame all sense of justice and honour in the minds of the Carthaginian senate, and, as it would seem, of Hasdrubal himself, and Sophonisba was given to him as the condition of his becoming the ally of Carthage. Massinissa, stung by jealousy, resolved to join the Romans; and pretending to Mago that the horses were injured by the confinement in the island (*Isla de Leon*) in which Gades lay, he obtained his permission to pass over on a plundering excursion to the mainland. He there had an interview with Scipio, and pledged himself to the cause of Rome.

Orders now came from Carthage for Mago to collect all his troops and ships and sail to the north of Italy, and raising there an army of Ligurians and Gauls, to endeavour to join his brother Hannibal. Money was sent him for this purpose, and to this he added what was in the treasury and temples at Gades, and the forced contributions of the citizens. In consequence of this, when, after the failure of a nocturnal attempt on New Carthage, he returned to Gades, he found the gates closed against him, and on his retiring the city was surrendered to the Romans. As it was now the end of autumn, he took up his winter-quarters in the lesser of the Balearic isles (*Minorca*).

Scipio having thus in five years achieved the conquest of Spain now returned to Rome. The senate gave him audience, according to custom, at the temple of Bellona without the city†, and he delivered a full account of his exploits. He had some hopes of being allowed to triumph; but as this honour had hitherto been restricted to those who were magistrates, he did not urge his claim. At the ensuing *comitia* he was unanimously chosen consul for the next year (547) with P. Licinius Crassus, who was at that time great pontiff.

Aware of the feeble hold which the Carthaginians had on the affections of their African subjects and allies, and recollecting the ease with which Agathocles and Regulus had brought them to the brink of ruin, Scipio was resolved if pos-

* According to Diodorus (Frag. xxvii.), Sophonisba was actually married to Massinissa.

† It was in the Flaminian Mead under the Capitol.

sible to transfer the war to their own shores. He was therefore desirous of having Africa assigned for his province, and he made no secret of his intention of appealing to the people if refused by the senate. The latter body were highly offended; some were envious of Scipio, others really dubious of the policy of invading Africa while Hannibal was in Italy. Among these last was Q. Fabius Maximus, who spoke at great length against Scipio's plan. Scipio replied; Q. Fulvius then demanded of him if he would leave the decision of the provinces to the Fathers; Scipio's answer was ambiguous; Fulvius appealed to the tribunes, who declared that they would intercede. Scipio then demanded a day to consult with his colleague, and it ended by the decision being left to the senate, and their assigning Bruttium to one consul and Sicily to the other, with permission to pass over to Africa if he deemed it for the advantage of the state.

The senate, being thus obliged to give way, vented their spleen by refusing Scipio leave to levy troops, and by refusing also to be at the expense of fitting out the fleet he might require. He did not press them; he only asked to be allowed to take volunteers and free-will offerings. This could not well be refused: the various peoples of Etruria then contributed the materials for building and equipping ships, they also gave corn and arms; the Umbrians, Sabines, and the Marsian League sent numerous volunteers; the Camertians a complete cohort fully armed. Forty-five days after the trees for the purpose had been felled, a fleet of thirty ships fully equipped was afloat. Scipio then passed over to Sicily, where he regimented his volunteers, keeping three hundred youths, the flower of them, about him, unarmed and ignorant of their destination. He soon after selected three hundred young Sicilians of good family, and directed them to be with him on a certain day, fully equipped to serve as cavalry. They came; but the idea of service was death to these effeminate youths and to their parents and relatives. Scipio then offered to provide them with substitutes if they did not wish to serve. They gladly embraced his offer: he appointed the three hundred youths to take their place; the Sicilians had to supply them with horses and arms, and have them taught to ride; and thus Scipio acquired without any expense a valuable body of horse. He then draughted the best soldiers from the legions there, especially those who had served under Marcellus, after which he went to Syracuse for the winter. Lælius passed with a

part of the fleet over to Africa, and landing at Hippo Regius plundered the adjacent country. He was there joined by Massinissa, who having been driven out of his paternal kingdom by Syphax was lurking with a few horsemen about the lesser Syrtis. Lælius then returned with his booty to Sicily.

In the course of this summer Mago had sailed from the Balearcs, and landed with 12,000 foot and 2000 horse at Genua, on the coast of Liguria; and when Lælius had appeared in Africa the Punic senate sent him a reinforcement of 6000 foot, 800 horse, seven elephants, and a large sum of money, with directions to lose no time in hiring Gauls and Ligurians, and to endeavour to effect a junction with Hannibal as soon as possible, and thus give the Romans employment at home. In Spain Indibilis and Mandonius excited some of the native peoples to arms against the Romans; but they were defeated and obliged to sue for peace. In Greece a peace was concluded with the king of Macedonia.

The consulate of Scipio having expired, his command, as was usual, was prolonged for the ensuing year (548), and the eyes of all men were turned to the fine army which he had assembled for the conquest of Africa. Authorities differ respecting the number of his forces, but they could hardly have been less than thirty-five thousand men, horse and foot. They embarked, taking with them provisions for forty-five days; the transports sailed in the centre; on the right were twenty ships of war under Scipio himself and his brother Lucius, and an equal number on the left under Lælius and M. Porcius Cato the quæstor; each transport carried two lights, each ship of war one, the general's ship three; the pilots were directed to steer for the Emporia on the Syrtes. The fleet left Lilybæum at daybreak, and next morning it was off the Hermaic cape. Scipio's pilot proposed to land there, but he directed him to keep to the left. A fog however came on, and the wind fell; during the night a contrary wind sprang up, and at dawn they found themselves off the cape of Apollo, on the west side of the bay of Carthage, not far from Utica, and there they landed and encamped.

The consternation was great in Carthage when it was known that the formidable Scipio was actually landed in Africa. Orders were sent to Hasdrubal, who was away collecting troops and elephants, to hasten to the defence of his country, and envoys were despatched to Syphax for a similar purpose. Hasdrubal's son Hanno was directed to take a station with

four thousand horse about fifteen miles from the Roman camp to protect the open country; but Massinissa, who was now with Scipio, drew him to where the Roman horse stood covered by some hills, and nearly all his men were slain or taken. He was himself made a prisoner, and afterwards exchanged for Massinissa's mother. Scipio and Massinissa now laid the country waste without opposition, and they set at liberty a great number of Roman captives who were working as slaves in the fields. They laid siege to a large town named Lacha; the scaling-ladders were placed, when the people sent offering to surrender; Scipio ordered the trumpet to sound the recall; but the soldiers heeded it not, and the town was stormed, and a general slaughter commenced. To punish his men, Scipio deprived them of all their booty, and he put to death three of the most guilty tribunes. Hasdrubal, who was at hand with an army of 20,000 foot, 7000 horse, and 140 elephants, made an attack on the Romans, but was driven off with the loss of 5000 slain and 1800 prisoners.

Scipio, wishing to have a strong town as a place of arms and for winter-quarters, now laid siege to Utica: he had brought all the necessary machines from Sicily; but the Uticans defended themselves gallantly, and after assailing the town for forty days he was forced to give over the siege. He withdrew, and fixed his winter-camp on a rocky peninsula, which ran out into the sea, to the east of that town. Hasdrubal encamped in the vicinity, as also did Syphax, the former with 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, the latter with 50,000 foot and 10,000 horse, but they made no attempt on the Roman camp.

During the winter Scipio entered into negotiations with Syphax, in hopes of detaching him from the Carthaginians*, but the Numidian would not hear of revolt; he proposed that the one party should evacuate Italy, the other Africa, and both remain as they were. Scipio at first would not listen to these terms; but when some of those whom he had sent to Syphax told him how the huts in the Punic camp were formed of wood and leaves, while those of the Numidians were of mere reeds, or they lay on simple leaves, and many of them without the camp, he conceived the horrible project of setting fire to both the camps in the night, and massacring the troops amidst the flames. He feigned therefore to hearken to the proposal of Syphax; envoys went constantly to and fro, and even re-

* Polybius, xiv. 1-5. Livy, xxx. 3-6.

maintained for days on each side; and Scipio took care to send with them some of his most intelligent soldiers, disguised as slaves, who were to observe the position and form of the camps.

When the spring came (549), Scipio, having gained all the knowledge he required, launched his ships and put his machines aboard as if to renew his attacks on Utica, and he fortified an eminence near the town which he had occupied before, and placed on it a body of two thousand men, ostensibly to act against the town, but in reality to prevent an attempt on his camp by the garrison during his absence. He then sent envoys to Syphax to know if the Carthaginians had made up their minds to agree to the terms arranged between them, and the envoys had orders not to return without a categorical answer. Syphax, now quite certain of the Roman's sincerity, sent to Hasdrubal, and receiving a perfectly satisfactory reply, joyfully dismissed Scipio's envoys. But to his great mortification others came almost immediately, to say that Scipio himself was well content to make peace on these terms, but that his council would not on any account accede to them. This was all done by Scipio in order to clear himself from the guilt of breach of truce, in making an attack while negotiations for peace were pending.

Syphax and Hasdrubal, little suspecting the atrocious design of the Roman general, having consulted together, agreed to offer him battle at once. But Scipio about midday assembled his ablest and most trusty tribunes, and having communicated to them his plan (which had hitherto been a most profound secret), directed them, when the trumpets sounded as usual after supper for setting the guards, to lead their men out of the camp. He then sent for those who had acted as spies, and examined them as to the state of the enemies' camps in the presence of Massinissa. At night when all was ready he set out, at the end of the first watch, and reaching the hostile camps by the end of the third watch, he divided his forces, giving one half of the soldiers and all the Numidians to Lælius and Massinissa, with orders to attack the camp of Syphax, while he himself led the rest of the army against that of Hasdrubal.

Lælius and Massinissa having divided their troops, the latter went and stationed his men at all the avenues of the camp, while the former set fire to it. The flames, which spread rapidly, roused Syphax and his people from their sleep, and

having no doubt that the fire was accidental, they endeavoured, naked as they were, to get out of the camp; but several were burnt to death, others trampled down in the rush-out, and those who got out were cut to pieces by Massinissa's soldiers. Those in the other camp when they saw the flames also took them to be accidental, and some hastened to give assistance, while the rest came and stood outside of the camp gazing on the conflagration. All were alike fallen on and slaughtered by the Romans, who at the same time set fire to their camp. Here also the flames spread in all directions; in both camps men, horses, and beasts of burden were to be seen, some perishing in the flames, others rushing through them, and all over the plain naked unarmed fugitives pursued and slaughtered by their ruthless foes; of so many myriads* only about two thousand foot and five hundred horse escaped, with Hasdrubal and Syphax.

"Scipio," says Polybius, "performed many great and glorious actions, but, in my opinion, this was the boldest and most glorious he ever achieved." Yet what was it in reality but a tissue of treachery, duplicity, and cruelty? By a pretended negotiation the suspicions of the enemy were lulled to rest, and an opportunity gained for spying out their camps, and then they were secretly assailed and set fire to at the hour when all in them were asleep. Such a treacherous and cowardly procedure may be worthy of a leader of pirates or bandits, but it was surely disgraceful, at the least, to the general of a great republic†.

Hasdrubal fled first to a town in the vicinity, and thence to Carthage, where opinions were divided; some were for suing for peace, others for recalling Hannibal, others for raising more troops, calling again on Syphax, and continuing the war. This last opinion prevailed. Syphax, yielding to the tears and entreaties of his lovely wife, and encouraged by the appearance of a fine body of four thousand Celtiberians who were just arrived, consented to make new levies, and in the space of thirty days a combined army of 30,000 men encamped on the Great Plain five days' march from Utica. Scipio, leaving the siege of this town, advanced to engage them. After three days' skirmishing a general action commenced: the Roman army was drawn up with the Italian horse on the right, the Numidians on the

* According to Livy, 40,000 men perished by the flames or by the sword.

† If the narrative in Arrian (iii. 10.) and Curtius (iv. 13.) may be relied on, Alexander the Great thought very differently on this subject from Scipio and Polybius.

left wing. The Celtiberians were in the centre of the opposite army, the Carthaginians on the right, the Numidians on the left. The last two gave way at the first shock; the Celtiberians fought nobly, and perished to the last man. After the battle Scipio held a council, and it was decided that Lælius and Massinissa should pursue Syphax, while Scipio employed himself in reducing the Punic towns, many of which readily surrendered, for the heavy impositions which had been laid on them during the war had made them lukewarm in their allegiance.

In Carthage it was now resolved to send to recall Hannibal, to strengthen the defences of the city, and to send out a fleet to attack that of the Romans at Utica. Scipio meantime advanced and occupied Tunis, a town within view of Carthage, at a distance of about fifteen miles. While there he saw the Punic fleet putting to sea, and fearing for his own, he led his troops back to Utica. As his ships of war were not in a condition for fighting, being prepared for battering the town, he drew them up close to the shore, placing the transports three and four deep outside of them, with their masts and yards laid across them and tied together and covered with planks; and he set about one thousand men to defend them. Had the Carthaginians come up while all was in confusion, they might have done much injury; but they loitered so long that they did not appear till the second day, and with all their efforts they only succeeded in dragging away six of the transports.

Lælius and Massinissa reached Numidia on the fifteenth day, and the Massylians gladly received their native prince. But Syphax having collected another army came and gave them battle and was again defeated, and having fallen from his horse, that was wounded, he was made prisoner. Massinissa then pressed on for Syphax's capital, named Cirta, which surrendered when assured of that prince's captivity. Here as he entered the palace he met Sophonisba, who falling at his feet implored him to put her to death rather than give her up to the Romans. The prince's love revived, and as the only means of saving her from the Romans he resolved to espouse her that very day. The wedding was celebrated before the arrival of Lælius, who was highly indignant at it, and was even going to drag her from him; but he conceded to the tears of the prince that the decision should rest with Scipio.

When Syphax was brought before Scipio he threw the whole blame of his change of policy on Sophonisba, and (probably out of jealousy) assured him that her influence over Massinissa

would produce similar effects. This sank deep in the mind of the politic Roman; and when Massinissa arrived he lectured him gravely on his conduct, and insisted on his giving up Sophonisba. The lover burst into tears, and prayed to be permitted, as far as was possible, to keep his promise to his bride; he then retired to his tent, and having given way to an agony of grief, called a trusty servant who kept the poison with which monarchs in those times were always provided, and desired him to bear it to Sophonisba, and tell her that unable to keep the first part of his promise he thus performed the second, and it was for her to act as became the daughter of Hasdrubal and the spouse of two kings. The servant hastened to Cirta. "I accept the nuptial gift," said Sophonisba, "no ungrateful one if a husband could give his wife nothing better. Tell him only this, that I should have died with more glory if I had not married on the eve of death." So saying she took the bowl which he presented to her and drained it*. Scipio, now relieved from his apprehensions, sought to console Massinissa; he publicly gave him the title of *king*, and, after the Roman custom, presented him with the regal insignia. Syphax was sent to Rome, and he died soon after at Tibur. The senate and people confirmed the honours bestowed by Scipio on Massinissa.

Scipio now returned to Tunis, whither came an embassy from Carthage suing for peace, and throwing all the blame of the war on Hannibal. The terms he proposed were the withdrawal of all their troops from Italy, Gaul, Spain, and the islands, their giving up all their ships of war but twenty, delivering 500,000 measures of wheat and 200,000 of barley, and paying a large sum of money. He gave them three days to consider of them; at the end of that time a truce was made to enable them to send to Rome.

Meantime Hannibal and Mago had both been recalled. The latter having been worsted in a severe-fought battle in Insu-

* Livy, and probably Polybius, says nothing of the previous love of Massinissa. According to Appian, as he approached Cirta Sophonisba sent to tell him that she had been obliged to marry Syphax. Massinissa left her at Cirta. Scipio very roughly ordered him to give her up, and not to attempt to deprive the Romans of a part of their booty. The prince then set out with some Romans as if to fetch her, and contriving to see her alone handed her a bowl of poison, and telling her that she must drink it or become a slave to the Romans, gave spurs to his horse and left her. She drank it: and Massinissa having shown the Romans her dead body, buried her as a queen. See also Zonaras, ix. 13. Diodor. Frag. xxvii. At all events Scipio's conduct was that of the politician, not of the man of generous feelings.

brian Gaul, and wounded in the thigh, was glad to leave Italy : he therefore embarked his troops, and put to sea without delay ; but he died of his wound when off Sardinia, and several of his ships were taken by the Romans. Hannibal, it is said, groaned when he received the order to return ; and as he departed, looking back on the shores of Italy, where he had spent so many years of glory *, cursed his own folly in not having marched for Rome after the victory at Cannæ. This last circumstance however proves that we have not here a true account, for Hannibal could not have blamed himself for acting right ; and as he must have been by this time perfectly sure that under the present circumstances the conquest of Italy was become hopeless, his groans, if any, were not for his recall, but for the occasion of it. He landed his troops at Leptis.

The Punic envoys received a dubious answer at Rome, and before they returned the truce had been broken ; for a number of ships laden with supplies from Sicily, for the Roman army, being driven into the bay of Carthage, the Carthaginians seized them ; and when Scipio sent envoys to complain, they narrowly escaped personal ill treatment, and as they returned their vessel was attacked within view of the Roman camp by a Punic ship of war, and most of the crew slain. Notwithstanding this breach of faith, Scipio dismissed in safety the Punic envoys when they reached his camp on their return from Rome.

The war was resumed † (550), and the Carthaginians, conscious of wrong, resolved to strain every nerve. Hannibal had now advanced to Adrumetum, whither numerous volunteers repaired to him, and he engaged a large body of Numidian cavalry. Urged then by the pressing instances of the people of Carthage, he advanced to Zama, a town about five days' march to the west of that city, whence he sent three spies to learn where and how the Romans were encamped. These spies were taken and led before Scipio ; but, like Xerxes ‡, he had them conducted all through his camp and then dismissed in safety. Struck by this conduct, which evinced such confidence in his own strength, Hannibal proposed a personal interview,

* "Quamdiu in Italia fuit, nemo ei in acie restitit, nemo adversus eum post Cannensem pugnam in campo castra posuit," Nepos, Han. 5. That this however is not perfectly correct, the preceding chapters of this history will prove.

† We have the narrative of Polybius (xv. 3-19.) hence to the end of the war.

‡ History of Greece, p. 107, 2nd, p. 103, 4th edit. See also above, p. 163.

in hopes that while his forces were still unimpaired, he should be able to obtain better terms for his country. The Roman did not decline the meeting, but said he would appoint the time for it to take place. He was joined next day by Massinissa with six thousand foot and four thousand horse; and he advanced and encamped near a town named Naragara, whence he sent to inform Hannibal that he was ready to confer with him. The Punic general came and encamped on a hill about four miles off; and next day each set out from his camp with a few horsemen, and then leaving their attendants at a little distance they met, an interpreter alone being present. Hannibal commenced by expressing his wish that the one people had never gone out of Africa or the other out of Italy—their natural dominions. He reminded Scipio of the instability of fortune, of which he was himself so notable an instance, and concluded by offering on the part of Carthage to cede Spain and Sicily, Sardinia, and all the other islands to the Romans. Scipio commenced by attempting to justify the conduct of the Romans in entering Sicily and Spain as the defenders of their allies. He dwelt on the late breach of faith at the moment when the Roman senate and people had consented to a peace; and said that if the less advantageous terms now proposed were agreed to, it would be a premium on bad faith. Victory or unconditional submission alone remained for Carthage. The conference thus terminated, and each general retired to prepare for battle.

At dawn the next day the two armies were drawn out for the conflict which was to decide the fate of Carthage. Never were two more eminent generals opposed to each other; the one the greatest not merely of his own but perhaps of any age, the other inferior only to *him*. In number of troops the advantage was on the side of the former*, but they were mostly raw levies, and only those which had served in Italy could vie in steadiness and discipline with the troops led by the Roman.

Scipio drew up his troops in the usual manner, but instead of placing the maniples of the Principes opposite the intervals of those of the Hastats†, he set them directly behind them, thus leaving open passages in his lines for the elephants to run through. In these intervals he placed the Velites, or light troops, directing them to begin the action, and if oppressed by the elephants to retire through the intervals to the rear, or if

* Appian (viii. 40, 41.) gives the total of the Punic force 50,000 men, that of the Romans 23,000 foot and 1500 horse, exclusive of the Numidians.

† See above, p. 173.

they could not do so to fall into the cross-intervals. The Italian cavalry under Lælius was stationed on the left, Massinissa and his Numidians on the right wing. Hannibal placed his elephants (of which he had eighty) in front; behind them his Ligurian, Gallic, Balearic, and Moorish mercenaries, twelve thousand in number; after these the Africans and Carthaginians; and then, at the distance of somewhat more than a furlong, the troops he had brought from Italy*. It was on these last that he placed his chief reliance; the mercenaries were put in front to weary the Romans, if with nothing else, with slaughtering them; the Carthaginians in the middle, that they might be obliged, willing or not, to fight: the Punic horse were on the right, the Numidian on the left wing.

Each general having encouraged his men, the battle commenced with the skirmishing of the Numidian horse. Hannibal then ordered the elephants to advance; but the Romans blew their horns and trumpets; and some of the animals, terrified at the clangor, ran to the left, where they threw their own horse into such confusion that they could not stand before that of Massinissa; the rest rushed on the Roman Velites, where they did and received much injury: at length, maddened by the noise and their wounds, they ran part through the intervals of the Roman lines, part to the right, where, by the confusion they caused, they rendered easy the victory of Lælius over the Punic horse.

The infantry on both sides now advanced; the three lines of the Romans supporting each other, while the timid Carthaginians let their front line go forward alone. These mercenaries fought bravely, and killed and wounded many of the Romans; but at length they were forced to give way before the close steady ranks of the Romans, and fall back on their second line; and enraged at the cowardice of the Africans, they treated them as enemies. The Carthaginians, thus assailed at the one time by the Romans and by their own mercenaries, gathered courage from despair, and fought with desperation. They threw the Hastats into confusion; the Principes then advanced against them; the slaughter of them and the mercenaries was immense: for Hannibal would not allow

* Livy makes a curious mistake here. Finding in his Polybius τοὺς ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἡκοντας μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ, he renders it by "*aciem Italicorum militum* (*Bruttii plerique erant, vi ac necessitate plures, quam sua voluntate, decedentem ex Italia sequuti*) *instruxit*." It is manifest from Polybius (xv. 11, 6-13.) that they were his veteran troops.

the fugitives to mingle with his reserve, and they were obliged to scatter over the plain.

The bodies and arms of the slain lay in such heaps that it was difficult for the Roman troops to move forward in regular order over them. Scipio therefore, having sounded the recall for the Hastats, who were in pursuit of the flying foes, made them form beyond the heaps of slain; then increasing the depth of the Principes and Triarians on the wings, he advanced with them over the dead bodies, and on coming up with the Hastats led the whole force against Hannibal's reserve. It was now that the battle might be said to commence in reality. The numbers were nearly equal*, their arms the same, their courage and discipline alike. Long was the contest doubtful; at length fortune, or rather the destiny of Rome, favoured the Romans. Lælius and Massinissa returning from the pursuit fell on the rear of Hannibal's troops, and thus assailed in front and rear they were forced to give way. The loss of the Carthaginians in this battle was twenty thousand slain, and nearly an equal number taken; that of the victors was from fifteen hundred to two thousand men. Hannibal having, both before and after the battle, by the confession of Scipio himself and the military men of all ages, done all that was in man to secure the victory, fled with a few horsemen to Adrumetum, whence at the call of the government he proceeded to Carthage, which he had not seen since he left it six-and-thirty years before. He advised to sue for peace, as he declared himself to be beaten not merely in a battle but in the war,—meaning that the resources of Carthage were all exhausted.

Scipio having taken the enemy's camp, led his army back to Utica, where finding a Roman fleet arrived, he sent Lælius home with the news of his victory; and desiring his legate Octavius to lead the troops by land to Carthage, he sailed himself with the fleet for the port of that city. When he came near it he met a ship adorned with olive-branches, on board of which were ten noble Carthaginians come to sue for peace. He desired them to meet him at Tunis, whither he repaired when he had taken a personal survey of the bay of Carthage. When the Punic envoys came, he held a council of war: all voices were at first for destroying Carthage; but Scipio, aware of the length and difficulty of the siege, and also apprehensive of a successor's coming out to rob him of his glory, declared for peace, and his officers readily acquiesced in his views. After reprehending the Carthaginians for their breach of faith,

* Polybius. Yet it can hardly be true.

he offered peace on the following conditions. The Carthaginians to retain all they had possessed in Africa before the war; to make good the losses caused by their seizure of the ships during the late truce; to give up all deserters and prisoners, and all their ships of war and elephants but ten; not to make war either in or out of Africa without the consent of the Romans; to restore all his possessions to Massinissa; to give three months' corn to the Roman army, and pay till an answer should come from Rome; to pay 10,000 talents at the rate of two hundred a year; and to give one hundred hostages, between the ages of fourteen and thirty years, to be selected by the Roman general.

When the deputies returned to Carthage with these terms, one of the senators, it is said, rose to object to them, but Hannibal went and dragged him down from the pulpit. An outcry being raised at this breach of decorum, Hannibal again stood up and excused himself on the score of his ignorance, on account of his long absence from home. He then strongly urged to accept of peace on the terms proposed. His advice was followed; the peace was confirmed by the Roman senate and people; and thus, after a duration of seventeen years, was terminated the second Punic war (551)*.

Scipio having led home his victorious army entered Rome in triumph. He derived from his conquest the title of Africanus, it is not known how conferred, and his was the first example of the kind known at Rome†.

CHAPTER VII.†

Macedonian War.—Flight of Hannibal from Carthage.—Antiochus in Greece.—Invasion of Asia and defeat of Antiochus.—Death of Hannibal.—Last days of Scipio.—Characters of Hannibal and Scipio.—War with Perseus of Macedonia.—Conquest of Macedonia.—Triumph of Æmilius Paulus.

THE victory of Zama gave the Romans the dominion of the West; the ambitious senate then aspired to that of the East,

* C. Servilius Geminus was made dictator to hold the elections for this year. The dictatorship then went out of use till it was revived by Sulla in 670.

† Livy, xxx. 45. See above, p. 85, and Sen. De Br. Vit. 13, 5.

† Livy xxxi.-xlv. Polyb. Fragn. xx.-xxix. Justin. xxx.-xxxiii. Plut. Paul. Æmil. 7-34, the Epitomators.

and the king of Macedonia was selected as the first object of attack. The people, wearied out with service and contributions, were with some difficulty induced to give their consent; and war was declared against Philip under the pretext of his having injured the allies of Rome, namely, the Athenians, and the kings of Egypt and Pergamus*.

Philip after the late peace had been assiduous in augmenting his fleet and army; but instead of joining Hannibal when he was in Italy, he employed himself, in conjunction with Antiochus king of Syria, in seizing the islands and the towns on the coast of the *Ægæan*, which were under the protection of Egypt, whose king was now a minor. This engaged him in hostilities with the king of Pergamus and the Rhodians. A Roman army, under the consul P. Sulpicius, passed over to Greece (552); the *Ætolians* declared against Philip, and gradually the *Bœotians* and *Achæans* were induced to follow their example. Philip made a gallant resistance against this formidable confederacy; but the consul T. Quinctius Flaminius gave him at length (555) a complete defeat at *Cynoscephalæ* in Thessaly, and he was forced to sue for peace, which, however, he obtained on much easier terms than might have been expected, as the Romans were on the eve of a war with the king of Syria. The peace with Philip was followed by the celebrated proclamation at the *Isthmian Games* of the independence of those states of Greece which had been under the Macedonian dominion; for the Romans well knew that this was the infallible way to establish their own supremacy, as the Greeks would be sure never to unite for the common good of their country.

After an interval of a few years, the long-expected war with Antiochus the Great of Syria broke out. The immediate occasion of it was the discontent of the *Ætolians*, who being mortally offended with the Romans sent to invite him into Greece. He had been for three years making preparations for the war, and he had now at his service the greatest general of the age, if he had known how to make use of him. For Hannibal having been appointed one of the *suffetes* at Carthage, and finding the power of the judges enormous in consequence of their holding their office for life, had a law passed reducing it to one year. This naturally raised him a host of enemies, whose number was augmented by his financial reforms; for discovering that the public revenues had been diverted into

* For this war and the following events, see the History of Greece.

the coffers of the magistrates and persons of influence, while the people were directly taxed to pay the tribute to the Romans, he instituted an inquiry, and proved that the ordinary revenues of the state were abundantly sufficient for all purposes. Those who felt their incomes thus reduced sought to rouse the enmity of the Romans against Hannibal, whom they charged with a secret correspondence with Antiochus; and though Scipio strongly urged the indignity of the Roman senate becoming the instrument of a faction in Carthage, hatred of Hannibal prevailed, and three senators were sent to Carthage, ostensibly to settle some disputes between the Carthaginians and Massinissa. Hannibal, who knew their real object, left the city secretly in the night, and getting on board a ship sailed to Tyre. He thence went to Antioch, and finding that Antiochus was at Ephesus he proceeded to that city, where he met with a most flattering reception from the monarch (557).

Hannibal, true to his maxim that the Romans were only to be conquered in Italy, proposed to the king to let him have a good fleet and ten thousand men, with which he would sail over to Africa, when he hoped to be able to induce the Carthaginians to take arms again; and if he did not succeed he would land somewhere in Italy. He would have the king meanwhile to pass with a large army into Greece, and to remain there ready to invade Italy, if necessary. Antiochus at first assented to this plan of the war; but he afterwards lent an ear to the suggestions of Thoas the Ætolian, who was jealous of the great Carthaginian, and gave it up. He himself at length (560) passed over to Greece with a small army of ten thousand men; but instead of acting at once with vigour, he loitered in Eubœa, where he espoused a beautiful maiden, wasted his time in petty negotiations in Thessaly and the adjoining country, by which he highly offended king Philip, whom it was his first duty to conciliate, and thus gave the consul M' Acilius Glabrio time to land his army and enter Thessaly. Antiochus hastened from Eubœa to defend the pass of Thermopylæ against him; but he was totally defeated, and forced to fly to Asia (561).

Antiochus flattered himself at first that the Romans would not follow him into Asia; but Hannibal soon proved to him that such an expectation was a vain one, and that he must prepare for war. At Rome the invasion of Asia was at once resolved on. The two new consuls, C. Lælius and L. Scipio (562), were both equally anxious to have the conducting of

this war; the senate were mostly in favour of Lælius, an officer of skill and experience, while L. Scipio was a man of very moderate abilities. But Scipio Africanus offering, if his brother was appointed, to go as his legate*, Greece was assigned to him as his province without any further hesitation. The Scipios then, having raised what troops were requisite, among which five thousand of those who had served under Africanus came as volunteers, passed over to Epirus with a force of about thirteen thousand men. In Thessaly Acilius delivered up to them two legions which he had under his command, and being supplied with provisions and everything else they required they marched through Macedonia and Thrace for the Hellespont. A Roman fleet was in the Ægæan, which, united with those of Eumenes of Pergamus and the Rhodians, proved an overmatch for that of Antiochus, even though commanded by Hannibal. When the Scipios reached the Hellespont they found everything prepared for the passage by Eumenes. They crossed without any opposition; and as this was the time for moving the *Ancilia* at Rome, P. Scipio, who was one of the *Salii*, caused the army to make a halt of a few days on that account.

While they remained there an envoy came from Antiochus proposing peace, on condition of his giving up all claim to the Grecian cities in Asia and paying one half of the expenses of the war. The Scipios insisted on his paying all the expenses of the war, as he had been the cause of it, and evacuating Asia on this side of Mount Taurus. The envoy then applied privately to P. Scipio, telling him that the king would release without ransom his son, who had lately fallen into his hands, and give him a large quantity of gold and every honour he could bestow, if through his means he could obtain more equitable terms. Scipio expressed his gratitude, as a private person, to the king for the offer to release his son; and, as a friend, advised him to accept any terms he could get, as his case was hopeless. The envoy retired; the Romans advanced to Ilium, where the consul ascended and offered sacrifice to Minerva, to the great joy of the Ilienses, who asserted themselves to be the progenitors of the Romans. They thence advanced to the head of the river Caicus. Antiochus, who was at Thyatira, hearing that P. Scipio was lying sick at Elæa, sent his son to him, and received in return his thanks, and his advice not to engage till he had rejoined the army. As in case of defeat

* Like Fabius Maximus, above, p. 158.

his only hopes lay in P. Scipio, he took his counsel, and retiring to the foot of Mount Sipylus formed a strong camp near Magnesia.

The consul advanced, and encamped about four miles off; and as the king seemed not inclined to fight, and the Roman soldiers were full of contempt for the enemy, and clamorous for action, it was resolved, if he did not accept the proffered battle, to storm his camp. But Antiochus, fearing that the spirit of his men would sink if he declined fighting, led them out when he saw the Romans in array.

The Roman army, consisting of four legions, each of 5400 men, was drawn up in the usual manner, its left resting on a river; 3000 Achæan and Pergamene foot were placed on the right, and beyond them the horse, about 3000 in number; sixteen African elephants were stationed in the rear. The army of Antiochus consisted of 62,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and fifty-four elephants. His phalanx of 16,000 men was drawn up in ten divisions, each of fifty men in rank and thirty-two in file, with two elephants in each of the intervals. On the left and right of the phalanx were placed the cavalry, the light troops and the remainder of the elephants, the sithed chariots, and Arab archers, mounted on dromedaries.

When the armies were arrayed, there came on a fog, with a slight kind of rain, which relaxed the bow-strings, slings, and dart-thongs of the numerous light troops of the king, and the darkness caused confusion in his long and various line. Eumenes also, by a proper use of the light troops, frightened the horses of the sithed chariots, and drove them off the field. The Roman horse then charged that of the enemy and put it to flight; the confusion of the left wing extended to the phalangites, who, by their own men rushing from the left among them, were prevented from using their long *sarissæ* (or spears), and were easily broken and slaughtered by the Romans, who now also knew from experience how to deal with the elephants. Antiochus, who commanded in person on the right, drove the four *turns* or troops of horse opposed to him, and a part of the foot, back to their camp; but M. Æmilius, who commanded there, rallied them. Eumenes' brother, Attalus, came from the right with some horse; the king turned and fled; the rout became general; the slaughter, as usual, enormous: the camp was taken and pillaged. The loss of the Syrians is stated at 53,000 slain and 1400 taken; that of the Romans and their ally Eumenes at only 350 men!

All the cities of the coast sent in their submission to the consul, who advanced to Sardes. Antiochus was at this time at Apamea; and when he learned that P. Scipio, who had not been in the battle, was arrived, he sent envoys to treat of peace on any terms. The Romans had already arranged the conditions of peace, and P. Scipio announced them as follows: Antiochus should abstain from Europe, and give up all Asia this side of Taurus; pay 15,000 Euboïc talents for the expenses of the war, 500 down, 1500 when the senate and people ratified the peace, the remainder in twelve years, at 1000 talents a-year; give Eumenes 400 talents and a quantity of corn; give twenty hostages; and, above all, deliver up Hannibal, Thoas the Ætolian, and three other Greeks. The king's envoys went direct to Rome, whither also went Eumenes in person, and embassies from Rhodes and other places; the consul put his troops into winter-quarters at Magnesia, Tralles, and Ephesus.

At Rome the peace was confirmed with Antiochus. The greater part of the ceded territory was granted to Eumenes, Lycia and part of Caria to the Rhodians (whose usually prudent aristocracy committed a great error in seeking this aggrandisement of their dominion), and such towns as had taken part with the Romans were freed from tribute. L. Scipio triumphed on his return to Rome, and assumed the surname of Asiaticus, to be in this respect on an equality with his illustrious brother.

Cn. Manlius Vulso succeeded Scipio in Asia (563), and as the Roman consuls now began to regard it as discreditable and unprofitable to pass their year without a war, he looked round him for an enemy from whom he might derive fame and wealth. He fixed on the Gallo-Grecians, as the descendants of those Gauls were called who had passed over into Asia in the time of Pyrrhus, and won a territory for themselves, named from them in after-times Galatia. He stormed their fortified camp on Mount Olympus in Mysia, gave them a great defeat on the plains of Ancýra, and forced them to sue for peace. The booty gained, the produce of their plunder for many years, was immense. Manlius then led his army back to the coast for the winter. The next year (564) ten commissioners came out to ratify the peace with Antiochus; they added some more conditions, such as the surrender of his elephants; the peace was then sworn to, and the Romans evacuated Asia.

Hannibal, when he found that the Romans demanded him, retired to Crete; not thinking himself, however, safe in that island, he left it soon after and repaired to the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia, who felt flattered by the presence of so great a man. But the vengeance of Rome did not sleep, and no less a person than T. Flaminius was sent (569) to demand his death or his surrender. The mean-spirited Prusias, immediately after a conference with the Roman envoy, sent soldiers to seize his illustrious guest. Hannibal, who it is said had, in expectation of treachery, made seven passages, open and secret, from his house, attempted to escape by the most private one; but finding it guarded, he had recourse to the poison which he always carried about him. Having vented imprecations on Prusias for his breach of hospitality, he drank the poison, and expired, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

It is said that Scipio Africanus died in the same year with his illustrious rival, an instance also of the mutability of fortune, for the conqueror of Carthage breathed his last in exile! In the year 559 he had had a specimen of the instability of popular favour; for while at the consular elections he and all the Cornelian *gens* exerted their influence in favour of his cousin P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Cnæus, who had been killed in Spain,—and who was himself of so exemplary a character, that when the statue of the Idæan Mother Cybele was, by the direction of the Sibylline books, brought to Rome from Pergamus, it was committed to his charge, as being the best man in the city*,—they were forced to yield to that of the vain-glorious T. Quinctius Flaminius, who sued for his brother, the profligate L. Quinctius. But, as the historian observes, the glory of Flaminius was fresher; he had triumphed that very year; whereas Africanus had been now ten years in the public view, and since his victory over Hannibal he had been consul a second time, and censor,—very sufficient reasons for the decline of his favour with the unstable people.

The year after the conclusion of the peace with Antiochus (565) the Q. Petillii, tribunes of the people, at the instigation it is said of M. Porcius Cato, cited Scipio Africanus before the tribes, to answer various charges on old and new grounds, of which the chief was that of having taken bribes from Antiochus, and not having accounted for the spoil. Scipio was attended to the Forum by an immense concourse of people; he

* See Livy, xxix. 14. Ovid, Fasti, iv. 255 *seq.*

disdained to notice the charges against him; in a long speech he enumerated the various actions he had performed, and taking a book from his bosom, "In this," said he, "is an account of all you want to know." "Read it," said the tribunes, "and let it then be deposited in the treasury." "No," said Scipio, "I will not offer myself such an insult;" and he tore up the book before their faces*.

The night came on; the cause was deferred till the next day: at dawn the tribunes took their seat on the Rostra; the accused, on being cited, came before it, attended by a crowd of his friends and clients. "This day, ye tribunes and Quirites," said he, "I defeated Hannibal in Africa. As, therefore, it should be free from strife and litigation, I will go to the Capitol and give thanks to Jupiter and the other gods who inspired me on this and other days to do good service to the state. Let whoso will, come with me and pray to the gods that ye may always have leaders like unto me." He ascended the Capitol; all followed him, and the tribunes were left sitting alone. He then went round to all the other temples, still followed by the people; and this last day of his glory nearly equalled that of his triumph for conquered Africa. His cause was put off for some days longer; but in the interval, disgusted with the prospect of contests with the tribunes, which his proud spirit could ill brook, he retired to Liternum in Campania. On his not appearing, the tribunes spoke of sending and dragging him before the tribunal; but their colleagues interposed, especially Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, from whom it was least expected, as he was at enmity with the Scipios. The senate thanked Gracchus for his noble conduct†, the matter dropped, and Scipio spent the remainder of his days at Liternum. He was buried there, it is said, at his own desire, that his ungrateful country might not even possess his ashes.

The actions of the two great men who were now removed from the scene sufficiently declare their characters. As a general Hannibal is almost without an equal; not a single military error can be charged on him, and the address with which he managed to keep an army composed of such discordant elements as his in obedience, even when obliged to act on the defensive, is astonishing. The charges of perfidy, cruelty, and

* Gellius, iv. 18. Val. Max. iii. 7, 1.

† For this, and for his similar conduct to L. Scipio, the family gave him in marriage Cornelia, the daughter of Africanus. The two celebrated Gracchi were their sons.

such like, made against him by the Roman writers*, are quite unfounded, and are belied by facts. Nowhere does Hannibal's character appear so great as when, after the defeat of Zama, he, with unbroken spirit, applied the powers of his mighty mind to the reform of political abuses and the restoration of the finances, in the hopes of once more raising his country to independence. Here he shone the true patriot.

The character of his rival has come down to us under the garb of panegyric; but even after making all due deductions much remains to be admired. His military talents were doubtless considerable; of his civil virtues we hear but little, and we cannot therefore judge of him accurately as a statesman. Though a high aristocrat, we have, however, seen that he would not hesitate to lower the authority of the senate by appealing to the people in the gratification of his ambition; and we certainly cannot approve of the conduct of the public man who disdained to produce his accounts when demanded. Of his vaunted magnanimity and generosity we have already had occasion to speak, and not in very exalted terms. Still Rome has but one name in her annals to place in comparison with that of Africanus; that name, Julius Cæsar, is a greater than his, perhaps than any other.

To return to our narrative. In the period which had elapsed since the peace with Carthage, there had been annual occupation for the Roman arms in Cisalpine Gaul, Liguria, and Spain. The Gauls, whose inaction all the time Hannibal was in Italy seems hard to account for, resumed arms in the year 551, at the instigation of one Hasdrubal, who had remained behind from the army of Mago; they took the colony of Placentia, and met several consular and prætorian armies in the field, and, after sustaining many great defeats, were completely reduced: the Ligurians, owing to their mountains, made a longer resistance, but they also were brought under the yoke of Rome. In Spain the various portions of its warlike population, ill brooking the dominion of strangers, rose continually in arms, but failed before the discipline of the Roman legions and the skill of their commanders. The celebrated M. Porcius Cato when consul (557) acquired great fame by his conduct in that country.

* Such as the following lines of Silius Italicus, *Pun. i. 56 seq.*

Ingenio motus avidus, fidelique sinister
Is fuit, exsuperans astu, sed devius æqui;
Armato nullus divum pudor, improba virtus,
Et pacis despectus honos; penitusque medullis
Sanguinis humani flagrat sitis.

Philip of Macedonia, who with all his vices was an able prince, had long been making preparations for a renewed war with Rome, which he saw to be inevitable. He died however (573) before matters came to an extremity. His son and successor Perseus* was a man of a very different character; for while he was free from his father's love of wine and women, he did not possess his redeeming qualities, and was deeply infected by a mean spirit of avarice. It was reserved for him to make the final trial of strength with the Romans. Eumenes of Pergamus went himself to Rome, to represent how formidable he was become, and the necessity of crushing him; the envoys of Perseus tried in vain to justify him in the eyes of the jealous senate; war was declared (580) against him on the usual pretext of his injuring the allies of Rome, and the conduct of it was committed to P. Licinius Crassus, one of the consuls for the ensuing year.

The Macedonian army amounted to thirty-nine thousand foot, one half of whom were phalangites, and four thousand horse, the largest that Macedonia had sent to the field since the time of Alexander the Great. Perseus advanced into Thessaly at the head of this army (581), and at the same time the Roman legions entered it from Epirus. An engagement of cavalry took place not far from the river Peneüs, in which the advantage was decidedly on the side of the king. In another encounter success was on that of the Romans; after which Perseus led his troops home for the winter, and Licinius quartered his in Thessaly and Bœotia.

Nothing deserving of note occurred in the following year. In the spring of 583 the consul Q. Marcius Philippus led his army over the Cambunian mountains into Macedonia, and Perseus, instead of occupying the passes in the rear and cutting off his supplies from Thessaly, cowardly retired before him, and allowed him to ravage all the south of Macedonia. Marcius returned to Thessaly for the winter, and in the ensuing spring (584) the new consul, L. Æmilius Paulus (son of the consul who fell at Cannæ), a man of high consideration, of great talent, and who had in a former consulate gained much fame in Spain, came out to take the command.

Meantime the wretched avarice of Perseus was putting an end to every chance he had of success. Eumenes had offered, for the sum of fifteen hundred talents, to abstain from taking part in

* By the Latin writers he is usually named *Perseus*. See *Mythology of Greece and Italy*, p. 553.

the war, and to endeavour to negotiate a peace for him: Perseus gladly embraced the offer, and was ready enough to arrange about the hostages which Eumenes agreed to give; but he hesitated to part with the money before he had had the value for it, and he proposed that it should be deposited in the temple at Samothrace till the war was ended. As Samothrace belonged to Perseus, Eumenes saw that he was not to be trusted, and he broke off the negotiation. Again, a body of Gauls of ten thousand horse and an equal number of foot, from beyond the Ister, to whom he had promised large pay, were now at hand; Perseus sought to circumvent them and save his money, and the offended barbarians ravaged Thrace and returned home. It is the opinion of the historian, that if he had kept his word with these Gauls, and sent them into Thessaly, the situation of the Roman army, placed thus between two armies, might have been very perilous. Lastly, he agreed to give Gentius, king of Illyria, three hundred talents if he went to war with the Romans: he sent ten of them at once, and directed those who bore the remainder to go very slowly; meantime his ambassador kept urging Gentius, who, to please him, seized two Roman envoys who arrived just then, and imprisoned them. Perseus, thinking him fully committed with the Romans by this act, sent to recall the rest of his money.

Paulus led his army without delay into Macedonia, and in the neighbourhood of Pydna he forced the crafty Perseus to come to an engagement. The victory was speedy and decisive on the side of the Romans; the Macedonian horse fled, the king setting the example, and the phalanx thus left exposed was cut to pieces. Perseus fled with his treasures to Amphipolis, and thence to the sacred isle of Samothrace. All Macedonia submitted to the consul, who then advanced to Amphipolis after Perseus, who in vain sent letters suing for favour.

Meantime the prætor Cn. Octavius was come with his fleet to Samothrace. He sought ineffectually to induce Perseus to surrender, and then so wrought on the people of the island, that the unhappy prince, considering himself no longer safe, resolved to try to escape to Cotys, king of Thrace, his only remaining ally. A Cretan ship-master undertook to convey him away secretly; provisions, and as much money as could be carried thither unobserved, were put on board his bark in the evening, and at midnight the king left the temple secretly and proceeded to the appointed spot. But no bark was there; the Cretan, false as any of his countrymen, had set sail for

Crete as soon as it was dark. Perseus having wandered about the shore till near daylight, slunk back and concealed himself in a corner of the temple. He was soon obliged to surrender to Octavius, by whom he was conveyed to the consul. Macedonia was, by the direction of the senate, divided into four republics, between which there was to be neither intermarriage nor purchase of immoveable property (*connubium* or *commercium*); each was to defray the expenses of its own government, and pay to Rome one half of the tribute it had paid to the kings; the silver and gold mines were not to be wrought, no ship-timber was to be felled, no troops to be kept except on the frontiers; all who had held any office, civil or military, under Perseus were ordered to quit Macedonia and go and live in Italy, lest if they remained at home they should raise disturbances. In Greece the lovers of their country were put to death or removed to Italy, under pretext of their having favoured the cause of Perseus, and the administration of affairs was placed in the hands of the tools of Rome.

Paulus on his return to Rome celebrated his triumph with great magnificence. His soldiers, because he had maintained rigid discipline and had given them less of the booty than they had expected, and instigated by Ser. Sulpicius Galba, one of their tribunes, a personal enemy to the consul had tried to prevent it; but the eloquence of M. Servilius and others prevailed. Perseus and his children, examples of the mutability of fortune, preceded the car of the victor. After the triumph, Perseus was confined at Alba in the Marsian land*, where he died a few years after.

Octavius was allowed to celebrate a naval triumph; and the prætor L. Anicius Gallus, who had in thirty days reduced Illyria and made Gentius and all his family captives, also triumphed for that country.

* This town, which must not be confounded with the ancient Alba Longa, lay on the Fucine lake.

CHAPTER VIII.*

Affairs of Carthage.—Third Punic War.—Description of Carthage.—IH success of the Romans.—Scipio made consul.—He saves Mancinus.—Restores discipline in the army.—Attack on Carthage.—Attempt to close the harbour.—Capture and destruction of Carthage.—Reduction of Macedonia and Greece to provinces.

AFTER the conclusion of the Hannibalian war, the Carthaginians seemed disposed to remain at peace; but the ambition of their neighbour Massinissa, whose life, to their misfortune, was extended to beyond ninety years, would not allow them to rest. He was continually encroaching on their territory and seizing their subject towns. The Roman senate, when appealed to as the common superior, sent out commissioners, who almost invariably decided in favour of Massinissa, and he gradually extended his dominion from the Ocean inlands to the Syrtis.

On one of these occasions M. Porcius Cato was one of those sent out; and when he saw the fertility of the Carthaginian territory and its high state of culture, and the strength, wealth, and population of the city, he became apprehensive of its yet endangering the power of Rome; his vanity also, of which he had a large share, was wounded, because the Carthaginians, who were manifestly in the right, would not acquiesce at once in the decision of himself and his colleagues; and he returned to Rome full of bitterness against them. Henceforth he concluded all his speeches in the senate with these words, "I also think that Carthage should be destroyed†." On the other side, P. Scipio Nasica, either from a regard to justice, or, as it is said, persuaded that the only mode of saving Rome from the corruption to which she was tending was to keep up a formidable rival to her, strenuously opposed this course. The majority, however, inclined to the opinion of Cato; it was resolved to lay hold on the first plausible pretext for declaring war, and to those who were so disposed a pretext was not long wanting.

At Carthage there were three parties; the Roman, the Nu-

* Appian, De Reb. Pun. 67 to the end, the Epitomators.

† Plut. Cato Major, 26, 27; Pliny, xv. 18. Cato one day in the senate-house let fall from his *toga* some fine African figs, and when the senators admired them he said, "The country that produces these is but three days' sail from Rome."

midian, and the popular party. This last, which, with all its faults, alone was patriotic, drove out of the city about forty of the principal of the Numidian party, and made the people swear never to re-admit them or listen to any proposals for their return. The exiles repaired to Massinissa, who sent his sons Micipsa and Gulussa to Carthage on their behalf. But Carthalo, a leader of the popular party, shut the gates against them, and Hamilcar, the other popular leader, fell on Gulussa as he was coming again, and killed some of those who attended him. This gave occasion to a war; a battle was fought between Massinissa and the Punic troops led by Hasdrubal, which lasted from morning to night without being completely decided. But Massinissa having inclosed the Punic army on a hill, starved them into a surrender; and Gulussa, as they were departing unarmed, fell on and slaughtered them all. The Carthaginians lost no time in sending to Rome to justify themselves, having previously passed sentence of death on Hasdrubal, Carthalo, and the other authors of the war. The senate, however, would accept of no excuse; and after various efforts on the part of the Carthaginians to avert it, war was proclaimed against them (603)*, and the conduct of it committed to the consuls L. Marcius Censorinus and M. Manilius Nepos, with secret orders not to desist till Carthage was destroyed. Their army is said to have consisted of eighty thousand foot and four thousand horse, which had been previously prepared for this war.

The Carthaginians were informed almost at the same moment of the declaration of war and of the sailing of the Roman army. They saw themselves without ships (for they had been prohibited to build any), without an ally (even Utica, not eight miles from their city, having joined the Romans), without mercenaries, or even supplies of corn, and the flower of their youth had been lately cut off by Massinissa. They again sent an embassy to Rome, to make a formal surrender of their city. The senate replied, that if within thirty days they sent three hundred children of the noblest families as hostages to the consuls in Sicily, and did whatever the consuls commanded them, they should be allowed to be free and governed by their own laws, and to retain all the territory they possessed in Africa. At the same time secret orders were sent to the consuls to abide by their original instructions.

* "Magis quia volebant Romani quicquid de Carthaginiensibus diceretur credere quam quia credenda adferebantur, statuit senatus Carthaginem excidere," Vell. Pat. i. 12.

The Carthaginians became somewhat suspicious at no mention of their city having been made by the senate. They however resolved to obey, and leave no pretext for attacking them: the hostages accordingly were sent to Lilybæum, amidst the tears and lamentations of their parents and relatives. The consuls straightway transmitted them to Rome, and then told the Carthaginians that they would settle the remaining matters at Utica, to which place they lost no time in passing over; and when the Punic envoys came to learn their will, they said that as the Carthaginians had declared their wish and resolution to live at peace they could have no need for arms and weapons; they therefore required them to deliver up all that they had. This mandate also was obeyed: two hundred thousand sets of armour, with weapons of all kinds in proportion, were brought on waggons into the Roman camp, accompanied by the priests, the senators, and the chief persons of the city. Censorinus then, having praised their diligence and ready obedience, announced to them the further will of the senate, which was that they should quit Carthage, which the Romans intended to level, and build another town in any part of their territory they pleased, but not within less than ten miles of the sea*. The moment they heard this ruthless command they abandoned themselves to every extravagance of grief and despair; they rolled themselves on the ground, they tore their garments and their hair, they beat their breasts and faces, they called on the gods, they abused the Romans for their treachery and deceit. When they recovered from their paroxysm they spoke again, requesting to be allowed to send an embassy to Rome. The consul said this would be to no purpose, for the will of the senate must be carried into effect. They then departed, with melancholy forebodings of the reception they might meet with at home, and some of them ran away on the road, fearing to face the enraged populace. Censorinus forthwith sent twenty ships to cast anchor before Carthage.

The people, who were anxiously waiting their return, when they saw their downcast melancholy looks, abandoned themselves to despair and lamented aloud. The envoys passed on in silence to the senate-house, and there made known the inexorable resolve of Rome. When the senators heard it they groaned and wept; the people without joined in their lamentations, then giving way to rage they rushed in and tore to pieces

* It well became the Romans after this to talk of *Punica fides*!

the principal advisers of the delivery of the hostages and arms ; they stoned the ambassadors and dragged them about the city ; and then fell on and abused in various ways such Italians as happened to be still there. The senate that very day resolved on war ; they proclaimed liberty to the slaves, they chose Hasdrubal, whom they had condemned to death, and who was at a place called Nepheris at the head of a force of twenty thousand men, general for the exterior, and another Hasdrubal, the grandson of Massinissa, for the city ; and having again applied in vain to the consuls for a truce that they might send envoys to Rome, they prepared vigorously for defence, resolved to endure the last rather than abandon their city. The temples and other sacred places were turned into workshops, men and women laboured day and night in the manufacture of arms, and the women cut off their long hair that it might be twisted into bowstrings. The consuls meantime, though urged by Massinissa, did not advance against the city, either through dislike of the unpleasant task, or because they thought that they could take it whenever they pleased. At length they led their troops to the attack of the town.

The city of Carthage lay on a peninsula at the bottom of a large bay : at its neck, which was nearly three miles in width, stood the citadel, Byrsa, on a rock whose summit was occupied by the temple of Esmûn or Æsculapius ; from the neck on the east ran a narrow belt or tongue of land between the lake of Tunis and the sea ; at a little distance inlands extended a rocky ridge, through which narrow passes had been hewn. The harbour was on the east side of the peninsula ; it was double, consisting of an outer and an inner one, and its mouth, which was seventy feet wide, was secured with iron chains : the outer harbour was surrounded by a quay for the landing of goods. The inner one, named the Cothon*, was for the ships of war ; its only entrance was through the outer one, and it was defended by a double wall ; in its centre was an elevated island, on which stood the admiral's house, whence there was a view out over the open sea. The Cothon was able to contain two hundred and twenty ships, and was provided with all the requisite magazines. A single wall environed the whole city ; that of Byrsa was triple, each wall being 30 ells high exclusive of the battlements, and at intervals of two hundred feet were towers four stories high. A double row of

* This was a general name for an artificial harbour, probably from its resemblance to the *κῶθων*, a kind of drinking vessel.

vaults ran round each wall, the lower one containing stalls for 300 elephants and 4000 horses, with granaries for their fodder ; the upper barracks for 20,000 foot and 4000 horse. Three streets led from Byrsa to the market, which was near the Cothon, which harbour gave name to this quarter of the town. That part of the town which lay to the west and north was named Megara* ; it was more thinly inhabited, and full of gardens divided by walls and hedges. The city was in compass twenty-three miles, and is said to have contained at this time 700,000 inhabitants.

The consuls divided their forces ; Censorinus attacked from his ships the wall where it was weakest, at the angle of the isthmus, while Manilius attempted to fill the ditch and carry the outer works of the great wall. They reckoned on no resistance ; but their expectations were deceived, and they were forced to retire. Censorinus then constructed two large battering-rams, with which he threw down a part of the wall near the belt ; the Carthaginians partly rebuilt it during the night, and next day they drove out with loss such of the Romans as had entered by the breach. They had also in the night made a sally and burnt the engines of the besiegers. It being now the dog days, Censorinus finding the situation of his camp, close to a lake of standing water, unwholesome, removed to the seashore. The Carthaginians then, watching when the wind blew strong from the sea on the Roman station, used to fill small vessels with combustibles, to which they set fire, and spreading their sails let the wind drive them on the Roman ships, many of which were thus destroyed.

Censorinus having gone to Rome for the elections, the Carthaginians became more daring, and they ventured a nocturnal attack on the camp of Manilius, in which they would have succeeded but for the presence of mind of Scipio, one of the tribunes, who led out the horse at the rear of the camp and fell on them unexpectedly. A second nocturnal attack was frustrated by the same Scipio, who was now the life and soul of the army. Manilius then, contrary to the advice of Scipio, led his troops to Nepheris against Hasdrubal ; but he was forced to retire with loss, and four entire cohorts would have been cut off had it not been for the valour and the skill of Scipio. Shortly after, when commissioners came out from Rome to inquire into the causes of the want of success, Ma-

* This is probably a Greek corruption of Magaria or Magalia, *tents* or *dwellings*, connected with the Hebrew *magâr*, 'dwelling.'

nilius and his officers, laying aside all jealousy, bore testimony to the merits of Scipio ; the affection of the army for him was also manifest ; of all which the commissioners informed the senate and people on their return. Massinissa dying at this time, left the regulation of his kingdom to Scipio, who divided the regal office among the three legitimate sons of the deceased monarch ; giving the capital and the chief dignity to Micipsa, the eldest, the management of the foreign relations to Gulussa, and the administration of justice to Mastanabal. Scipio also induced Himilco Famæas, a Punic commander, who had hitherto done the Romans much mischief, to desert to them with two thousand two hundred horse.

In the spring (604) the new consul L. Calpurnius Piso came out to take the command of the army, and the prætor L. Hostilius Mancinus to take that of the fleet. They attacked the town of Clupea by sea and land, but were repulsed ; and Calpurnius then spent the whole summer to no purpose in the siege of a strong town named Hippagreta. The Carthaginians, elevated by their unexpected good fortune, were now masters of the country ; they insulted the Romans, and endeavoured to detach the Numidians. Hasdrubal, proud of his successes over Manilius, aspired to the command in the city ; he accused the other Hasdrubal of having intelligence with his uncle Gulussa, who was in the Roman camp ; and when this last, on being charged with it in the senate, hesitated from surprise, the senators fell on and killed him with the seats ; and his rival thus gained his object.

The elections now came on at Rome ; Scipio was there as a candidate for the ædileship ; all eyes were turned on him, his friends doubtless were not idle, and the letters from the soldiers in Africa represented him as the only man able to take Carthage. The tribes therefore resolved to make him consul, though he was not of the proper age*. The presiding consul opposed in vain ; he was elected, and the people further assumed the power of assigning him Africa for his province.

This celebrated man was son to Æmilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia. He had been adopted by Scipio the son of Africanus ; the Greek historian Polybius and the philosopher Panætius were his instructors and friends ; and he

* The lawful age for the consulate at this time was forty-three years, and Scipio was only thirty-eight.

had already distinguished himself as a soldier both in Spain and Africa*.

The very evening that Scipio arrived at Utica (605) he had again an opportunity of saving a part of the Roman army; for Mancinus, a vain rash man, having brought the fleet close to Carthage, and observing a part of the wall over the cliffs left unguarded, landed some of his men, who mounted to the wall. The Carthaginians opened a gate and came to attack them, the Romans drove them back and entered the town; Mancinus landed more men, and as it was now evening he sent off to Utica, requiring provisions and a reinforcement to be forwarded without delay, or else they would never be able to keep their position. Scipio, who arrived that evening, received about midnight the letters of Mancinus; he ordered the soldiers he had brought with him and the serviceable Uticans to get on board at once, and he set forth in the last watch, directing his men to stand erect on the decks and let themselves be seen; he also released a prisoner, and sent him to tell at Carthage that Scipio was coming. Mancinus meantime was hard pressed by the enemies, who attacked him at dawn; he placed five hundred men who had armour around the remainder (three thousand men), who had none; but this availed them not; they were on the point of being forced down the cliffs when Scipio appeared. The Carthaginians, who expected him, fell back a little, and he lost no time in taking off Mancinus and his companions in peril.

Scipio, on taking the command, finding extreme laxity of discipline and disorder in the army, in consequence of the negligence of Piso, called an assembly, and having upbraided the soldiers with their conduct, declared his resolution of maintaining strict discipline; he then ordered all sutlers, camp-followers, and other useless and pernicious people to quit the camp, which he now moved to within a little distance of Carthage. The Carthaginians also formed a camp about half a mile from their walls, which Hasdrubal entered at the head of six thousand foot, and one thousand horse, all seasoned troops.

When Scipio thought the discipline of his men sufficiently revived, he resolved to attempt a night-attack on the Megara; but being perceived by the defenders, the Romans could not scale the walls. Scipio then observing a turret (probably a garden one) which belonged to some private person, and was

* "Nihil in vita nisi laudandum aut fecit aut dixit aut sensit." Vell. Pat. i. 12.

close to the wall, and of the same height with it, made some of his men ascend it. These drove down with their missiles those on the walls opposite them, and then laying planks and boards across got on the wall, and jumping down opened a gate to admit Scipio, who entered with four thousand men. The Punic soldiers fled to the Byrsa, thinking that the rest of the town was taken, and those in the camp hearing the tumult ran thither also; but Scipio, finding the Megara full of gardens with trees and hedges and ditches filled with water, and therefore unsafe for an invader, withdrew his men and went back to his camp. In the morning Hasdrubal, to satiate his rage, took what Roman prisoners he had, and placing them on the walls in sight of the Roman camp, mutilated them in a most horrible manner, and then flung them down from the lofty battlements. When the senators blamed him for it, he put some of them to death, and he made himself in effect the tyrant of the city.

Scipio having taken and burnt the deserted camp of the enemy, formed a camp within a dart's cast of their wall, running from sea to sea across the isthmus, and strongly fortified on all sides. By this means he cut them off from the land; and as the only way in which provisions could now be brought into the city was by sea, when vessels, taking advantage of winds that drove off the Roman ships, ran into the harbour, he resolved to stop up its mouth by a mole. He commenced from the belt, forming the mole of great breadth and with huge stones. The besieged at first mocked at the efforts of the Romans; but when they saw how rapidly the work advanced they became alarmed, and instantly set about digging another passage out of the port into the open sea; they at the same time built ships out of the old materials; and they wrought so constantly and so secretly, that the Romans at length saw all their plans frustrated, a new entrance opened to the harbour, and a fleet of fifty ships of war and a great number of smaller vessels issue from it. Had their evil destiny now allowed the Carthaginians to take advantage of the consternation of the Romans, and fall at once on their fleet, which was utterly unprepared, they might have destroyed it; but they contented themselves with a bravado and then returned to port. On the third day the two fleets engaged from morn till eve with various success. The small vessels of the enemy annoyed the Romans very much in the action; but in the retreat they got ahead of their own ships, and blocking up the

mouth of the harbour, obliged them to range themselves along a quay which had been made without the walls for the landing of goods, whither the Roman ships followed them and did them much mischief. During the night they got into port, but in the morning Scipio resolved to try to effect a lodgement on the quay which was so close to the harbour. He assailed the works that were on it with rams, and threw down a part of them; but in the night the Carthaginians came, some swimming, some wading through the water, having combustibles with them, to which they set fire when near the machines, and thus burnt them. They then repaired the works; but Scipio finally succeeded in fixing a corps of four thousand men on the quay.

During the winter Scipio took by storm the Punic camp before Nepheris, and that town surrendered after a siege of twenty-two days. As it was from Nepheris that Carthage received almost the whole of its supplies, they now failed, and famine was severely felt.

When the spring came (606) Scipio made a vigorous attack on the Cothon. Hasdrubal during the night set fire to the square side of it, expecting the attack to be made in the same place in the morning; but Lælius secretly entered the round part* on the other side of the port, and the attention of the enemy being wholly directed to the square part, he easily made himself master of it. Scipio then advanced to the market, where he kept his men under arms during the night†. In the morning he proceeded to attack the Byrsa, whither most of the people had fled for refuge. Three streets of houses six stories high led to this citadel from the market; the Romans, as they attempted to penetrate them, finding themselves assailed by missiles from the roofs, burst into the first houses, and mounting to the roofs, proceeded along them, slaying and flinging down the defenders; others meantime forced their way along the streets; weapons flew in all directions; the groans of the wounded and dying, the shrieks of women and children, the shouts of the victors, filled the air. At length the troops emerged before the Byrsa, and then Scipio gave orders to fire the town behind them. Old men, women and children, driven by the flames from their hiding-places, became their victims; every form of horror and misery displayed itself. During six

* It would appear from this that the wall on one side of the Cothon was rectangular, circular on the other.

† See Ammian. Marcellinus, xxiv. 2.

days devastation spread around ; on the seventh a deputation from those in the Byrsa, bearing supplicatory wreaths from the temple of Æsculapius, came to Scipio offering a surrender, on condition of their lives being spared. These terms being granted to all except the deserters, they came out fifty thousand in number, men and women ; the deserters, of whom there were nine hundred, retired with Hasdrubal to the Æsculapium, which being on a lofty precipitous site, they easily defended till they were overcome by fatigue, want of rest, and hunger. They then retired into the temple, where Hasdrubal stole away from them and became a suppliant to Scipio. The Roman general made him sit at his feet in their sight ; they reviled and abused him as a coward and traitor, and then setting fire to the temple all perished in the flames. It is said that the wife of Hasdrubal, whom with her two children he had left in the temple, advanced arrayed in her best garments in front of Scipio while the temple was burning, and cried out, " No punishment from the gods awaits thee, O Roman, who hast warred against an enemy ; but may the deities of Carthage and thou with them punish that Hasdrubal, a traitor to me, his children, his country and her temples ! " Then turning to Hasdrubal, she exclaimed, " O wretched, faithless, and most cowardly of men, these flames will consume me and my children ; but what a triumph wilt thou adorn, thou, the general of mighty Carthage, and what punishment wilt thou not undergo from him before whom thou art sitting ! " So saying, she slew her children, and cast them and herself into the flames*.

It is also said, that when Scipio surveyed the ruin of this mighty city, which had stood for seven hundred years, had abounded in wealth, had spread her commerce far and wide, had reduced so many countries and peoples, and made Rome tremble for her existence, he could not refrain from tears, and he repeated these lines of Homer :—

" The day will come when sacred Troy will fall,
And Priam, and strong-speared Priam's people†."

When Polybius, who was present, asked him what he meant,

* Appian speaks of this merely as a report (λέγουσιν, and ὥδε μὲν φασι). It is not very likely that Hasdrubal would thus have abandoned his wife and children.

† Ἔσσεται ἡμαρ, ὅτ' ἂν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρή,

Καὶ Πριάμος, καὶ λαὸς εὐμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο. Il. vi. 448.

In like manner Mohammed II., when he entered the palace of the Cæsars in Constantinople after the capture of that town, repeated a passage of Ferdousi, the Homer of Persia, to a similar effect.

he owned that he had his country in view, for which he feared the vicissitude of all things human*.

Scipio allowed his soldiers to plunder the town for a certain number of days, with the reservation of the gold, the silver, and the ornaments of the temples; and he sent to Sicily, desiring the people of those towns from which the Carthaginians had taken any of these last, to send to receive them. He despatched his swiftest ship to Rome with the account of the capture of Carthage, where the tidings produced the most unbounded joy. Ten commissioners were sent out forthwith to join with Scipio in regulating the affairs of Africa. What remained of Carthage was leveled, and heavy curses were pronounced on any one who should attempt to rebuild it; all the towns which had adhered faithfully to it were treated in a similar manner; those which had joined Rome, particularly Utica, were rewarded with increase of territory. Africa was reduced to a province, a land- and poll-tax was imposed, and a prætor sent out every year from Rome to govern it. Scipio triumphed on his return, and he was henceforth named Africanus.

In the first year of the war against Carthage (603) a man named Andriscus, who pretended to be a son of king Perseus, assumed the name of Philip, and induced the Macedonians to acknowledge him as their king. He invaded Thessaly, but was defeated by Scipio Nasica and the Achæans. Scipio's successor, the prætor P. Juventius Thalna, brought more troops with him from Italy (604), but he lost the greater part of them and his own life in attempting to penetrate into Macedonia, and Andriscus re-entered Thessaly; Q. Cæcilius Metellus however drove him out of it, defeated him in Macedonia, and afterwards in Thrace, by one of whose princes he was given up to the Romans. Another impostor then appeared, who called himself Alexander; but Metellus forced him to seek refuge in Dardania. Metellus triumphed (606), and received the title of Macedonicus, and Macedonia was made a province.

Urged by their evil genius, the Achæan League now (606) ventured to measure their strength with Rome; but one army was defeated by Metellus, and another by the consul L. Mummius. Corinth was taken and burnt; Thebes and Chalcis were razed; and Greece, under the name of Achaia, was reduced to a province. Mummius took the title of Achaicus, and triumphed (607), displaying on this occasion a vast number of the finest pictures and statues, the plunder of Corinth.

* Polyb. xxxix. 3.

CHAPTER IX.*

Affairs of Spain.—War with the Lusitanians.—Treachery of Lucullus.—Viriathian War.—Murder of Viriathus.—Numantine War.—Capture of Numantia.—Servile War in Sicily.—Foreign relations of Rome.—Government of the Provinces.—The Publicans.—Roman superstition.—Roman literature.

THE hardy tribes of Spain alone now offered resistance to the Roman arms. We will therefore cast a glance at the affairs of that country since the time of the Hannibalian war.

After the departure of Africanus (547), Indibilis and Mandonius excited their people to war, but they were defeated by the Romans; the former was slain, and the latter given up by his own people. In 555 a new war broke out, in which the proconsul C. Sempronius Tuditanus was defeated and slain. The prætor Q. Minucius gained some advantages in 557, but it still was found expedient to assign Spain as the province of M. Porcius Cato, one of the consuls of the year. Cato, soon after his arrival, defeated a large army of the natives, and he then had recourse to the following stratagem. When deputations came to him from the several towns, he as usual demanded hostages, and sent sealed letters to each, directing them, under pain of slavery in case of delay, to throw down their walls. These letters he took care should all arrive on the same day; there was consequently no time for deliberation; each thought itself alone interested, his commands were everywhere obeyed, and the whole country was thus reduced to tranquillity. Cato then put the silver and iron mines on an advantageous footing for the state, and he triumphed on his return the following year. Spain was now divided into two provinces, named Citerior and Ulterior with respect to the river Ebro.

The restless temper of the natives, and the ambition and cupidity of the Roman generals, would not however allow of permanent tranquillity, and hardly a year passed without fighting. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, when prætor in Spain (572), arranged the relations between the Romans and the native population in a manner which gained him general applause. By one of his regulations, the Spaniards were bound not to build any more towns; when therefore the Celtiberians of Segêda increased the compass of their walls, and removed the

* Appian, *De Reb. Hispan.*, 38-98, the Epitomators.

people of the smaller towns to it, the senate sent to forbid them, and as they did not comply with the demands made on them, the consul Q. Fulvius Nobilior led an army against them (599); but the advantage in the campaign was on the side of the Celtiberians. The consul of the next year (600), M. Claudius Marcellus, when the senate had refused the Celtiberians peace, attacked and reduced them to submission. His successor, L. Licinius Lucullus (601), though the country was tranquil, would not be balked of his hopes of fame and booty. He crossed the Tagus, and without any pretext entering the Vaccæan territory, laid siege to the town of Cauca (*Coca*); and the people thus wantonly attacked were obliged to agree to give hostages and one hundred talents of money, and to send their horse to serve with the Roman army. He then required them to receive a garrison; and on their consenting, he put two thousand of his best troops into the town, with directions to occupy the walls. When they had done so, he led in the rest of his army, and gave the signal for a general massacre of the male population, and of twenty thousand souls only a few escaped: he then plundered the town. After this vile piece of treachery he advanced through a country which the inhabitants had purposely laid waste, and sat down before a town named Intercatia; whence, after the army had suffered severely from hardship, want of necessities, and the incessant attacks of the enemy, he was glad, through the mediation of his legate Scipio, (the future conqueror of Carthage,)—for the people would not trust himself,—to retire, on receiving hostages, a certain number of cattle, and ten thousand clokes (*saga*) for his soldiers. Gold and silver, which he chiefly coveted, they had not to give. He then went to winter in Turditania. The historian remarks that he never was brought to trial at home for thus warring on his own account.

Meantime the northern Lusitanians, one of the independent nations of the peninsula, had ravaged the lands of the subjects of Rome, and defeated the prætors, M. Manilius and L. Calpurnius Piso and the quæstor C. Terentius Varro. They afterwards defeated L. Mummius, the future conqueror of Greece, who had taken the command. The Lusitanians south of the Tagus now shared in the war; and a part of their forces crossed over to ravage Africa, while another part besieged a town named Ocila; but Mummius fell on them and routed them with great slaughter, by which he gained the glory of a triumph. His successor, M. Atilius Serranus, reduced a part

of them to submission; but when he went into winter quarters, they rose again and laid siege to some of the subject towns. Ser. Sulpicius Galba, the successor of Atilius, coming to the relief of one of these towns, was defeated, with the loss of seven thousand men, and was forced to fly.

This was at the time Lucullus was in Spain; and in the spring (602) he and Galba simultaneously attacked the Lusitanians, the former in the south, the latter in the north. Lucullus, having fallen on and cut to pieces those who were returning from Africa, entered Lusitania and laid a part of it waste. Galba invaded the country on the north; and when some of the tribes sent embassies to him, proposing to renew the peace made with Atilius which they had broken, he received them kindly, affecting to pity them, laying the whole blame of their predatory habits on the poverty of their soil, and offering to give them, as his friends, abundance of fertile land. The simple people gladly embraced the offer, and leaving their mountains came down to the plains which he pointed out to them. These were in three several places; and he directed each portion of them to remain there till he came to regulate them. Then coming to the first, he desired them as friends to put away their arms: when they had done so, he raised a rampart and ditch about them (their future town as it were), and sending in a party of soldiers armed with swords massacred all who were in it. He did the same at the other two places, and but a few escaped being the victims of this detestable piece of treachery*.

About ten thousand of those who had escaped from Lucullus and Galba assembled the next year (603) and invaded Turditania. The prætor C. Vetilius marched against them, and succeeded in driving them into a position, where, to all appearance, they must either perish by hunger or face the Roman sword. They sent to sue for lands, offering to become Roman subjects. Vetilius consented to their request; but Viriathus, one of those who had escaped from Galba, reminding them of Roman treachery, bade them beware, and pledged himself to extricate them if they would be guided by him. They chose him general on the spot; and he drew them up in line of battle, directing them to scatter when they saw him

* Galba was prosecuted for this conduct by the tribune L. Scribonius, aided by M. Porcius Cato, now in his 85th year. He escaped by appealing to the compassion of the people, producing his young children to move their pity. Cruelty and meanness often go together. Cic. Orat. i. 53. Brut. 23.

mount his horse, and make as best they could for the town of Tribula. All was done accordingly; the general remained at the head of one thousand horse, and Vetilius feared to divide his troops to pursue the fugitives. Viriathus thus kept the Romans occupied the whole of that day and the next, and then by ways with which he was well acquainted rejoined his men at Tribula. This stratagem gained him great fame among his countrymen, and his army was speedily augmented. When Vetilius soon after came against Tribula, the Lusitanian laid an ambush, and slew the prætor himself and nearly half his army.

By his accurate knowledge of the country, by his military skill and fertility in resources, and by possessing the confidence and affections of the native tribes, Viriathus succeeded during five years in baffling or defeating all the Roman generals sent against him.

At length (607) the senate, Carthage and Greece being now reduced, resolved to prosecute with vigour the Lusitanian war, which had assumed a formidable appearance. It was therefore committed to the consul Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus, the son of Æmilius Paulus and brother of the conqueror of Carthage. As the troops which he brought out were mostly composed of raw recruits, he avoided giving battle for a long time; at length he engaged and defeated Viriathus and took two Lusitanian towns. Viriathus however succeeded in gaining over to his side the greater part of the Celtiberian tribes, and he still harassed incessantly the Roman subjects. In 610 the consul Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus, the adoptive brother of Æmilianus, came out, bringing with him eighteen thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse. He sent to Micipsa of Numidia for elephants, and when they arrived he advanced against Viriathus and defeated him; but the Lusitanian seeing the Romans scattered in the pursuit, turned back, and having killed three thousand drove the rest into their camp, which he would have stormed but that night came on. By making attacks in the night or during the heat of the day, he so worried and harassed the Roman army that he at length forced them to retreat to the town of Itucca, whither he pursued them; but want of supplies and loss of men obliged him to return to Lusitania. Servilianus then again invaded that country; but as he was besieging a place named Erisane, Viriathus, who had entered the town by night, headed a sally in the morning, drove off those who were digging the trench, attacked the rest of the army, and chased it into a

position whence there was no escape. The Lusitanian used his advantage nobly and moderately; he proposed a peace, on the terms of his being recognised as a friend of Rome, and all those whom he commanded being secured in the possession of their territory. The consul gladly accepted these terms, peace was concluded, and the senate and people of Rome confirmed it.

But Cn. Servilius Cæpio, the brother and successor of Servilianus (611), was by no means pleased at losing his chance of fame and plunder. He wrote home describing the peace as highly disgraceful to Rome. The senate gave him leave to harass and provoke Viriathus in secret; but this did not content him, and on his repeated instances he received permission to make war openly. He came up with the army of Viriathus, far inferior in number, in Carpetania. The Lusitanian, not venturing to engage him, drew up his horse on an eminence, and sent off the rest of his troops by a deep glen; and when he thought them in safety he rode after them, in the presence of Cæpio, with such speed as to baffle pursuit. Some time after, however, he sent three of his friends to propose a peace. The unworthy Roman, by gifts and promises, prevailed on them to engage to assassinate their chief. It was Viriathus' custom to sleep in his armour, but his officers had free access to his tent at all hours, and the traitors taking advantage of this, and going in just as he had fallen asleep, killed him with one blow; they then fled to Cæpio to claim their reward, and he sent them to Rome to claim it there.

The Lusitanians deeply mourned their valiant, able, and noble-minded leader, and celebrated his obsequies with all the pomp and magnificence in use among them. They appointed a chief named Tantalus to take his place; but Viriathus was not to be replaced, and they were obliged to submit to Cæpio, give up their arms, and take the land he assigned them.

The war which Viriathus had kindled in Citerior Spain now drew the attention of the Romans. The chief seat of this war was the city of Numantia, which lay in the present Old Castile. It was built on a steep hill of moderate height, being accessible only on one side; the river Durius (*Douro*) and another stream ran by it, and it was surrounded by woods. It contained it is said only eight thousand fighting men, but these were all first-rate soldiers, both horse and foot. Fulvius Nobilior, in the year 599, had first wantonly attacked Numantia; Marcellus and Lucullus also turned their arms and arts against the Nu-

mantines, who therefore readily entered into an alliance with the Lusitanian hero. In the year 612 Q. Pompeius Rufus (the first consul of his name), having received from his predecessor L. Metellus Macedonicus* a well-disciplined army of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse, laid siege to Numantia; but he met with nothing but disgrace and defeat; his army was attacked by disease, and he was forced to disperse it through the towns for the winter. Wishing to end the war before his successor should come out in the spring, he entered into secret negotiations with the Numantines, who were extremely desirous of peace, and at his suggestion they sent an embassy to him. In public he demanded unconditional submission, as alone worthy of Rome; in private he declared that he would be satisfied if they gave hostages and thirty talents in money, and delivered up the prisoners and deserters. They agreed, and all was concluded except the payment of a part of the money, when M. Popillius Lænas came out to take the command. Pompeius then turned round and denied having made any convention with them; they appealed to his own officers who were present. Popillius sent them to Rome, and the senate having heard them and Pompeius sent orders to Popillius to prosecute the war. He accordingly commenced operations against Numantia, but he was utterly defeated by its gallant defenders.

In 615 the consul C. Hostilius Mancinus appeared before Numantia, but in every encounter he was worsted; and on a false report of the approach of the Cantabrians and Vaccæans to relieve the town, he fled in the night and took refuge in the old camp left by Nobilior: here he was surrounded by the Numantines, and no chance appearing of escape he sent to propose a peace. The Numantines would only treat with his quæstor Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, the son of him who had regulated the state of Spain, and Gracchus succeeded in concluding an honourable peace, and thus saving a Roman army of twenty thousand men. But at Rome this treaty caused high displeasure; and some were for giving up to the enemy all concerned in it, as had been done at the Caudine Forks; but the

* This was one of the best men Rome ever produced. As he was besieging in this war the town of Nertobriga, the people, to punish one of their citizens who had gone over to the Romans, exposed his children to the battering-rams. The father cried out not to heed them, but the generous Metellus gave up the siege sooner than injure them. The fame of this humane act caused many towns to surrender. Flor. ii. 17. Val. Max. v. 1, 5.

influence of Gracchus' friends prevailed, and it was thought sufficient to deliver up the general. Mancinus, who offered himself a voluntary victim, was taken by his successor P. Furius Philus and handed over naked and in bonds to the Numantines; but, like Pontius, the Samnite, they refused to receive him.

During this time Mancinus' colleague M. Æmilius Lepidus, not to be idle, made war of himself on the Vaccæans, under the pretext of their having supplied provisions to the Numantines, and he laid siege to their chief town Pallantia. The senate, loth to engage in a new war at this time, sent out to stop him; but he wrote to say that he knew the real state of things better than they, and that all Spain would rise if the Romans showed any symptoms of fear. He then went on with the war; but his hopes of glory and booty were foully disappointed: for after a great loss of men and beasts he was obliged to raise the siege and fly in the night, leaving his sick and wounded behind him. The people of Rome deprived him of his office, and fined him heavily. It is not quite certain that such would have been the case if he had been victorious. The consul Q. Calpurnius Piso (617) did not venture to engage the Numantines, contenting himself with plundering the lands of Pallantia.

It was now become evident that the Numantine war demanded Rome's ablest general; the people therefore resolved to raise Scipio Africanus once more to the consulate for this purpose (618); the law forbidding any one to be consul a second time being suspended in his favour. As there were so many troops already in Spain no legions were raised, but the name of Scipio brought together about four thousand volunteers; and giving the charge of them to his brother Fabius Maximus, he passed over himself at once to Spain. Here he found the army in such a state of demoralization that nothing could be undertaken till its discipline was restored. He forthwith gave orders for all sutlers, harlots, diviners and priests (for ill-success had as usual produced superstition) to quit the camp. He directed all the needless waggons and beasts of burden to be sold; forbade the soldiers to have any cooking-utensils but a spit and a brass pot, or to use any food but plain roast and boiled meat, or to have more than one drinking-cup; he also obliged them to sleep on the ground, himself setting them the example. By various regulations of this kind he got the troops into good order, and having seasoned them by marches and counter-marches, making them dig trenches and fill them up, again, raise walls and throw them down, he

led them into the Vaccæan territory, whence the Numantines drew their chief supplies, and laid it waste, and then took up his winter-quarters in that of Numantia. While there he was joined by Jugurtha, the nephew of Micipsa king of Numidia, with twelve elephants and a body of horse and light troops.

In the spring (619) Scipio formed two camps in the vicinity of Numantia under himself and his brother. His plan being to starve the town, he refused all offers of battle; he divided his army into different portions, and raised ramparts and towers round the town, except where it was washed by the Durius; and to prevent provisions or intelligence being conveyed in by boats or by divers, he placed guards on the river above and below, and from these stations he let long beams of timber, armed with swords and darts and fastened by ropes to the shore, float along the stream, which being very rapid kept whirling them round and round, so that nothing could pass. The works round the town were six miles in circuit, those of the town being three miles; and the besieging army counted sixty thousand men.

The Numantines made several gallant but fruitless attacks on the Roman works. Hunger began to be felt, and all communication with their friends was cut off. A man named Retogenes, we are told, having engaged five of his friends to join in the attempt, they went one dark night, each with his horse and a servant, up to the Roman works, with a ladder made for the purpose. Having ascended, they fell on and slew the guards on each side, and then getting up their horses*, they sent back their servants, and mounted and rode to solicit the Aruacans to aid their kinsmen of Numantia. Their terror of the Romans however was too great to allow them, and the Numantines then went to a town named Lutia, where the young men were for giving aid, but the elders sent secretly to inform Scipio. It was the eighth hour when the word came; he collected what troops he wanted, and though the distance was forty miles he reached Lutia by dawn. He demanded the principal of the youth; he was told they were gone away; he threatened to plunder the town if they were not produced: they were then brought, to the number of four hundred; he cut off their hands, left the town, and at dawn next day he re-entered his camp.

The Numantines, hopeless of relief, now sent five deputies, offering to surrender if they could obtain moderate terms. The

* If this story be true the ladder must have been broad and boarded, so that the horses could walk up it.

unfeeling Roman would grant no conditions: the Numantines would not yet surrender at discretion. But the famine grew sorer every day; they ate leather and other nauseous substances, and even, it is said, began to feed on human flesh. They sent once more to Scipio; he desired them to give up their arms on that day, and repair on the next to a certain place. They asked a respite of one day, and in that time their leading men put an end to themselves. On the third day a miserable remnant came forth; Scipio selected fifty to adorn his triumph, the rest he sold for slaves*; he then levelled the town, and divided its territory among its neighbours. He triumphed on his return, and was named Numanticus. Little, however, on this occasion was the real glory of Scipio or of Rome. An army of sixty thousand men starved out one of eight thousand, to whom they would give no opportunity of fighting: a people who had generously granted life and liberty to twenty thousand Romans were attacked, in breach of a solemn treaty, and destroyed, because they maintained their liberty.

In the year 614 the consul D. Junius Brutus had entered Lusitania, and having subdued the country south of the Durus, he crossed that river and advanced to the Minus (*Minho*), which he also passed (616): he then made war successfully on the Callæci, who dwelt to the north of it, and obtained the title of Callaicus.

The year after the capture of Numantia the consul P. Rutilius terminated a war which had been going on for some years in Sicily. It had thus originated†.

In this fertile island the wealthy natives, and the Roman speculators who had made purchases there, were in possession of large tracts of land. As the cheapest mode of cultivating them, they bought whole droves of slaves at the various slave-marts, whom they branded and placed on their estates. These men, who seem to have been mostly Asiatics, were treated with great cruelty, and so stinted in food that they used to go out in gangs (it is added, with their masters' permission,) and rob on the highways, and even attack and plunder the villages‡; and the influence of their masters was so great at Rome that the prætors did not venture to suppress this disorder. The slaves thus got union and a kind of discipline, learned their own strength, and began to form plots.

Among the slaves was a Syrian named Eunus, who affected

* According to Florus (ii. 18.) and Orosius (v. 7.), all the Numantines put an end to themselves, after burning their arms, goods, and houses.

† Diodorus, Frag. xxxiv. Florus, iii. 19.

‡ See Liv. xxxix. 29.

to be inspired by the Syrian goddess: by various juggling tricks he attained great repute among his fellows, and he publicly declared himself destined to be a king. A wealthy Sicilian named Damophilus, who resided at Enna, treated his slaves with remarkable rigour, and his wife equalled him in cruelty; their wretched slaves therefore formed a plot to murder them; but they previously resolved to consult the prophet. Eunûs promised them success; they placed him at their head, and to the number of four hundred entered Enna, where they were joined by their fellow-slaves, and committed excesses of all kinds. Damophilus and his wife were seized and brought before their tribunal; as he was pleading for his life two of the slaves fell on and slew him; his wife was given up to her female slaves, who, when they had tortured her, cast her down a precipice; but their daughter, who had always been kind and humane to the slaves, was treated with the utmost consideration, and sent, under the escort of some whose honour and fidelity could be relied on, to her relations at Catana*.

Eunûs now assumed royalty. In three days he had an army of six thousand men, armed with axes, sithes, spits, etc.; it gradually increased to beyond ten thousand; he defeated the troops of the prætor P. Manilius (616); and the same fate befell P. Lentulus in the following year. A Cilician slave named Cleôn, in imitation of Eunûs, put himself at the head of another body of slaves, and plundered Agrigentum and its territory. It was expected that these leaders would turn their arms against each other; but, on the contrary, Cleôn placed himself under the command of Eunûs, and their forces at length, it is said, increased to two hundred thousand men.

The prætor L. Plautius Hypsæus was defeated by the rebels (618), and the consul C. Fulvius Flaccus met with little success; the next consul, L. Calpurnius Piso, defeated them before Messana, and his successor, P. Rupilius (620), ended the war, their strongholds, Tauromenium and Enna, being betrayed to him: numbers of the rebels were slain in battle or crucified; Cleôn fell fighting like a hero; Eunûs was made a prisoner, and he expired in a dungeon at Murgentia.

WE will conclude this Part by a few observations on the foreign policy and government of the Romans at this time, and the state of their literature.

* What was Scipio's boasted virtue to this?

It was always Rome's policy to form alliances, if possible, with the neighbours, or natural enemies, as they are called, of any state with which she was at war. We thus find that, in 479, a Roman embassy appeared at Alexandria in Egypt, and concluded an alliance with Ptolemæus Philadelphus, the object of which was a joint war against Pyrrhus, who was now become formidable; but the death of that prince in the following year made the treaty of no effect. The feeble successors of the Egyptian king continued to regard the Romans as their protectors, and the year 584 offers a remarkable instance of the Roman influence. Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, had invaded Egypt; Rome was applied to; and an embassy, headed by M. Popillius Lænas, came out. Antiochus offered his hand to Popillius, who declined it, till the king should have read the letter of the senate, ordering him out of Egypt. Having perused it, he said he would advise with his friends. Popillius, drawing a circle round him with a wand, desired him not to leave it till he had given him a reply. The king then said that he would obey the senate, and the haughty envoy at length condescended to give him his hand*.

The kings of Pergamus and Bithynia were the obedient slaves of the Roman senate, who employed them against the kings of Macedonia and Syria; and as, lion-like, Rome always gave her jackals a share of the prey, their dominions were augmented by her victories. The meanness of Prusias of Bithynia was unparalleled; he styled himself the freedman of the Romans, and would go out to meet their ambassadors with a shaven head and the freedman's cap (*pileus*), as being just emancipated†. Attalus III. of Pergamus, dying (619) without issue, bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman people‡.

Such portions of their conquests as they did not leave with their rightful owners, or give away, the Romans reduced to provinces, which were governed by those who had borne the office of consul or prætor at Rome. The power of these Roman governors was nearly as despotic as that of the Turkish pashas, and they but too often plundered the unhappy provincials in a dreadful manner; the conduct of the infamous Verres, as detailed by Cicero in his pleadings against him, though an extreme case, will show to what lengths robbery

* Liv. xlv. 12. Cic. Phil. viii. 8. Vell. Pat. i. 16. Val. Max. vi. 4. 3.

† Dion. Fragm. 162.

‡ Mithridates in his letter to Arsaces (Sallust, Fragm.), says that the will was a forgery.

and extortion might be, and sometimes were, carried by Roman proconsuls and proprætors. What augmented the evil was, that the office of governor was annual, and each governor was attended by a *cohort* of officers, friends, and dependents, who had to make *their* fortunes also, so that (though the command was sometimes prolonged) the provinces had every year to expect a new swarm of bloodsuckers to feed on them. These governments were, in fact, the chief objects of ambition among the Roman nobility, who looked forward to them as the sources of wealth and fame; for, beside robbing those whom they were sent to protect, it was easy for them to pick a quarrel with some neighbouring tribe or nation, slaughter a few thousands of them, and thence acquire plunder, and, on their return home, the honour of a triumph. The only remedy the provincials had when oppressed, was a prosecution for extortion (*rerum repetundarum*), which they always found some one at Rome ready to undertake; but this was in general but poor satisfaction, and the dread of it often caused the robbery to be the greater, as the plunderers had to get the means of bribing their judges and advocates; thus Verres, who had pillaged Sicily for three years, declared that he would be content if he could keep the plunder of but one year.

The Free Legations (*Liberæ Legationes*) were also very oppressive to the provinces. When a Roman senator wanted to collect his debts, to receive a legacy or inheritance, to perform a real or pretended vow, or had any other private business to transact in one of the provinces, he exerted himself to obtain a free legation from the senate, *i.e.* to be appointed a supernumerary or unattached legate (as we may term it) to the governor of the province*. He was thus invested with a public character, and was entitled to make sundry demands on the provincials, which privilege was easily converted into a means of plunder and extortion. The period of the legation was also unlimited†.

Another fruitful source of misery to the subjects was the Roman custom of farming out all the revenues of the state. There was a large body of capitalists at Rome, chiefly consisting of the equestrian order, divided into companies, who

* The ambiguity of the word *legatus* makes it doubtful whether this or an embassy constituted the legation. We think the former, for it was only to the provinces that these legates went. Cic. Laws, iii. 8. Rull. ii. 17.

† Cicero when consul caused the term to be reduced to one year (Laws, iii. 8.). Julius Cæsar extended it to five years (ad Att. xv. 11.).

took all the government contracts, farmed all the revenues, and lent their money on high interest at Rome, on exorbitant interest in the provinces. They were named Publicans (*Publicani*), as farming the *public* revenues: their wealth gave them such influence at Rome, that they could dispose of political power as they pleased; and between enormous interest for their money (we find most respectable men charging 48 per cent.) and excessive tolls and customs, they ground down, and alienated and exasperated the minds of, the provincials. Even in the year 585, the senate, when regulating Macedonia, declared that the gold and silver mines should not be wrought, or the domain-lands let, because it could not be done without the publicans, "and where there is a publican," said they, "the public right is vain, or the liberty of the allies is nought*."

In the internal condition of the Roman state at this period we have to observe the absence of civil commotions, the foreign wars which prevailed all through it giving ample employment for all orders of the people; but the lower orders, by constant service abroad, gradually lost the character of the simple rustic plebeian in that of the soldier; and the generals, to gain the votes of the troops at elections, acquired the pernicious habit of seeking to win their favour by gifts, and by the relaxation of discipline; whence, in the later wars of this time, we find the Roman arms unfortunate, till a Scipio or an Æmilius Paulus comes to restore discipline.

The superstition of the Romans at this time is also deserving of notice. Every year, as regular as the election of magistrates, is the expiation of prodigies, such as temples, walls and gates being struck with lightning, showers of stones, milk, or blood, oxen or babes in the womb speaking, lambs yeaned with two heads, cocks turned into hens, and *vice versa*, mice gnawing gold, etc. etc.; to obviate the ill effects of which victims were slain and supplications offered to the gods by orders of the senate; partly, it is probable, merely in compliance with the popular superstition, in part also from their sharing in it†.

Rome during this period began to form the literature which has come down to us; but unfortunately, instead of being

* Liv. xlv. 18.

† This superstition was not however peculiar to the times of the republic. We find it in Dion and the other historians of the empire, and even Tacitus did not disdain to relate some of the prodigies that were said to have occurred in the period which his works embrace.

national and original, it was imitative and borrowed, consisting chiefly of translations from the Greek. In the year after the end of the first Punic war (512), L. Livius Andronicus, an Italian Greek by birth, represented his first play at Rome. His pieces were taken from the Greek; and he also translated the *Odyssey* out of that language into Latin. Cn. Nævius, a native of Campania, also made plays from the Greek*, and he wrote an original poem on the first Punic war, in which he had himself borne arms. These poets used the Latin measures in their verse; but Q. Ennius, from Rudiae in Calabria, who is usually called the Father of Roman poetry, was the first who introduced the Greek metres into the Latin language. His works were numerous tragedies and comedies from the Greek, satires, and his celebrated *Annals*, or poetic history of Rome, in hexameters, the loss of which (at least of the early books) is much to be lamented. M. Accius Plautus, an Umbrian, and Cæcilius Statius, an Insubrian Gaul, composed numerous comedies, freely imitated from the Greek. M. Pacuvius of Brundisium, the nephew of Ennius, made tragedies from the Greek; L. Afranius was regarded as the Menander of Rome; and P. Terentius (Terence), a Carthaginian by birth, gave some beautiful translations (as we may perhaps best term his pieces) of the comedies of Menander and Apollodorus. None of these poets but Plautus and Terence have reached us, except in fragments; the former amuses us with his humour, and gives us occasional views of Roman manners, while we are charmed with the graceful elegance of the latter. It is remarkable that not one of these poets was a Roman. In fact Rome has never produced a poet.

Q. Fabius Pictor, L. Cincius Alimentus, A. Postumius Albinus, M. Porcius Cato, and L. Cassius Hemina wrote histories (the first three in Greek) in a brief, dry, unattractive style. Cincius also wrote on constitutional antiquities, and seems to have been a man of research; and a work of Cato's on husbandry has come down to us which we could well spare for his *Origines*, or early history of Italy.

* A translation of the Greek poem, the *Cypria*, is also ascribed to him; but it would seem without reason, as the fragments of it are hexameters. The name of the real author is said to have been Lævius.

THE HISTORY OF ROME.

PART IV.

CONQUEST OF THE EAST AND DOWNFALL OF THE CONSTITUTION.

A.U. 619-722. B.C. 133-30.

CHAPTER I.*

State of things at Rome.—Tiberius Gracchus:—His Tribune and Laws:—His death.—Death of Scipio Africanus.—Caius Gracchus:—His Tribunes and Laws:—His death.—The Gracchi and their measures.—Insolence and cruelty of the Oligarchs.—Conquests in Asia and Gaul.

HITHERTO we have seen the Romans, in consequence of their admirable civil and military institutions, advancing from conquest to conquest, till no power remained able to contend with them for the mastery; and though their conduct was far from according with justice and the rigid rule of right, the wisdom and energy of their measures must command our applause. Internal tranquillity had also prevailed during this period of glory, and all orders in the state had acted together in harmony. The scene now changes. Henceforth the foreign wars become of comparatively little account, while internal commo-

* Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 1-27. Velleius, ii. 1-7. Plut., *Tib.* and *C. Gracchus*, the Epitomators.

tions succeed one another almost without intermission ; liberty is lost in the unhallowed contests, and anarchy brings forth its legitimate offspring, despotism. The progress to this consummation we will now endeavour to trace.

The political state of Rome at this time was such as is most unfavourable to the maintenance of liberty. The people, who had the power of bestowing all the great and lucrative offices, were poor, while a portion of the nobility were immensely rich. There were thus an oligarchy and a democracy together in the state, and unless this condition of things could be changed there must be an end of the constitution.

We have above shown one of the modes in which the Roman nobles acquired wealth, namely, by the oppression of the provinces. They had also been large purchasers of land in the sales of its domain made by the state ; and as, on account of the constant wars in which Rome had been engaged since she had made the conquest of Italy, the vast tracks of public land which had been acquired remained mostly unassigned, they were occupied by the men of wealth. Had they, in conformity with the Licinian law, employed free labourers on these lands the evil had been less ; but the victories of the Roman people had filled the market with slaves, and the great landholders, finding that the work of slaves would come cheaper than that of freemen, who were moreover always liable to be draughted for the army, purchased large numbers of them, whom they kept in workhouses (*ergastula*) badly fed and hardly treated, and forced to labour in fetters on their lands. These men were not, like the negroes, an inferior race ; they were Gauls, Spaniards, Ligurians, Asiatics, and other intelligent or energetic portions of the human family. They had known the blessings of freedom, and, as the late events in Sicily had shown, they might endanger the state by a revolt.

On the other hand, the frugal independent yeomanry, which in the good times had formed the pride and the strength of Rome, was greatly diminished, and at the same time was debased and corrupted. Engaged in distant service they were kept for years away from their farms, and frequently on his return the soldier found that his family had been driven from their cottage by some wealthy neighbour who coveted their spot of land, and justice could not always be obtained against him*. Or having lost all relish for a life of frugal and laborious industry, they were easily induced to sell their little patri-

* Sallust, Jug. 41. Appian, B. C. i. 8. Hor. Carm. ii. 18, 23 *seq.*

mony for what they could get, and then settled at Rome, living as they could and selling their votes to the highest bidder, or else they adopted a military life altogether*.

This state of things caused great apprehension to the prudent and patriotic, who could discern no remedy but a return to the provisions of the Licinian law; and Lælius, the friend of the conqueror of Carthage, had in his tribunate contemplated some measure of this kind, but he desisted when he saw the opposition which the nobility were prepared to give, and hence it is said he acquired his title of *Sapiens*, i. e. *wise* or *prudent*. Some time after (619), Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, who had been quæstor to Mancinus at Numantia, being made tribune of the people, resolved to attempt to remedy the evils of his country by enforcing the agrarian law of Licinius Stolo.

Tib. Gracchus was the son of that Tib. Gracchus of whom we have already spoken†; his mother Cornelia was the daughter of the great Africanus. This admirable woman had devoted herself to the education of Tiberius and his younger brother Caius, anxiously desiring that they should be the first men of their time in virtue and in ability. Nor were her labours fruitless: of Tiberius it is said, by one who condemned his measures, that "he was ('the present enterprise set off his head') most pure in life, most abundant in genius, most upright in purpose; in fine, adorned with as many virtues as human nature, perfected by careful culture, is capable of‡." He was married to the daughter of App. Claudius, and his sister was the wife of Scipio Africanus.

As is usual, various causes were assigned for the conduct of Tib. Gracchus. Some said that he was excited by two Greek philosophers§; others, by Cornelia, who reproached him that people called her the mother-in-law of Scipio instead of the mother of the Gracchi; others, by jealousy of a young man of his own age, his rival in eloquence; others, by anger and fear at the conduct of the senate on the occasion of the Numantine treaty||. But by far the most probable cause is that given by his brother Caius, who said that as he was passing through Etruria, on his way to Numantia, he was struck with the deserted look of the country in consequence of the large estates, and ob-

* The practice of volunteering into the army had been long prevalent. See the speech of Ligustinus, Liv. xlii. 34.

† See above, p. 261.

‡ Vell. Pat. ii. 2.

§ Diophanes of Mytilene, and Blossius of Cumæ in Campania.

|| Cicero, Brut. 27; Vell. Pat. ii. 2.

serving that all those who were cultivating them were slaves, he began to reflect on a remedy. After his return to Rome he communicated his views to his father-in-law App. Claudius, to P. Mucius Scævola, the great jurisconsult, and to P. Licinius Crassus, the chief pontiff—men not to be suspected of demagogy—and other eminent persons, all of whom agreed with him in sentiment. Encouraged by their opinions, and further invited by anonymous writings on the walls and public monuments calling on him to resume the public land for the poor, he brought forward, when tribune, a bill prohibiting any one from holding more than five hundred* jugers of public land himself, and half that quantity for each of his sons; and directing triumvirs to be appointed annually for dividing the surplus lands among the poor citizens, who were moreover not to be permitted to sell their allotments.

The wealthy exclaimed against this law as a crying injustice: they had, they said, inherited this property from their fathers, or fairly purchased it; they had received it in dowry with their wives, and given it in dowry with their daughters; they had laid out their money on it in buildings and plantations; they had borrowed or lent money on it; the tombs of the fathers of many were on these estates, so long had they been in their families. On the other hand, the poor complained of the state of misery to which they had been reduced; they enumerated the campaigns in which these lands had been acquired by the blood of their fathers; they upbraided the rich with their want of feeling and patriotism in preferring faithless barbarian slaves to free citizens and brave soldiers. The people of the colonies, municipal towns†, and others who had any concern in this land, flocked to Rome as the time for putting the law to the vote drew nigh, and, as they saw reason to hope or fear from it, sided with one party or the other.

Gracchus himself, excited by the magnitude and anticipated good of his object, and warmed by opposition, exerted all the powers of his eloquence in his harangues from the Rostra. The beasts of the field in Italy, he said, had their holes and dens to lie in, while those who fought and died for it partook of its light and air, but of nought else, wandering about houseless and homeless with their wives and children. It was a mockery of the generals to call on their men in battle to fight

* The Epitome of Livy (in some MSS.), and the Auctor de Viris Illustr. (ch. 64.), say a thousand.

† These were the Latin and Italian towns. Niebuhr, ii. 52, *note*.

for their altars and the tombs of their fathers, for of so many Romans not one had a family altar or tomb; they fought and died for the wealth and luxury of others: they were called the lords of the world, while they had not a sod of their own. He asked the wealthy if slaves were better, braver, or more faithful than freemen: he showed them that by thus diminishing the free population they were running the risk not only of not making the further conquests to which they aspired, but of losing to the public enemies the lands they already possessed. He bade them cast their eyes on Sicily, and there mark the evils and the danger of an immense slave-population*. He finally told them, that if they cheerfully yielded up what they held beyond the limits specified in his law, they should have the remainder in absolute property, and be given an adequate remuneration for the money they had laid out on what they surrendered. He then desired the clerk to read out the bill.

But the rich, fearing to make any opposition in their own persons, had engaged M. Octavius, one of the tribunes, on their side, and he interposed his *veto*. The clerk therefore stopped reading. Gracchus then put the matter off till the next market-day; but with no better success, for Octavius again interposed. Gracchus appointed another day, and judging that Octavius' opposition proceeded from his being a holder of public land, he offered to make good out of his own fortune any loss he might sustain. Finding him obstinate he suspended by his intercession the functions of all the magistrates till his bill should have passed, and he placed his seal on the temple of Saturn, that the quæstors might take nothing into or out of it†. The wealthy now assumed the garb of mourners; they at the same time laid plots for the life of Gracchus, who aware of them went constantly armed with a dagger, taking care to let it be seen.

Another assembly-day came: the people were preparing to vote, when Octavius again interposed; they lost patience, and were about to have recourse to violence; but Manlius and Fulvius, two consulars, with tears implored Gracchus to leave the matter to the senate. He snatched up his bill and ran with it into the senate-house; but there the party of the rich was too strong for him: he came out again, and in sight of the

* Appian, B. C. i. 9.

† As this was the treasury, this was what we now call *stopping the supplies*.

people besought Octavius to give up his opposition; and when he could not prevail he declared that the public weal must not be endangered by their disputes, and that one or other of them must be deprived of his office. He then desired Octavius to put the question of *his* deposition to the vote, and on his refusal he said that he would propose that of Octavius. The assembly was then dismissed.

Next day he proposed the question; the first or *prærogative* tribe having voted for it, he conjured Octavius to change, but in vain. When seventeen tribes had voted, he again implored him; Octavius, who was naturally of a mild and moderate temper, hesitated and was silent; but on looking at the rich, false shame overcame him, and he persisted; the eighteenth tribe then voted, and he ceased to be a tribune. Gracchus ordered one of his officers, a freedman, to pull him down; the people rushed to seize him, the rich to defend him, and he escaped with some difficulty. Q. Mummius was forthwith chosen in his place.

Gracchus now carried his law without opposition; he himself, his young brother Caius, and App. Claudius his father-in-law, were appointed triumvirs for dividing the lands. The senate, at the instigation of P. Scipio Nasica, an extensive holder of public land, had the meanness and folly to insult Gracchus by refusing him a tent (a thing always given to triumvirs), and by assigning him only $4\frac{1}{2}$ asses a day for his expenses.

Just at this time Eudemus, of Pergamus, happening to arrive with the will of king Attalus, Gracchus proposed that the royal treasures should be brought to Rome, and divided among those to whom land should be assigned, to enable them to purchase cattle and farming implements. He further maintained that it was for the people, not the senate, to regulate the dominions of the deceased monarch. This assertion galled the senate, and Q. Pompeius a tribune-elect rose and asserted that being Gracchus' neighbour he knew that Eudemus had given him, as the future king of Rome, the diadem and purple robe of Attalus. Q. Metellus reproached him with his allowing the poorer citizens to light him home at night, whereas when his father was censor people used to put out their lights as he was going home, lest he should know that they kept late hours. Others said other things; but what most injured Gracchus, even with his own party, was the deposition of Octavius. Being aware of this he entered into a public justification of

his conduct on that occasion; but his arguments though ingenious are not convincing*.

The nobility made no secret of their intention to take vengeance on Gracchus when he became again a private man, and his friends saw no safety for him but in being re-elected. To secure his election he declared his intention of shortening the period of military service, and to give an appeal, in civil suits, from the judges to the people. He also (perhaps to gain the knights) proposed to add an equal number from the equestrian order to the panel of judges, who had been hitherto exclusively senators.

When the day of election came the party of Gracchus was much more feeble than usual, for his chief supporters being countryfolk were away getting in the harvest, and they did not attend to his summons. He therefore threw himself on the people of the town, and though the strength of his enemies lay in that quarter the two first tribes voted in his favour. The rich then interrupted the proceedings, exclaiming that the same man could not be twice tribune; a dispute arose among the tribunes, and Gracchus put off the election till the next day†. Though inviolate by his office he put on mourning, and during the rest of the day he went leading his young son about with him, and commending him to the care of the people, as he despaired of life for himself. The people attended him home, assuring him that he might rely on them, and many of them kept watch at his house during the night.

In the morning the friends of Gracchus having early occupied the Capitol, where the election was to be held, sent to summon him. Various unfavourable omens, it is said, occurred as he was leaving home, but his friend Blossius the philosopher bade him despise them. He went up: the election commenced; the rich men and their party began to disturb it; Gracchus made the sign which he had arranged with his friends during the night, for recurring to force: his party snatched the staves from the officers and broke them up, and girding their garments about them fell on the rich men and drove them off the ground with wounds and bruises. The tribunes fled: the priests closed the doors of the temple; some ran here, some there, crying that Gracchus was deposing the

* Plutarch gives the heads of his speech. Cicero (*Laws*, iii. 10.) imputes the ruin of Gracchus to his deposition of his colleague.

† Appian, i. 14. Plutarch says that it was the friends of Gracchus who began to quarrel when they found the election going against him.

other tribunes; others said that he was making himself perpetual tribune without any election at all.

The senate meantime was sitting in the temple of Faith. When Gracchus moved his hand to his head to give the signal, some ran down crying that he was demanding a diadem of the people. Scipio Nasica then called on the consul Mucius Scævola to do his duty and save the republic; but he mildly replied that he would not use force or put any one to death without a trial; and that if Gracchus made the people pass any illegal measure they were not bound by it. Nasica sprang up, and cried, "Since the consul is false to the state, let all who will aid the laws follow me." Then, regardless of his dignity as chief pontiff, and setting the retention of the public land of which he held so large a portion before all things, he threw the skirt of his mantle over his head as a signal to his party, and began to ascend the Capitol. A number of senators, knights, and others, wrapping their mantles round their arms, followed him; the crowd gave way through respect; they snatched the staves from the Gracchians, broke up the forms and benches, and laid about with them on all sides. Some of the Gracchians were precipitated down the steep sides of the hill; about three hundred were slain, and among them Gracchus himself, at the door of the temple, by the statues of the kings; or according to another account, by a blow with a piece of a seat from one of his colleagues*, as he was running down the *clivus* of the hill. In the night the bodies of all the slain were flung into the Tiber, that of Gracchus included, which his murderers refused to the entreaties of his brother. Some of his friends were driven into exile; others, among whom was Diophanes, were put to death. Blossius when taken before the consuls declared that he had done everything in obedience to Gracchus. "What," said Lælius, "if he had ordered you to burn the Capitol?" Blossius said that Gracchus would have given no such order; but when pressed he answered that he would have obeyed it, as it must in such case have been for the public good. Strange to say, he was suffered to escape!

Thus for the first time for centuries was blood shed in civil contest in Rome,—a prelude to the atrocities which were soon to be of every-day occurrence. To the eternal disgrace of the Roman aristocracy, and to their own ultimate ruin, their ava-

* P. Appuleius Saturninus. Plutarch calls him Satureius, which is not a Roman name. He probably wrote Saturninus.

rice first caused civil discord; and their contempt of law, divine and human, sprinkled the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus with the sacred blood of a tribune, and taught the people to despise the majesty of office and the sanctity of religion.

The senate pronounced the death of Gracchus and his friends to be an act of justice*; but the people were so imbittered against Nasica that he deemed it advisable to go out of their sight; and though his office of chief pontif bound him not to leave Italy, he obtained from the senate a *free legation* to Asia, where after wandering about for some time he died at Pergamus.

Scipio Africanus was in Spain at this time, and it is said that when he heard of the death of Tib. Gracchus, he cried out in the words of Homer,

Thus perish all who venture on such deeds!†

And when, after his return (621), the tribune Carbo demanded of him before the people what he thought of the death of Tib. Gracchus, he replied that he was justly slain if he had a design of seizing on the government. At this the assembly groaned and hooted at him, but he said, "How should I, who so oft have heard undismayed the shouts of armed enemies, be moved by those of you to whom Italy is but a stepdame‡?" The agrarian law also caused Scipio to sink in the popular favour; for M. Fulvius Flaccus and C. Papirius Carbo, who were made triumvirs in the place of Tib. Gracchus and of App. Claudius (who was dead), finding that those who held the public land did not give in an account of it, invited incroppers to come forward. Immediately there sprang up a rank crop of legal suits; for those Italians to whom the senate had re-granted their lands, and those who had purchased, were required to produce their title-deeds; but some had been lost, others were ambiguous, and time and one cause or another had produced such confusion and uncertainty in the various possessions, that the encroachments of the rich could not be ascertained with any exactness, so that no man was sure of his property§.

* Cicero (Planc. 36.) says that Mucius applauded and defended the deed of Nasica. This hardly accords with his approval of Gracchus' project.

† 'Ὡς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος, ὃ τις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζει. Od. l. 47.

‡ Meaning that they were mostly freedmen, not genuine Roman citizens.

§ The effect of the writ *quo warranto* in the reign of Edward I. was similar.

In this state of things the Italians applied to Scipio Africanus, under whom so many of them had served, to advocate their cause. Not venturing openly, on account of the people, to impugn the agrarian law, he contented himself with representing that it was not right that those who were to divide the lands should be the judges of what was public or not. As this seemed reasonable, the consul C. Sempronius Tuditanus (623) was appointed to act as judge; but not liking the office he marched with an army into Illyria, under the pretext of some disturbance there. The whole matter came to a stop: the people were enraged with Scipio, and his enemies gave out that it was his design to abrogate the law by force. One evening Scipio went home from the senate in perfect health, attended by the senators and a large concourse of the Latins and the allies. He got ready a writing-table in order to set down in the night what he intended to say to the people next day. In the morning he was found dead in his bed, but without any wound. Of the nature and cause of his death there were various opinions: some said it was natural*, others that he put an end to himself; others that his wife Sempronia, the sister of the Gracchi, (for whom he had little affection on account of her ugliness and her sterility,) and it was even added with the aid of her mother Cornelia, strangled him, that he might not abrogate the law of Gracchus†. His slaves, it is also said, declared that some strangers who were introduced at the rear of the house had strangled him: and the triumphs Carbo and Fulvius are expressly named as the assassins‡. Those who know how virulent and how little scrupulous of means parties were in ancient times, will probably feel disposed to suspect that he was murdered, and it is needless to say by what party§. At all events no judicial inquiry was made, and the conqueror of Carthage had only a private funeral||.

Scipio Africanus is one of the most accomplished characters in Roman story. As a general he was brave and skilful; and though he had not the opportunities of displaying military talents of the highest order, success attended all his operations,

* Which Velleius says was the more general account.

† Appian, i. 20. Cicero, Somn. Scip. 2. Liv. Epit. lix. Cicero's allusion may be to C. Gracchus, who was suspected. Plut. C. Grac. 10.

‡ Cicero, Ad Fam. ix. 21; Ad Quint. ii. 3; De Nat. Deor. ii. 5. iii. 32. Plut. as above.

§ See the similar fate of the tribune Genucius, above, p. 77.

|| Pliny, H. N. x. 43, 60.

and he cannot be charged with any errors. He was of a noble generous spirit in all his dealings, and in money-matters he acted with a liberality that was thought surprising in a Roman. Scipio was moreover an accomplished scholar; he was the pupil of Polybius and Panætius, and the patron of the elegant poet Terence, who is said to have been indebted to him and his friend Lælius for many of the graces of his dramas.

For seven years after the death of Tib. Gracchus his brother Caius seems to have abstained from public affairs. In 626 he was appointed quæstor to the consul L. Aurelius Orestes, who was going out to take the command in Sardinia. This appointment gave much joy to the nobility, who had been greatly troubled by the eloquence which he had lately displayed in the defence of one of his friends, and at the favour shown him by the people. We are assured* that on this occasion Gracchus had a dream, in which his brother appeared to him and said, that linger as he might he must die the same death that *he* had died. The conduct of Gracchus during his quæstorship was deserving of every praise.

The next year (627), to the mortification of the senate, M. Fulvius Flaccus was chosen one of the consuls. Aware of the impolicy of alienating the Italians by putting them in apprehension for their lands, Fulvius proposed to conciliate and compensate them by granting them the Roman civic franchise, and he prepared a law to that effect. The senators admonished and entreated him to no purpose; he persisted in his measure: but just then the Massilians having sent to implore aid against the Salluvian Gauls, Fulvius was induced to take the command of the army sent to their relief; and his victories in this and the following year gained him the honour of a triumph (629).

The Latins and the Italians, who had gladly consented to accept the boon of citizenship in lieu of the disputed lands, were highly provoked at their disappointment, and many of their states began to think of appealing to arms. The people of Fregellæ did actually revolt, but they were betrayed by Numitorius Pullus, one of their chiefs, to the prætor L. Opimius, who was sent with an army against them. Opimius razed the town, and this severity deterred the people of the other towns from rebellion.

Aurelius had now been two years in Sardinia, and the se-

* The annalist Cælius Antipater (*ap* Cic. *De Div.* i. 26.) said that he had it from C. Gracchus' own lips.

nate, though they changed the troops, continued him in his command, thinking that Gracchus would not quit his general; but Gracchus, seeing their object, became indignant, and sailed at once for Rome (628). His enemies exclaimed, his friends were offended, at such unusual conduct; but he defended himself before the censors, and proved that he was justified in acting as he had done. The nobles then charged him with having excited the Fregellians to their revolt, but he easily cleared himself. He then offered himself as a candidate for the office of tribune, and on the day of election such multitudes of citizens flocked to Rome from all parts of Italy that the Forum could not contain them, and numbers gave their votes from the house-tops.

Soon after he had entered on his office (629) he brought forward two laws, one declaring any person who had been deprived of one office by the people incapable of holding any other; a second making it penal for a magistrate to proceed against any person capitally without the consent of the people*. The first was directed against the deposed tribune Octavius; but he gave up this bill on the entreaty of Cornelia, to whom Octavius was related: the other was leveled at P. Popillius Lænas, who as consul had conducted the inquiry against the friends of Tib. Gracchus, and who now fearing to stand a trial, left Italy. Gracchus then had the following laws passed:—1. A renewal of his brother's agrarian law. 2. One forbidding the enlistment of any one under seventeen years of age. 3. One for clothing the soldiers without making any deduction from their pay on that account. 4. One for making roads through Italy. 5. One for selling corn to the citizens every month out of the public granaries at $\frac{2}{3}$ as (*semisse et triente*) the *modius*, or peck†, for which purpose he directed the revenues of Attalus' kingdom to be let by the censors‡.

Such were the measures of Gracchus in his first tribunate. The law for making roads was eminently useful, and he devoted much of his attention to them. They were straight and level, with bridges where requisite, and milestones placed all along them. His frumentary law was a poor-law of the worst kind; it drained the treasury, and drew to Rome an idle turbulent population. It is very difficult to believe that his motives in passing it could have been pure; it was afterwards repealed with the full consent of the people§. Gracchus also

* Cicero, Rabirius, 4. Cat. iv. 5:

† Cic. Verres, iii. 6.

‡ Liv. Epit. lx.

§ Id. Brut. 62.

gained favour with the people of the provinces this year by the following act. The proconsul Q. Fabius having sent from Spain a large quantity of corn extorted from the provincials, a senatus-consult was made on the motion of Gracchus, ordering the corn to be sold and the price returned to the Spaniards, and reprimanding Fabius for his conduct.

By a clause in the laws lately passed, the people had been empowered to re-elect any tribune who had not had time to complete a measure which he had brought forward; accordingly Gracchus was chosen one of the tribunes for the next year also (630). On this occasion he gave a strong proof of his influence over the people. He said to them one day that he had a favour to ask, but he would not complain if they refused him; and while all were wondering what it might be, and if he wanted them to make him consul as well as tribune, he brought forward C. Fannius Strabo, and recommended him for the consulate. His object was to keep out L. Opimius, a determined oligarch; and he succeeded, for Fannius was chosen with Cn. Domitius.

The first measure of Gracchus in his renewed tribunate was the introduction of a bill for taking the judicial power from the senate, who had enjoyed it from the time of the kings, and giving it to the knights. As the senatorial judges had of late shown scandalous partiality in the cases of some governors of provinces, the senate was ashamed to make any opposition, and the law passed. It is said that when proposing this law from the Rostra, instead of facing the Comitium as had hitherto been the custom, he turned to the Forum*, thereby intimating that the power of the state was in the people; and he continued this practice. It is also said that when the law had passed he cried out that he had destroyed the senate. Yet he at the same time proposed and carried a law directing that the senate should every year before the elections decide what provinces should be prorogued and what be allotted to the persons about to be elected to office, and that with respect to the consular provinces no tribune should have the power of interceding. Gracchus next proposed a law for communicating the civic franchise to the Latins and the Italians, and extending Italy to the Alps. It does not appear that this law passed, and it is likely that it

* He was not the first to do so; in 607 C. Licinius Crassus, when proposing a law for giving the choice of members of the sacred colleges to the people, had faced the Forum. Cicero, *Lælius*, 25.

injured him with the people, to gratify whom he proposed sending colonists to Capua and Tarentum.

The senate had succeeded in gaining the consul Fannius over to their side; but not deeming this enough, they adopted a new system of tactics; they directed M. Livius Drusus, one of the tribunes, a man of birth, wealth, and eloquence, and entirely devoted to them, to endeavour to outbid Gracchus for popularity. Drusus therefore proposed that twelve colonies of three thousand persons each should be founded, that the rent imposed by the Sempronian law* on the lands which were or were to be divided should be remitted, and decemvirs be appointed for dividing them. He also brought in a bill extending immunity from corporal punishment in the army to the Latins and the allies. These bills were readily passed by the people, and Drusus now rivaled Gracchus in popularity; and as he declared that he was acting entirely with the approbation of the senate, who gave a cheerful assent to all his measures, that body also rose in the popular favour. Drusus had a further advantage over Gracchus in that he abstained from handling the public money, and he appointed others, not himself, to lead his colonies.

Gracchus was absent at this time. The tribune Rubrius had selected as the site of a colony the spot where Carthage had stood, and which Scipio had devoted to be a waste for ever, and Gracchus and his friend Fulvius Flaccus had been sent to lay out the colony, which was to be named Junonia†. Various unpropitious signs we are told appeared; a violent wind shook and broke the first standard, swept the sacrifices off the altar and carried them beyond the bounds, and wolves (the sacred animals of the sire of the founder of Rome) plucked up the boundary-marks and bore them away‡. Gracchus however persisted, and after remaining there seventy days he returned to Italy to collect his colonists. Finding his influence on the wane he moved down from the Palatine, on which he resided,

* That is, of Tib. Gracchus. Laws were always called after the gentile name of their proposer; thus Sulla's were the Cornelian, Cæsar's the Julian, laws.

† After Juno, or Astarte, the patron-deity of Carthage. (Virg. *Æn.* i. 15.) This was the first colony formed out of Italy. Vell. i. 15.

‡ Appian says it was after the return of Gracchus that the prodigy of the wolves (the only one he mentions) occurred, and that he and Fulvius said it was an invention of the senate, who wanted a pretext for doing away with the colony.

to the neighbourhood of the Forum, where the lower sort of people mostly dwelt, to prove his devotion to them. But his measure of setting the Italians on a level with them was too unpalatable to be digested by the populace of Rome, who, as is always the case, were as fond of monopoly, as jealous of their privileges and as heedless of justice in maintaining them, as any oligarchs whatever. When he proposed anew the granting the franchise to the allies, the consul Fannius, at the desire of the senate, issued an order forbidding any who were not qualified to vote to be in the city or within five miles of it on the day of voting. Gracchus, on the other hand, gave public notice to the Italians that he would protect them if they stayed. He however did not, for he looked calmly on while one of his own Italian friends was seized and dragged away by the lictors, probably feeling that he could not now rely on the people, in his anxiety to gain whom he had also offended his own colleagues: for when, on the occasion of a combat of gladiators to be given in the Forum, they had erected scaffolds around it in order to let the seats, Gracchus desired them to pull them down, that the poor might see the sport without payment. As they took no heed of him, he waited till the night before the show, when collecting a body of workmen he demolished the scaffolds and left the place clear for the populace, by whom this paltry piece of demagoguery was of course highly applauded.

The time of elections now came on, and Gracchus stood a third time for the tribunate; but he failed, some said through the injustice of his colleagues, who made a false return of the votes, but more probably through the ill-will of the people at his wanting to extend the franchise; and moreover the senate succeeded in having L. Opimius, a man on whom they could rely, raised to the consulate. They deemed that they might now endeavour to abrogate the laws of Gracchus, and the first attempt was to be made on that of the African colony. Gracchus at first bore their proceedings patiently; at length, urged by Fulvius and his other friends, he resolved to collect his adherents and oppose force to force. On the day of voting on the law both parties early occupied the Capitol; the consul, as usual, offered sacrifice; and as one of his lictors, named Antillius, was carrying away the entrails, he cried to those about Fulvius, "Make way, ye bad citizens, for the good!" They instantly fell on him and despatched him with their writing-styl^s*: Gracchus was sorely grieved at this violent deed;

* Plutarch. Appian relates this event somewhat differently.

but to Opimius it was a matter of exultation, and he called on the people to avenge it. A shower of rain, however, came on and dispersed the assembly. Opimius then * called the senate together, and, while they were deliberating, the body of Antillius was brought, with loud lamentations, through the Forum to the senate-house by those to whom Opimius had given it in charge: he, however, pretended ignorance. The senators went out to look at it: some exclaimed at the heinousness of the deed, others could not help reflecting how different had been the treatment of the body of Tib. Gracchus and of that of this common lictor by the oligarchs. A decree however was passed that the consuls should see that the state suffered no injury †. Opimius then directed the senators to arm themselves, and ordered the knights to appear next morning early, each with two armed slaves. Fulvius on his side also prepared for battle. It is said that Gracchus, as he was leaving the Forum, stopped before his father's statue, and having gazed on it a long time in silence groaned and shed tears. The people kept watch during the night at his house and at that of Fulvius; at the former in silence and anxiety, at the latter with drinking and revelry, Fulvius himself setting the example.

In the morning Opimius, having occupied the Capitol with armed men, assembled the senate in the temple of Castor ‡. Summonses to appear before the senate and defend themselves were sent to Gracchus and Fulvius; but, instead of obeying, they resolved to occupy the Aventine. Fulvius, having armed his adherents with the Gallic spoils with which he had adorned his house after his triumph, moved toward the Aventine, calling the slaves in vain to liberty. Gracchus went in his *toga*, with no weapon but a small dagger. They posted themselves at the temple of Diana; and, at the desire of Gracchus, Fulvius sent his younger son to the senate to propose an accommodation. They were desired to lay down their arms and to come and say what they would, or to send no more proposals. Gracchus, it is said, was for compliance, but Fulvius and the others would not yield. The youth, however, was sent down

* Plutarch says, next morning; but it is not likely that there could have been such delay. Appian makes the death of Gracchus take place the following day.

† "Dent operam consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat," was the form of the decree. It invested them with dictatorial power. The earliest instance of it was in the year 290. Liv. iii. 4.

‡ This temple was on the left-hand side of the Forum as one looks toward the Capitol.

again; and then Opimius, who thirsted for civil blood, seized him as being no longer protected by his office, and putting himself at the head of his armed men advanced to the attack. The Gracchians fled without making any resistance. Fulvius took refuge in a deserted bath, whence he was dragged out and put to death with his eldest son. Gracchus, retiring into the temple, attempted to put an end to himself; but two of his friends took the weapon from him and forced him to fly. As he was going, it is said, he knelt down, and stretching forth his hands prayed to the goddess that the Roman people might be slaves for ever, as a reward for their ingratitude and treachery to him,—a prayer destined to be accomplished! His pursuers pressing on him at the Sublician bridge, his two friends, to facilitate his escape, stood and maintained it against them till they were both slain. Gracchus in vain prayed for some one to supply him with a horse; then, finding escape hopeless, he turned, with a faithful slave who accompanied him, into the grove of the goddess Furina, where he ordered his slave to despatch him: the slave obeyed, and then slew himself over his body. The heads of Gracchus and Fulvius were cut off and brought to Opimius, who had promised their weight in gold for them; and the person who brought the former is said to have previously taken out the brain and filled it with lead*. Their bodies and those of their adherents, to the number of three thousand†, were flung into the Tiber, their properties were confiscated, their wives were forbidden to put on mourning, and Licinia, the wife of Gracchus, was even deprived of her dower, contrary to the opinion of Mucius Scaevola. Opimius, by way of clemency, gave the young Fulvius, whom he had cast into prison, the choice of the mode of his death, though what his crime was it is not easy to see‡. To crown all, having purified the city by order of the senate, Opimius built a temple to Concord§!

Plutarch compares the Gracchi with the two last kings of Sparta; and the parallel between Agis and Tiberius is certainly just. Both were actuated by the purest motives; both

* His name was Septimuleius, and he was an intimate friend of Gracchus. Plin. N. H. xxxiii. 3.

† Orosius (v. 12.), who wrote from Livy, says that only 250 were slain on the Aventine, but that Opimius afterwards put to death more than 3000 persons, without trial, who were mostly innocent.

‡ Vell. Pat. ii. 7.

§ One night the following line was put under the inscription of the temple:—"Vecordiæ opus ædem facit Concordiæ."

attempted to remedy an incurable evil; both were murdered by the covetous oligarchs. But Agis committed no illegal act, while the deposition of Octavius plainly violated the constitution. The comparison of C. Gracchus with Cleomenes is less just: the Roman was the better man, though, but for his law increasing the power of the senate, we might say that he was a demagogue, like Pericles, who cared not what evil he introduced provided he extended his own influence. In talent Caius was beyond his brother; his eloquence was of the highest order*; and if, as we incline to believe, his views were pure, he also may claim to be ranked among Rome's most illustrious patriots.

With respect to the great measure of the Gracchi, the resumption of the public land, its legality is not to be questioned; and the objects proposed, the relief of the people and increase of the free population, were most laudable. But a hundred and fifty years had elapsed since the conquest of Italy, during which there had been few or no assignments of land; and such dangers are apt to arise from disturbing long possession, even though not strictly legal in its origin, that it is doubtful if in any case good could have resulted from the measure. As it was, the evil was beyond cure; the Republic was verging to its fall, and no human skill could avail to save it. Still our applause is due to those who did not despair of it, and who manfully attempted to stem the torrent of vice and corruption†.

Whatever may have been the faults of the Gracchi and their friends, the nobility have little claim on our sympathy; for they used their victory with the greatest insolence and cruelty. When they had glutted their vengeance, they began to think of their interest; a law therefore was passed allowing those who had received lands under the Sempronian law to sell them, and the rich soon had them again by purchase, or under that pretext. Sp. Thorius, a tribune, then (645) directed that no more land should be divided; that those who held it should keep it, on payment of a quit-rent, to be annually distributed among the people‡,—a measure which, though it might relieve the poor, had no effect on the increase of the free population, the great object of Tib. Gracchus. This, however, was not pleasing to the oligarchs: so another tribune, to gratify

* Cic. Brut. 33.

† We may here observe that the famous Opimian wine was that of the vintage of this year. Plin. N. H. xviii. 4, 13.

‡ "Vitiosa et inutili lege." Cic. Brutus, 35.

them, did away with the quit-rents altogether; and thus ended all the hopes of the people.

It is remarkable that at the time the Roman people were thus voting away their rights they actually had the ballot, and we may say universal suffrage. In 614 Q. Gabinius, a tribune of low birth, according to Cicero, had a *tabellarian** law passed, by which the people were to vote with tablets on the election of magistrates; in 618 L. Cassius, the well-known rigid judge, when tribune, extended this principle to criminal trials; and in 622 C. Papirius Carbo further extended it to the voting on laws †: yet we see of how little avail it was. The ballot, in fact, though it might seem otherwise, only facilitates corruption, by removing shame and the dread of reproach. Cicero ‡ remarks that after it was introduced more state-criminals escaped than when the people voted openly; and we know how such acquittals were obtained by the plunderers of the provinces.

L. Opimius was accused in 632 by the tribune Q. Decius for having put citizens to death without trial; and it is rather startling to find the consul of that year, C. Papirius Carbo, the friend of the Gracchi, exerting his eloquence (in which he excelled) in his defence, and maintaining that C. Gracchus had been justly slain. Opimius of course was acquitted. This change of party did not, however, avail Carbo: he was prosecuted the next year (633) by the young orator L. Crassus, for his share, as it would seem, in the measures of the Gracchi, and seeing no prospect of escape he put an end to his own life.

Having concluded the narrative of this first civil discord, we will cast a glance over the foreign affairs of the state at this period.

When Attalus of Pergamus left his kingdom to the Roman people (619), his natural brother Aristonicus took up arms to

* So named from the wooden tablets with which they gave their votes.

† Cicero, *Laws*, iii. 16. In 644 the tribune C. Cælius had a law passed by which the centuries were to vote by ballot in trials for treason (*perduellio*), the only one which Cassius had excepted. *Cic. ib.*

‡ *Laws*, iii. 17. The rule he here gives is the true one: "*Optimatibus nota, plebi libera sunt* (suffragia)." It is certainly unjust in a landlord, for instance, to require his tenant to vote against his conscience; but the latter should reflect how seldom it is that the affair is really a matter of conscience, and how likely it is that he does not think for himself in these matters, and therefore how much more likely it is that the landlord, who *has* a stake in the country, may have its real interest at heart, than the orator or journalist to whom he pins his faith, who probably *has not* a stake in it.

assert his claim to it. There was perhaps some doubt in the senate as to the justice of their cause; for it was not till two years after (621) that Asia was decreed as a province to the consul P. Licinius Crassus, who though he was chief pontiff, and therefore bound not to leave Italy, led an army thither. But thinking more on booty than war, he was defeated and made a prisoner in a battle fought near Smyrna, and he was put to death by the victor. Aristonicus, however, was forced to surrender (623) to the consul M. Perperna*, and the kingdom of Attalus became a Roman province under the title of Asia.

The Romans had long entertained the design of acquiring dominion in southern Gaul, which lay between them and Spain; but other and more pressing matters had hitherto occupied their attention, and no fair pretext for making war on the Gauls had as yet presented itself. At length the Massilians who were their allies having applied to them for aid against the Salluvians, one of the native tribes, the consul Fulvius (627) led an army into Gaul, where he gained such advantages as entitled him to a triumph. His successor C. Sextius (628) gave the Salluvians a defeat at a place afterwards named, from him and its warm springs, Aquæ Sextiæ (*Aix*). The Allobroges and Arvernians were next attacked, under the pretence of their having given shelter to the king of the Salluvians, and having ravaged the lands of the Æduans, who were the allies of Rome. They were reduced (630) by the consul Cn. Domitius. The next year Q. Fabius Maximus, the colleague of Opimius, gained a great victory over the Allobroges, whose king, Betultus, having gone to Rome to excuse himself to the senate, was detained, and placed in custody at Alba, and directions were sent to bring his son to Rome also, as their presence in Gaul was considered dangerous. In 634 the colony of Narbo Marcius (*Narbonne*) was founded by Q. Marcius Rex, and the Roman dominion in Gaul now extended to the Pyrenees.

* It is remarkable respecting Perperna that he was a Roman consul without being a Roman citizen; he was a Greek by birth. See Val. Max. lii. 4, 5.

CHAPTER II.*

The Jugurthine War.—Defeat and death of Adherbal.—Bestia in Africa.—Jugurtha at Rome.—Defeat of Aulus.—Metellus in Africa.—Attack on Zama.—Negotiations with Jugurtha.—Taking of Thala.—Caius Marius.—Taking of Capsa.—Taking of the Castle on the Mulucha.—Sulla and Bocchus.—Delivery up of Jugurtha.—His end.—Cimbic War.—Victory at Aquæ Sextiæ.—Victory at Vercellæ.—Insurrection of the slaves in Sicily.

A WAR now broke out, which, as narrated by an excellent historian†, displays in an appalling manner the abandoned profligacy and corruption of the Roman nobility at this time.

Micipsa son of Massinissa, king of Numidia‡, died (634), leaving two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, with whom he joined his nephew Jugurtha, the son of his half-brother Mastanabal, as a partner in the kingdom. Jugurtha was a young man of talent, highly popular with the army, ambitious, and hungering after dominion with the avidity which has at all times characterised Eastern and African princes, and like them unscrupulous as to means. He had been incited by many Romans of rank with whom he was intimate at Numantia, to seize the kingdom on the death of Micipsa, and assured by them that money was omnipotent at Rome. Accordingly he soon caused Hiempsal, the more spirited of the two princes, to be murdered; and when Adherbal took up arms to defend himself, he defeated him and drove him out of his kingdom.

Adherbal repaired to Rome, whither he was followed by envoys from Jugurtha, bearing plenty of gold and silver, which they distributed to such effect, that when the senate had heard both parties, they decreed that ten commissioners should go out to divide the realm of Micipsa between Adherbal and Jugurtha! L. Opimius was at the head of the commission (635), and Jugurtha plied him and most of his colleagues so well with gifts and promises, that the far more valuable half was given to him; and so convinced was he now of the venality of every one at Rome, that they were hardly gone when he invaded and plundered Adherbal's dominions, hoping thus to provoke him to a war. But Adherbal, a quiet timid prince, contented him-

* Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* Velleius, li. 11, 12. Plut. *Marius*, 1-27. Sulla, 1-4, the *Epitomators*.

† C. Sallustius Crispus.

‡ See above, p. 271.

self with sending an embassy to complain of the injury. Jugurtha replied by re-entering his realm at the head of a large army. Adherbal assembled an army; but Jugurtha fell on his camp, near the town of Cirta, in the night, and cut his troops to pieces. Adherbal fled to Cirta, which would have been taken, were it not that there happened to be in it a great number of Italian traders, who manned the walls and defended it. Jugurtha, aware that Adherbal had sent to Rome, pressed on the siege with all his might, hoping to take the town before any one could come to prevent him. Three commissioners, however, arrived, with orders for the kings to abstain from war, and decide their quarrel by equity. Jugurtha, alleging that he had taken up arms in self-defence, as Adherbal had plotted against his life, said he would send envoys to Rome to explain all matters. The commissioners then went away, not having been allowed to see Adherbal, and Jugurtha urged on the siege more vigorously than ever.

Two of Adherbal's followers, however, made their way through the camp of the besiegers, and brought a letter from him to the senate. Some were for sending an army to Africa; but the influence of Jugurtha's party succeeded in having only a commission appointed, composed however of men of the highest rank, among whom was M. Æmilius Seaurus, at that time the chief of the senate, a man of talents of a high order, but of insatiable avarice and ambition. On arriving at Utica they sent orders to Jugurtha to come to them in the province; and having made one more desperate but fruitless effort to storm the town, he obeyed, fearing to irritate Seaurus. But the interview was of no effect, for after wasting words in vain the commissioners went home. It would perhaps have been better for Adherbal if they had not come at all; for the Italians in Cirta, convinced that the power of Rome would be a security to *them*, insisted on his surrendering the town, only stipulating for his life; and though he knew how little reliance was to be placed on Jugurtha's faith, he yielded, as it was in their power to compel him. Jugurtha first put Adherbal to death, with torture, and then made a promiscuous slaughter of the male inhabitants, the Italian traders included (640).

Jugurtha's pensioners at Rome attempted to gloss over even this atrocious deed; but C. Memmius, a tribune-elect, in his harangues to the people so exposed the motives of those who advocated his cause, that the senate became alarmed, and by the Sempronian law Numidia was assigned as one of the pro-

vinces of the future consuls. It fell to L. Calpurnius Bestia (641); an army was levied, and all preparations were made for war. Jugurtha was not a little surprised when he heard of this. He sent his son and two of his friends as envoys to Rome, to bribe as before; but they were ordered to quit Italy, unless they were come to make a surrender of Jugurtha and his kingdom. They therefore returned without having effected any thing. The consul, who, like so many others, was a slave to avarice, having selected as his legates Scaurus and some other men of influence, whose authority he hoped would defend him if he acted wrong, passed over to Africa with his troops, and made a brisk inroad into Numidia. Jugurtha, instead of trying the chance of arms, assailed him by large offers of money, displaying at the same time the difficulties of the war; and Scaurus, whose prudence had hitherto been proof against all his offers, yielded at last, and went hand in hand with the consul. They agreed to a peace with him; he came to the camp and made a surrender of himself, and delivered to the quæstor thirty elephants, a good number of horses and cattle for the army, and a small quantity of money. Bestia then went to Rome to hold the elections, as his colleague was dead.

The senate were dubious how to act; the disgraceful transaction was vehemently reprobated by the people, but the authority of Scaurus was great with them. Memmius seized the occasion of again assailing the nobility; he detailed their acts of cruelty and oppression, he exposed their avarice, venality and corruption, and he finally succeeded in having the prætor L. Cassius Longinus sent to Africa to bring Jugurtha to Rome, in order to convict Scaurus and the others by his evidence. Cassius having pledged the public faith and his own (which was of equal weight) for his safety, Jugurtha came with him to Rome (642). Here, beside his former friends, he gained C. Bæbius, one of Memmius' colleagues; and when Memmius produced him before the people, and, having enumerated all his crimes, called on him to name those who had aided and abetted him in them, Bæbius ordered him not to answer. The people were furious, but Bæbius heeded them not; and Jugurtha soon ventured on another murder.

There was at Rome a cousin of his, named Massiva, the son of Gulussa, whom the consul-elect, Sp. Postumius Albinus, anxious for the glory of a war, persuaded to apply to the senate for the kingdom of Numidia. Jugurtha, seeing him likely to succeed, desired his confidant Bomilcar to have

him put out of the way. Assassins were then, as in more modern times, easily to be procured at Rome. Massiva was slain, but his murderer, on being seized, informed against Bomilcar, who, more in accordance with equity than with the law of nations, was arrested. Fifty of Jugurtha's friends gave bail for him; but Jugurtha finding this to be a case beyond his money, sent him away, heedless of his bail, for he feared that his other subjects would be less zealous to serve him if he should let Bomilcar suffer. In a few days he himself was ordered to quit Italy. It is said that as he was going out of Rome he turned, and gazing on it, said, "Venal city, and soon to perish if a purchaser were to be found!"

Albinus passed over to Africa without delay; but, with all his diligence, he was baffled by Jugurtha, who never would give an opportunity of fighting, and kept illuding him with offers of surrender. Many people suspected that the consul and he understood one another. The elections being at hand, Albinus returned to Rome, leaving his brother Aulus in command of the army. A delay having occurred, in consequence of two of the tribunes wanting to remain in office in opposition to their collegues, Aulus, hoping to end the war or extort money from Jugurtha, led out his troops in the month of January (643), and by long marches came to a town named Suthul, where the royal treasures lay. The town was strong by nature and art: Jugurtha mocked at the folly of the legate, and by holding out hopes of surrender drew him away from it. By bribes he gained some of the centurions and captains of horse to promise to desert, others to quit their posts: he then suddenly assailed the camp in the night; a centurion admitted him; the Romans fled to an adjacent hill, where they were obliged to surrender, pass under the yoke, and engage to evacuate Numidia within ten days.

Grief, terror, and indignation prevailed at Rome when this disgraceful treaty was known. The senate, as was always the case, pronounced it not to be binding. Albinus hastened to Africa, burning to efface the shame; but he found the troops in such a state of indiscipline that he could not venture on any operations. At Rome, the tribune C. Mamilius Limetanus took advantage of the state of public feeling, to bring in a bill for inquiring into the conduct of those who had advised Jugurtha to neglect the decrees of the senate, and of those who had taken bribes from him, had given him back the elephants and deserters, or made treaties with him. The nobility, conscious

of their guilt, strained every nerve against the bill; the people, more out of hatred to *them* than regard for the republic, urged it on and passed it. Strange to say, Scæurus, one of the most guilty, had influence enough to have himself chosen among the three inquisitors whom the bill appointed. The inquiry was prosecuted with great asperity, the people being delighted to have an opportunity of humbling the nobility; common fame was deemed sufficient evidence, and Opimius, Bestia, Albinus and others, were condemned.

Albinus' successor (643) was Q. Cæcilius Metellus, a man who was an honour to his order, of high talents, of stainless integrity, of pure morals; his only defect was pride, "the common evil of the nobility," as the historian observes*. He found the army as Scipio Africanus had found his at Carthage and Numantia, and he employed the same means to restore its discipline. Jugurtha, aware of the kind of man he had to deal with, and that there was now no room for bribes, began to think of submission in earnest, and he sent envoys offering a surrender, and stipulating only for the lives of himself and his children. But Metellus, knowing there would be no peace in Africa while Jugurtha lived, treated with the envoys separately, and by large promises induced some of them to engage to deliver him up alive or dead: in public he gave them an ambiguous reply.

In a few days he entered Numidia, but saw no signs of war; the peasantry and their cattle were in the fields, the governors of towns came forth to meet him, and furnished everything he demanded. He put a garrison into a large town named Vaga, which was a place of great trade, and would therefore be of advantage if the war was to continue. Meantime Jugurtha sent a still more pressing embassy; but Metellus, as before, engaged the envoys to betray him, and without promising or refusing him the peace he sought waited for them to perform their engagements.

Jugurtha, finding himself assailed by his own arts, and that all hopes were illusive, resolved once more to try the fate of arms. Learning that Metellus was on his march for a river

* It may perhaps be asserted that pride is of the very essence of an aristocracy, for we have never heard or read of an aristocracy without pride. When united with sense and virtue it may well be endured for the sake of the good which accompanies it; and often arises from it; but unfortunately it is usually in those members of the aristocracy who belong not to Nature's nobility that it shows itself in its most offensive form.

named Muthul, he placed his troops in ambush on a hill near it, by which the Roman army had to pass. The wild-olives and myrtles among which they lay did not however sufficiently conceal them, and Metellus had time to prepare for action. Jugurtha displayed in the engagement which ensued all the talent of an able general, but his troops were far inferior in quality to those to which they were opposed, and after a hard-fought contest a complete victory remained with the Romans. Having given his men four days' rest Metellus led them into the best parts of Numidia, where he laid waste the fields, took and burned towns and castles, putting all the males to the sword and giving the plunder to his soldiers. Numbers of places therefore submitted and received garrisons, and Jugurtha became greatly terrified at this mode of conducting the war. Aware that nothing was to be hoped from a general action, he left the army he had assembled where it was, and placing himself at the head of a select body of horse hovered about the Romans, attacking them when scattered, and destroying the forage and the springs of water. These desultory attacks greatly harassed the Roman troops; and, as the only means of forcing Jugurtha to an action, Metellus resolved to lay siege to the large and strong town of Zama. Jugurtha, learning his design from deserters, hastened thither before him, and conjured the townsmen to hold out bravely, promising to come with an army to their relief, and leaving them the deserters to assist in the defence.

Metellus on coming before Zama attempted a storm: in the heat of the engagement Jugurtha made a sudden attack on the Roman camp and broke into it; the soldiers fled in dismay toward those who were attacking the town. Metellus sent his legate Marius with the horse and some cohorts of the allies to the defence of the camp, and the Numidians were driven out with loss. Next day when they would renew the attack, they found the horse prepared to receive them. A smart cavalry-action commenced and lasted all through the day, and at the same time the town was gallantly attacked and defended: night ended the conflict.

Metellus, seeing that there was no chance of taking the town, or of making Jugurtha fight except when and where he pleased, and that the summer was at an end, raised the siege and led his troops into the province for the winter. He then renewed his secret dealings with Jugurtha's friends; and having induced even Bomilcar to come to him privately, he en-

gaged him, by a promise of pardon from the senate, to undertake to deliver up his master. Bomilcar took the first opportunity to urge Jugurtha to a surrender, by picturing to him the wretched condition to which he was reduced, and the danger of the Numidians making terms for themselves without him. Envoys were therefore sent to Metellus, offering an unconditional surrender. Metellus having assembled all the senators who were in Africa, and other fit persons, held a council after the Roman usage, and with their concurrence sent orders to Jugurtha to deliver up 200,000 pounds of silver, all his elephants, and a part of his horses and arms. This being done, he ordered him to send him the deserters: and all were brought, except a few who had time to make their escape to the Moorish king Bocchus. Jugurtha was then directed to repair to the town of Tisidium, there to learn his fate; but his guilty conscience made him hesitate, and after fluctuating a few days he resolved once more to try the fortune of war. The senate continued Metellus in his command as proconsul (644).

Jugurtha now strained every nerve. At his instigation the people of Vaga treacherously massacred the Roman garrison; but they paid the penalty of their crime within two days; for when Metellus heard of it, he took what troops he had with him, set out in the night, came on the Vagenses by surprise, slaughtered them, and gave the town up to plunder. About this time Bomilcar's plans failed. He had associated with himself a man of high rank named Nabdalsa, to whom he wrote a letter urging immediate action. Nabdalsa, lying down to rest, put the letter on his pillow, and his secretary coming into the tent while he was asleep took and read it. He immediately hastened to give Jugurtha information. Nabdalsa was saved by his rank and his protestations of his intention to reveal the plot, but Bomilcar and several others were put to death: some fled to the Romans, some to Bocchus, king of the Gætulians, and Jugurtha remained without any one in whom he could place confidence, haunted by fear and suspicion. In this condition he was forced to an action, and defeated by Metellus. He fled to a large town named Thala; whither Metellus, though there was no water to be had for a space of fifty miles, resolved to pursue him. For this purpose he collected vessels of every kind, which he filled at the nearest river, and he ordered the Numidians to convey supplies of water to a place which he designated. When he reached that place a copious rain fell, and he thus came before Thala, from which

Jugurtha fled in the night with a part of his treasure. After a siege of forty days the town was taken; but the deserters had collected the things of most value into the palace, and then, after feasting and drinking, set fire to it and perished in the flames. Jugurtha now sought to arm the Gætulians in his cause, and he prevailed on Bocchus, whose daughter was among his wives, to form an alliance with him. Such was the condition of the war when (645) the consul Marius came out to supersede Metellus.

C. Marius* was the son of a small proprietor at Arpinum in the Volscian country; he entered the army when young, and distinguished himself by his courage, his military skill, his temperance, and other qualities becoming a good soldier. He rose through the inferior grades of the service, and was at length appointed by the people, who hardly knew him but by fame, to be a military tribune; he served under Scipio at Numantia, (thus he and Jugurtha were fellow-soldiers,) and that able man, it is said, foretold his future eminence. In the year 633 he was made a tribune of the people, and he had a law passed to lessen the influence of the nobility at elections, and another abrogating that by which corn was ordered to be sold to the people at a reduced price,—certainly no demagogic measure: but the hardy peasant probably saw that an idle town-population could not but be injurious to the state. He then stood for both ædileships in the one day, and failed, but undismayed he shortly after sought the prætorship, and gained it, though he was accused of having used unfair means. He next had, as proprætor, the government of Ulterior Spain, which he cleared of the bands of robbers that infested it. Marius married into the noble family of the Julii; and his character stood so high, that Metellus, when appointed to Numidia, made him one of his legates.

The great object of Marius' ambition was the consulate; but this was an office which had hitherto been the exclusive property of the nobility, to which no *new man* †, be his merit what it might, had ever dreamed of aspiring. Marius, however, knew that the times were changed, and that the people would gladly seize an occasion to spite the nobility. Vulgar minds are commonly superstitious; that of Marius was eminently so, and it happened that as he was sacrificing, when in

* See Plutarch, Marius.

† A *novus homo*, or 'new man,' was one in whose family there had been no curule dignity, and who therefore had no images.

winter-quarters at Utica, the haruspex declared that mighty things were portended to him, and bade him rely on the gods and do what he was thinking of. He instantly applied to Metellus for leave to go to Rome to sue for the consulate. The proud noble could not conceal his amazement; by way of friendship he advised him to moderate his ambition, and seek only what was within his reach; telling him however, that he would give him leave when the public service permitted it. Marius applied again and again to no effect; he then became exasperated, and had recourse to all the vulgar modes of gaining favour with the various classes of men; he relaxed the discipline of his soldiers; to the Italian traders, of whom there was a great number at Utica, and to whom the war was very injurious, he threw the whole blame of its continuance on the general's love of power, adding that if *he* had but one half of the army he would soon have Jugurtha in chains. There was moreover in the Roman quarters a brother of Jugurtha's named Gauda, a man of weak mind, but to whom Micipsa had left the kingdom in remainder, who was at this time highly offended because Metellus had refused him a guard of Roman horse and a seat of honour beside himself. While he was in this mood Marius accosted him, exaggerated the affront he had received, called him a great man, who would without doubt be king of Numidia if Jugurtha were taken or slain, as he would be if *he* were consul. The consequence was that all these people wrote to their friends at Rome, inveighing against Metellus, and desiring the command to be transferred to Marius.

Metellus, having delayed Marius as long as he could, at length let him go home. He was received with high favour by the people; *he* was extolled, Metellus abused; the one was a noble, the other one of themselves, the man of the people: party-spirit is always blind to the defects of its favourites and the merits of its adversaries. The tribunes harangued; the peasants and the workmen of the city neglected their business to support Marius; the nobility were defeated, and he was made consul. The senate had already decreed Numidia to Metellus; but they were to be further humbled; a tribune asked the people whom they would have to conduct the war with Jugurtha, and they replied Marius*.

The new consul set no bounds to his insolent exultation; he made incessant attacks on the nobility, vaunting that he

* This was a manifest violation of the Sempronian law. See above, p. 304.

had won the consulate from them as spoils from a vanquished enemy. The senate dared refuse none of his demands for the war; they even cheerfully decreed a levy, thinking that the people would be unwilling to serve, and that Marius would thus sink in their favour. But it was quite the contrary; all were eager to go and gain fame and plunder under Marius, who, having held an assembly, in which as usual he inveighed against the nobility and extolled himself, commenced his levy. In this he set the pernicious example of taking any that offered, mostly *Capite-censi*, instead of raising them in the old way from the classes*: he knew that those who had nothing to lose and all to gain, were best suited to a man greedy of power and indifferent to the welfare of his country. Having thus raised a larger force than had been decreed, he passed over to Africa, where the army was given up to him by the legate Rutilius, as the proud spirit of Metellus could not brook the sight of his insolent rival. Yet so variable is the multitude, so really just when left to itself, that Metellus was received with as much favour by the people as by the senate on his return, and he obtained a triumph, and the title of *Numidicus* as the true conqueror of Numidia†.

Marius displayed great energy and activity; he laid the whole country waste, and forced the two kings to keep at a distance. Aware, like Metellus, that it was only by taking his towns he could reduce Jugurtha, and desirous of performing some feat to rival that of the capture of Thala, he fixed on a town named Capsa, similarly situated, but with this difference, that while there were springs outside of the former, there was but one at the latter, and that within the walls. Having made his men load themselves and the beasts of burden with skins of water at the river Tama, he set forth at night-fall, not saying whither he was going; and resting by day and marching by night, he reached before day, on the third morning, a range of hills within two miles of Capsa. He there halted, and when it was day, and the people were come out of the town, he ordered his horse and light troops to rush for the gates. In this way the town was forced to capitulate; but, contrary to the laws of nations, the grown males were put to the sword, the rest sold, the plunder given to the soldiers, and the town burnt.

This fortunate piece of temerity, for it was nothing better, greatly magnified the fame of Marius, and scarcely any place

* Not those of Servius; see above, p. 173.

† Vell. Pat. ii. 11.

ventured to resist him. He now proceeded to another act of similar fool-hardiness. There was, near the river Mulucha, a strong castle, on a single rock in the plain, in which the royal treasures were deposited. It was well supplied with men, arms, and provisions, and had a good spring of water; one single narrow path led up to it from the plain, nature having secured it on all other sides. Marius spent several days before it; and having lost some of his best men to no purpose, he was thinking of retiring, when fortune again stood his friend. A Ligurian, seeing some snails on the back part of the rock, climbed up to get them, and going higher and higher as he saw them, he at length reached the summit. He descended again, carefully noting the way, and then went and informed the consul of his discovery. Marius resolved to take advantage of it; he sent with the Ligurian five trumpeters and four centurions with their men, who climbed up while he kept the garrison occupied by an attack. Suddenly the Roman trumpets were heard to sound above them, and the women and children were seen flying down; Marius then urged on his men, the wall was scaled, and the fort carried.

About this time the quæstor L. Cornelius Sulla*, afterwards so renowned, arrived in the camp with a large body of horse, to raise which he had been left in Italy. Jugurtha having induced Bocchus, with a promise of a third of his kingdom, to aid him effectually, their combined forces fell one evening on the Romans as they were marching to their winter-quarters. The Romans were forced to retire to two neighbouring hills, around which the barbarians bivouacked; but toward morning, when they were mostly asleep, the Romans sounded their trumpets and rushed down and slaughtered them. In the neighbourhood of Cirta, four days after, the two kings ventured on another attack; but they were again routed with great loss. The consul then went into quarters for the winter at Cirta, whither envoys came from Bocchus, requesting that two trusty persons might be sent to confer with him. Marius committed the affair to Sulla and the legate A. Manlius; and the arguments of the former had no little effect on the king, who soon after sent five other envoys to Marius. They were so unlucky as to fall in with robbers on their way, by whom they were stripped and plundered; but Sulla, who commanded

* *Sulla*, not *Sylla*, is the orthography of all good writers. The Latin language had no *y* in it at this time. *Sulla*, i. e. *surula*, is said to be a diminutive of *sura*.

in the absence of Marius, treated them with great kindness; and on the return of the consul a council was assembled, and three of the envoys were, as Bocchus had desired, sent to Rome, where the senate granted him the friendship and alliance which he sought, provided he should deserve it.

Bocchus then desired that Sulla might be sent to him. Sulla went (646) with a slight escort, and having run no small risk of being captured or slain by Jugurtha, through whose camp he had to pass, reached the Moorish territories. By employing all the arts of a skilful negotiator, and working on the hopes and fears of the king, he at length engaged him to betray Jugurtha. The crafty Numidian was lured to a conference, and there seized and delivered up to Sulla. Marius remained in Africa as proconsul for two years. He was chosen consul a second time in his absence, and he triumphed on the kalends of January (648), the day of his entering on office. Jugurtha adorned his triumph, and at its conclusion was thrust nearly naked into the dungeon*. "Hercules!" said he, with a forced smile as he entered it, "what a cold bath you have!" He was there left to perish by hunger, and his guilty life ended on the sixth day.

The cause of Marius' being raised a second time to the consulate, in violation of rule and precedent, was an imminent danger which menaced the republic from the north, and which he alone was judged able to avert.

In the year 639 intelligence reached Rome of the approach of a barbarous people named Cimbrians, to the north-eastern frontier of Italy. This people is supposed to have inhabited the peninsula of Jutland, and those parts which afterwards sent forth the Anglo-Saxon conquerors of England. At this time, urged by some of the causes which usually set barbarous tribes in motion, they resolved to migrate southwards. The consul Cn. Papirius Carbo gave them battle in the modern Carinthia, but he sustained a defeat. The barbarians, however, instead of advancing into Italy, turned back, and being joined by a German people named the Teutons, poured into Southern Gaul, where (643) they defeated the consul M. Junius Silanus. The next year the consul M. Aurelius Scaurus had a similar fate; and in the following year (645) the consul L. Cassius Longinus was defeated and slain by the Tigurinians, a Helvetic people who had joined the Cimbrians,

* The Tullianum (see Sallust, *Bell. Cat.* 55.). It may still be seen in the Mamertine prison, under the Capitol.

and the remnant of his army had to pass under the yoke to escape destruction. Q. Servilius Cæpio, the consul of the year 646, turned his arms, as the Cimbrians appear to have been in Spain, against a Gallic people named the Tectosages, and plundered their capital, Tolôsa (*Toulouse*), of its sacred treasure, which he diverted to his own use. Cæpio was continued the next year in his command; and as the Cimbrians were returned from Spain, the consul Cn. Manlius led his army into Gaul; but he and Cæpio, instead of uniting their forces, wrangled and quarreled with each other, and kept separate camps on different sides of the Rhone; in consequence of which both their armies were literally annihilated by the barbarians, who now seem to have seriously thought of invading Italy. It was at this conjuncture that Marius was made consul a second time.

The Cimbrians however returned to Spain, where they remained during this and the following year. Marius, who was made consul a third time (649), employed himself chiefly in restoring the discipline of the army; and Sulla, who was his legate the first and a tribune the second year, displayed his diplomatic talent now in Gaul as before in Numidia, and thus augmented the envy and hatred with which the rude ferocious consul regarded him. His colleague happening to die just before the elections, Marius went to Rome to hold them, and there his friend the tribune L. Apuleius Saturninus, as had been arranged between them, proposed him for consul a fourth time. Marius affected to decline the honour; Saturninus called him a traitor to his country if he refused to serve her in the time of her peril: the scene was well acted between them, and Marius was made consul with Q. Lutatius Catulus (650).

The province of Gaul was decreed to both the consuls; and as the barbarians were now returned from Spain, and had divided their forces, the Cimbrians moving to enter Italy on the north-east, the Teutons and Ambrons from Gaul, Marius crossed the Alps, and fortified a strong camp on the banks of the Rhone, that he might raise the spirit of his men, and accustom them to the sight of the huge bodies and ferocious mien of the barbarians. He refused all their challenges to fight, and contented himself with repelling their assaults on his camp; and at last the barbarians, giving up all hopes of forcing him to action, resolved to cross the Alps, leaving him behind them. We are told that they spent six days in march-

ing by the Roman camp, and that as they went they jeeringly asked the soldiers if they had any messages to send to their wives. Marius then broke up his camp and followed them, keeping on the high grounds till he came to *Aquæ Sextiæ*. He there chose for his camp an eminence where there was no water, and when his soldiers complained, he pointed to a stream running by the enemies' camp, and told them they must buy it there with their blood. "Lead us on then at once while our blood is warm!" cried they. "We must first secure our camp," coolly replied the general.

The camp-servants, taking with them axes, hatchets, and some spears and swords for their defence, went down to the stream to water the beasts, and they drove off such of the enemies as they met. The noise roused the Ambrons, who, though they were full after a meal, put on their armour and crossed the stream; the Ligurians advanced to engage them, some more Roman troops succeeded, and the Ambrons were driven back to their waggons with loss. This check irritated the barbarians exceedingly, and the Romans passed the night in anxiety, expecting an attack. In the morning, Marius, having sent the legate *Claudius Marcellus* with three thousand men to occupy a woody hill in the enemy's rear, prepared to give battle. The impatient barbarians charged up-hill; the Romans, with the advantage of the ground, drove them back, *Marcellus* fell on their rear, and the rout was soon complete: the slain and the captives were, it is said, not less than one hundred thousand. As Marius after the battle stood with a torch, in the act of setting fire to a pile of their arms, messengers arrived with tidings of his being chosen consul for the fifth time.

Catulus meantime had not been equally fortunate. Not thinking it safe to divide his forces for defending the passes of the Alps, he retired behind the *Atesis* (*Adige*), securing the fords, and having a bridge in front of his position to communicate with the country on the other side. But when the Cimbrians poured down from the Alps, and were beginning to fill up the bed of the river, his soldiers grew alarmed, and unable to retain them, he led them back, abandoning the plain of the *Po* to the barbarians. *Catulus* was continued in his command as proconsul the next year (651): his deficiency of military talent was made up for by the ability of *L. Sulla*, who had left Marius to join him. Marius, who was at Rome, instead of triumphing as was expected, summoned his troops

from Gaul and proceeded to unite them with those of Catulus, hoping to have the glory of a second victory : and when the battle took place in the neighbourhood of Vercellæ, he placed his own troops on the wings and those of Catulus in the centre, which he threw back in order that they might have as little share as possible in the action. But his manœuvre was a failure, for an immense cloud of dust rising, which prevented the troops from seeing each other, Marius in his charge left the enemy at one side, and the brunt of the battle fell on the troops of Catulus. The dust was of advantage to the Romans, as it prevented their seeing the number of their foes : the heat of the weather (it being now July) exhausted the barbarians, and they were obliged to give way, and as their front ranks had bound themselves together by chains from their waists they could not escape. A dreadful spectacle presented itself when the Romans drove them to their line of waggons ; the women rushed out, fell on the fugitives, and then slew themselves and their children ; the men too put an end to themselves in various ways : the captives amounted to sixty thousand, the slain to double the number. Marius and Catulus triumphed together, and though the former had had little share in the victory, his rank and the fame of his former one caused this also to be ascribed to him ; the multitude called him the third founder of Rome, and poured out libations to him with the gods at their meals. He would have triumphed alone but for fear of Catulus' soldiers ; and, as we shall see, he never forgave him his victory*.

One evil of great magnitude which resulted from this war was, the great number of slaves that it dispersed over the Roman dominions ; and at this very time those of Sicily were again in insurrection. Under the guidance of a slave named Salvius, who assumed the name of Trypho and the royal dignity, they defeated the Roman officers. In another part of the island the slaves made one Athenio, a Cilician, their king, but he submitted to Trypho, after whose death he had the supreme command. At length (651) the consul M. Aquilius slew Athenio with his own hand in an engagement, and suppressed the rebellion.

* The details of the battle are only to be found in Plutarch (Marius), whose authority were Sulla's own Memoirs ; they must therefore be received with some suspicion.

CHAPTER III.*

State of Rome.—Tribunate of Saturninus.—His sedition and death.—Return of Metellus.—Tribunate and death of Drusus.—Social or Marsic War.—Murder of the Prætor by the Usurers.—Sedition of Marius and Sulpicius.—Sulla at Rome.—Flight of Marius.

THE cruelty with which the nobility had used their victory over the Gracchi, and the scandalous corruption and profligacy which they had exhibited in the case of Jugurtha, had greatly exasperated the people against them, and had alienated from them the affections of the lovers of justice and honour. Ambitious and revengeful men took advantage of this state of feeling to have themselves made tribunes, and to have measures passed injurious to the nobles as a body or as individuals. Thus Cæpio, who had attempted to modify Gracchus' law, which took from the senators the right of being judges, was after his defeat by the Cimbrians, deprived of his command by the people and his estate was confiscated. In the following year (648) the tribune C. Cassius Longinus had a bill passed (leveled at him) prohibiting any one who had been deposed by the people from sitting in the senate. He was some years after prosecuted for the plunder of the gold of Tolosa, and he ended his days in exile. Cassius' colleague Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus deprived the sacerdotal bodies of the right of choosing their own colleagues, and gave it to the people; and another of the tribunes, C. Servilius Glaucia, offered the freedom of the city to any of the Latins or the allies who should prosecute a magistrate to conviction.

These, however, were but preludes to what was to follow. Marius was raised a sixth time to the consulate (652), and it is said that he employed both money and arts to prevent Metellus from being his colleague, and to have L. Valerius Flaccus, on whom he could rely, appointed. His allies were Glaucia and Saturninus, both mortal enemies to Metellus, who, but for his colleague, would, in his censorship, have degraded them for their scandalous lives. Glaucia as prætor presided when Saturninus stood a second time for the tribunate. He was notwithstanding rejected, and A. Nonius, a bitter enemy to them both, elected; but when the new tribune left the assembly, they sent a body of their satellites after him who

* Appian, B. C. i. 28-63. Velleius, ii. 13-17. Plut., Marius, 28-40. Sulla, 7-10, the Epitomators.

murdered him; and next morning Glaucia, without waiting for the people, made his own crew appoint Saturninus to take his place, no one venturing even to murmur.

A series of measures of a demagogic nature were now introduced. By one law the land which had been recovered from the Cimbrians beyond the Po was to be treated as conquered land, without any regard to the rights of its Gallic owners, and divided among Roman citizens and soldiers; one hundred jugers apiece were to be given to the veterans in Africa, colonies were to be led to Sicily, Achaia, and Macedonia, and the Tolosan gold was to be employed in the purchase of lands to be divided*. By another law corn was to be distributed to the people every month *gratis*†. It was added to the law for dividing the Gallic land, that in case of its passing, the senate must within five days swear to it, and that any one who refused should be expelled the senate and fined 500,000 sesterces.

The laws relating to the division of the lands were not at all pleasing to the town-population, who saw that the advantages would fall mostly to the Italians. The movers therefore took care to bring in from the country large numbers of those who had served under Marius, to overawe and outvote the people of the city. These last cried out that it thundered; Saturninus took no heed, but urged on his law: they then girt their clothes about them, seized whatever came to hand, and fell on the country-folk, who, incited by Saturninus, attacked them in turn, drove them off, and then passed the law. Marius as consul laid the matter before the senate, declaring that he for one would never take the oath. Metellus, for whom the snare was laid, made a similar declaration; the rest expressed their approbation, and Marius closed the senate. On the fifth day he assembled them again in haste, telling them that the people were very hot on the matter, and that he saw no remedy but for them to swear to it as far as it was law, and that when the country-people were gone home they might easily show that it was not law, as it had been carried by force and when there was thunder. He himself and his friends

* Auct. de Vir. Illustr., 73. 1, 5.

† By the Sempronian law (See p. 302.) it had hitherto been sold at the *semis et triens*. Auctor ad Herenn. i. 12. Cæpio, who was now *quæstor*, we are here told, when he could not prevent the law from being put to the vote in any other way, broke down the bridges (*pontes*) by which the tribes entered the *Septa* to vote, and took away the voting-urns.

then swore; the rest, though they now saw through the trick, were afraid not to do the same. Metellus alone refused. Next day Saturninus sent and had him dragged out of the senate-house; when the other tribunes defended him, Glaucia and Saturninus ran to the country-people telling them they had no chance of land if Metellus was let to remain in Rome. Saturninus then proposed that the consuls should be directed to interdict him from fire, water, and lodging. The town-people armed themselves, and were resolved to defend him; but Metellus, thanking them for their zeal, said he would not have his country endangered on his account, and he went into voluntary exile at Rhodes. Saturninus then had his bill against him passed, and Marius made the proclamation with no little pleasure. When the elections came on Saturninus caused himself to be re-chosen, and with him a freedman named L. Equitius Firmo, whom he gave out to be a son of Tib. Gracchus, in order to gain him the popular favour. But the great object of him and his faction was to get Glaucia into the consulate, which was a matter of some difficulty, for M. Antonius, the celebrated orator, had been already chosen for one of the places, and C. Memmius, a man of high character and extremely popular*, stood for the other. They did not, however, let this difficulty long stand in their way. They sent some of their satellites armed with sticks, who in the open day, in the midst of the election and before all the people, fell on Memmius and beat him to death! The assembly was dissolved, and Saturninus next morning, having summoned his adherents from the country, occupied the Capitol, with Glaucia, the quæstor C. Sautefius and some others. The senate having met declared them public enemies, and directed the consuls to provide for the safety of the state. Marius had then reluctantly to take arms against his friends. While he loitered some of the more determined cut the pipes which supplied the Capitol with water. When the thirst became intolerable Sautefius proposed to burn the temple; but the others, relying on Marius, agreed to surrender on the public faith. There was a general cry to put them to death; but Marius, in order to save them, shut them up in the Curia Hostilia†, under pretext of acting more legally. The people, however, would not be balked of their vengeance; they stripped off the roof,

* See above, pp. 312, 313.

† That is, the senate-house close by the Forum.

and flung the tiles down on them and killed them. A number of their adherents also were slain, among them the pseudo-Gracchus.

A decree for the recall of Metellus was joyfully passed by the senate and people (653): Marius having fruitlessly tried to prevent it, left the city, to avoid witnessing the return of his enemy. He went to Asia Minor, under pretence of offering some sacrifices he had vowed to the Mother of the Gods (Cybele), but in reality to try if he could excite the king of Pontus to a war, for peace he felt not to be his element, and his conduct since his last triumph had lost him the favour of all parties. The tribune P. Furius, whom Metellus had degraded when censor (650), also opposed his recall, and stood firm against the tears and entreaties of his son. The filial piety which he displayed gained for the youth the surname of Pius (*dutiful*), and Furius being prosecuted the next year by his late colleague C. Canuleius, was torn to pieces by the people, who would not even listen to his defence. When Metellus arrived at Rome the concourse of those who came to congratulate him was so great that an entire day did not suffice for him to receive them.

Matters now remained rather tranquil for a few years. In 661 the tribune M. Livius Drusus, the son of the opponent of C. Gracchus, a young man of many estimable qualities but of great pride and arrogance, brought forward a series of measures by which he proposed to remedy the evils of the state, and restore the authority of the senate*. In the first place the knights had not exercised the exclusive right of acting as judges, given to them by the Sempronian law, one whit more impartially than the senators had done. Of this the late condemnation of P. Rutilius had been a glaring instance. Rutilius, one of the most upright and honourable men of his time, had been both quæstor and legate in Asia, and he had exerted himself in defending the provincials against the abominable oppressions and extortions of the publicans. This drew on him the hatred of the whole equestrian order, a charge of extortion was got up against him, the judges joyfully found him guilty, and he was obliged to go into exile. Drusus now brought in a bill, by which, as the senators amounted to three hundred, an equal number should be selected from the equestrian order, and the decuries of

* "Senatus propugnator, atque, illis quidem temporibus, pæne patronus." Cic. Mil. 7. See also Diodor. Fr. xxxvi.

judges be taken out of these six hundred, and he added that they should take cognizance of cases of bribery and corruption. This just and well-meant measure gave satisfaction to no party. The senate saw in it a loss of dignity, and they dreaded the influence their new associates might acquire. The knights in general viewed it only as a plan for gradually withdrawing from them the judicial power which they had found so profitable, and they were prepared to be envious and jealous of the three hundred of their own body who might be selected. Above all, they were offended at the bribery clause, as they had thought themselves quite secure of impunity on that head.

To gain the common people at Rome Drusus proposed that the colonies in Italy and Sicily, which had been long since voted, should be formed, and that the Sempronian law for the distribution of corn should be retained. He further, whether it was what he had originally in view, or annoyed at finding his good intentions so ill received*, resolved to give the freedom of the state to all the Italians. He carried on his measures not without violence, and one evening when he returned home from the Forum, followed as usual by a great crowd, and was in his hall dismissing them, he cried out that he was wounded. A shoemaker's knife was found stuck in his thigh, but the assassin was not discovered†. "Ah! my friends and relations," said he as he lay dying, "will the republic ever have a citizen such as I†?" No judicial inquiry was instituted into this murder, and all the laws of Drusus were abrogated by a single senatus-consult, on the motion of the consul L. Marcius Philippus, as having been contrary to the auspices.

The knights resolved to push their success to the uttermost, and to break down the authority of the senate. They therefore made Drusus' colleague, the tribune Q. Varius Hybrida, a Spaniard by birth, bring in a bill to punish all those who had openly or secretly aided the Italians in their designs against the state; for, as many of the principal senators had favoured their claims, they intended in this way to drive them from the city. The other tribunes interposed; but the knights stood round them brandishing their naked daggers, and the bill was passed; and prosecutions were instantly commenced

* Vell. Pat. ii. 14.

† Cic. N. D. iii. 33. Sen. De Brev. Vit. 6.

† Vell. Pat. ii. 14.

against the leading senators. Many were condemned: others went into voluntary exile. M. Æmilius Scaurus, the chief of the senate, being accused by Varius before the people, made the following defence: "Varius of Sucro says that M. Scaurus, the chief of the senate, has excited the allies to take up arms. M. Scaurus, the chief of the senate, denies it. There is no witness. Which, Quirites, should you believe?" The tribune did not attempt to go on with the prosecution*.

The allies meantime, seeing that they had nothing now to expect from the justice of Rome, had resolved on an appeal to arms, and began secretly to make the requisite combinations among themselves. The Romans, aware of what they were meditating, sent spies to the different towns; and one of these seeing a youth led as a hostage from the town of Asculum in Picenum to another town, gave information to the proconsul Q. Servilius, who hastened thither, and sharply rebuked the Asculans for what they were doing; but they fell on and slew himself and his legate Fonteius, and then massacred all the Romans in the place, and pillaged their houses. Before, however, the confederates commenced the war, they sent to Rome requiring to be admitted to a participation in the honours and advantages of that state, to whose greatness they had so mainly contributed. The senate replied, that if they repented of what they had done, they might send a deputation, otherwise not. The confederates then resolved to try the chance of war: their army, formed from the contingents of their several states, amounted to one hundred thousand men, exclusive of the domestic forces of each state.

All the peoples of the Sabellian race, except the Sabines and Hernicans, who had long since become Roman citizens, shared in the war which now (662) broke out; in which Rome had to struggle for her existence with enemies whose troops equaled her own in number, discipline, and valour, and who had generals as skilful as those she could oppose to them. The allies chose Corfinium, the chief town of the Pelignians, for their capital, under the name of Italica †; they appointed a senate of five hundred members, two consuls, and twelve prætors. The first consuls were Q. Pompædus, or Popædus Silo, a Mar-

* Asconius on Cicero pro Scauro. Quintil. v. 12. Val. Max. iii. 7, 8. This last writer says that the charge against Scaurus was for taking bribes from king Mithridates. Curious enough, Varius himself was condemned on his own law. Cic. Brut. 89.

† Vell. Pat. ii. 16. Strabo, v. p. 241.

sian, and C. Papius Mutilus a Samnite; the former with six prætors had the command in the north and west; the latter with an equal number commanded in the south and east. Among the prætors were the following: T. Afranius, C. Pontidius, Marius Egnatius, M. Lamponius, C. Judacilius, P. Vettius Scato*, Pontius Telesinus, A. Cluentius, P. Presentæus, Herius Asinius, T. Herennius, and P. Ventidius. The war is named the Social, Marsic, or Italian war, from the names of those engaged in it.

The Roman senate made diligent preparations to meet the coming danger; the Latins, Tuscans, Umbrians, and the people of some other parts of Italy, remained faithful; and troops came from Cisalpine Gaul, and from the foreign allies. The chief command of the forces, which equaled those of the Italians in number, was given to the consuls L. Julius Cæsar and P. Rutilius Lupus; the former had as legates his brother P. Lentulus, L. Sulla, T. Didius, M. Marcellus, and M. Licinius Crassus; the legates of the other consul were C. Marius, Cn. Pompeius Strabo, Q. Servilius Cæpio, C. Perperna, and Valerius Messala.

The advantages were at first all on the side of the Italians. Vettius Scato defeated the consul Julius, and took the town of Æsernia in Samnium. Marius Egnatius took Venafrum by treachery, and destroyed two Roman cohorts that were in it. P. Presentæus defeated a force of ten thousand men under the legate Perperna, and killed four thousand of them; for which Rutilius deprived Perperna of his command, and gave what remained of his troops to C. Marius. Lamponius defeated Crassus with a loss of eight hundred men, and forced him to shut himself up in Grumentum. Papius entered Campania, and took Minturnæ, Nola, Stabiae, and Salernum; the troops in all these places entered his service, and when he laid waste the country round Nuceria, the neighbouring towns all declared for him, and augmented his forces with 10,000 foot and 1000 horse. He then laid siege to Acerræ, to whose relief the consul Julius came with 10,000 Gallic foot and a body of Moorish and Numidian troops; but Papius, sending to Venusia for a son of Jugurtha's, who was a prisoner there, clad him in purple, and showed him to the Numidians, a great number of whom deserted; and Cæsar became so dubious of the rest, that he sent them away home. When, however, Papius made an attempt on the camp of the consul, he was

* Cic. Phil. xii. 11. Appian and Velleius call him Vettius Cato.

repelled with the loss of six thousand men. Meantime Judacilius brought over all Apulia to the cause of the allies.

Rutilius and Marius advanced to the Liris, over which they threw two bridges within a short distance of each other. Vettius Scato, who was encamped opposite that of Marius, went and lay in ambush during the night at that of Rutilius; and when the Romans crossed in the morning, he drove them back with a loss of eight thousand men, Rutilius receiving a wound in the head, of which he afterwards died. But meantime Marius had crossed over and taken Vettius' camp, which obliged him to retreat. When the bodies of the consul and other men of rank were brought to Rome for interment, the sight was so dispiriting, that the senate made a decree that in future all who fell should be buried on the spot; the Italians, when they heard of it, made a similar decree.

Marius and Cæpio were directed to take the command of Rutilius' army, as no consul could now be elected in his place. Pompædus then pretended to desert to Cæpio, and urging him to advance and fall on his troops, now without a leader, led him into an ambush, where he and most of his men were slain. At the same time, as Cæsar was leading his army, said to be 30,000 foot and 5000 horse, through a defile, he was fallen on and routed by Egnatius. He escaped with difficulty to Teanum, where, having re-assembled his troops, he went and encamped over against Papius, who was still before Acerræ.

The Marsians, having attacked Marius, were driven back into some vineyards, whither he did not venture to pursue them; but Sulla, who was encamped behind the vineyards, when he heard the noise fell on the fugitives; and the entire loss of the Marsians was six thousand men. This however only exasperated that gallant people, and they soon took the field again. Judacilius, Afranius and Ventidius, having united their forces, drove Pompeius into Firmum, where, leaving Afranius to watch him, the others went away. But his legate P. Sulpicius Rufus came to his relief, and while the besieged made a sally, he fell on the camp of the besiegers and set it on fire. The Italians were defeated, and their general was slain.

In this war the conduct of Marius was little worthy of his former fame; whether in consequence of his age (he was now sixty-five), or of a nervous disorder, as he himself said, he acted with timidity and irresolution, shutting himself up in an entrenched camp, and allowing the enemy to insult him, and finally resigning his command.

The first year of the war was now drawing to a close; the senate had been obliged to allow the freedmen to be enlisted for the legions, and the Tuscans and Umbrians showed strong symptoms of an inclination to share in the revolt. The opponents to the claims of the allies were therefore forced to yield, and the consul Julius had a law passed granting the civic franchise to the Latins, and those who had not revolted; and finally to those who should lay down their arms. This prudent measure at once quieted the Tuscans.

The consuls of the next year (663) were Cn. Pompeius Strabo and M. Porcius Cato. The former defeated a body of fifteen thousand Italians who were on their march for Etruria; the slain were five thousand in number; and it being winter, more than half of those who escaped perished by hunger and the severity of the weather. His colleague was less fortunate, for about the same time, having gained some advantages over the Marsians, he made an attack on their camp at the Fucine lake, but was defeated and slain. The prætor Cosconius was defeated by the Samnites, but being joined by the prætor Luceius he again engaged, and routed them with a loss of fifteen thousand men, and their general Marius Eg-natius.

Sulla, who was one of Cato's legates, defeated the Italian general Cluentius at Pompeii in Campania, and recovered Nola. He then entered Samnium, and took the town of Æculanum. He defeated Papius near Æsernia, and took Bovianum by storm.

Pompeius having laid siege to Asculum, Judacilius, who was a native of that town, advanced with eight cohorts to its relief, sending word to the people to make a sally when they saw him. This however they neglected to do; but he forced his way in nevertheless, and seeing that there was no chance of his being able to maintain the town, he resolved not to let those escape who had turned the people against him. He seized and put them to death, and then raised a pyre in a temple, on which he placed a couch; and having feasted with his friends, and swallowed poison, he lay down, directing them to set fire to it, and he thus perished.

Fortune was now everywhere adverse to the allies; one by one they had lost their best generals; the spirit of resistance gradually died away; and they all, but the Samnites and Lucanians, submitted and received the Roman franchise; and thus after two years, ended, in the concessions that might have

obviated it, the Social war, which had cost Italy the loss of three hundred thousand of the flower of her population. To prevent the allies from acquiring a preponderance by their numbers in the Comitia, the senate, instead of distributing them in the actual tribes, formed, as was the ancient practice, eight new tribes to contain them; a measure which, though not noticed at the time, gave rise to future dissensions.

During the Social war, an event occurred at Rome which strongly shows the disregard for law, both human and divine, which then prevailed. The money-lenders were pressing hard on their debtors, and, contrary to law, insisting upon interest on interest. The prætor A. Sempronius Asellio, in the trials which took place, reminded the jurors of the law on the subject; and this so incensed the usurers, that they resolved to fall on him as he was sacrificing at the temple of Castor and Pollux in the Forum. A stone was thrown which struck the cup out of his hand; he fled for refuge to the temple of Vesta, which was hard by, but the usurers got between him and it; he then ran into a tavern, whither they pursued and killed him. Some even went into the temple, which it was not lawful to enter, thinking he had fled to the Vestals, and resolved that even so he should not escape. The senate offered a reward in money to any freeman, liberty to any slave, and a pardon to any accomplice who would give information against the murderers; but the usurers had disguised themselves so that they could not be identified; or perhaps people were too much in terror of them to give information.

The merits of Sulla in the Social war had been so great, that he was raised immediately to the consulate (664) with Q. Pompeius Rufus, and the conduct of the war against Mithridâtes, king of Pontus, was committed to him. But the envy and the cupidity of Marius were excited, and he resolved if possible to deprive him of his command. He leagued himself for this purpose with P. Sulpicius Rufus, a tribune of the people, a man of talent and a daring character, and immersed in debt; and they projected a law for transferring the command to Marius. For this purpose it was necessary to get a majority in the tribes; and, as this could not be effected as they were then constituted, Sulpicius brought in a bill for distributing the new citizens among all the tribes; for as they were highly discontented with their present position, he reckoned that they would give their votes to those who would relieve them from it. But the old citizens were not so willing

to part with their monopoly; and they employed sticks and stones against the intruders. The consuls, as the day of voting drew near, being apprehensive of further disturbance, proclaimed a *Justitium*. Sulpicius directed his adherents to come to the Forum that day with concealed daggers, and to do as he should direct them. When therefore all was ready, he called on the consuls to dissolve the *justitium* as being illegal. A tumult ensued, the daggers were drawn and brandished, and the consuls menaced. Pompeius fled; Sulla retired to consult the senate; and while he was away the Sulpician party fell on and murdered Pompeius' son, for freely speaking his mind. Sulla, unable to resist, dissolved the *justitium*, and set out for his army, which was at Nola: Sulpicius then had his bill passed forthwith, and the Mithridatic war decreed to Marius.

Sulla having assembled his troops told them all that had occurred at Rome; and as their hopes of plunder in the East were high, and they feared that Marius would have other troops and other officers, they called on him to lead them at once to Rome. He gladly obeyed, and set forth at the head of six legions. The soldiers stoned the tribunes whom Marius sent to take the command; the senate, compelled by Marius, sent two prætors to prohibit the advance of Sulla, but they narrowly escaped with their lives from the soldiery. Other embassies followed, praying Sulla not to come nearer than where he was, at the fifth milestone, Marius wishing to get time to prepare for defence. Sulla, seeing through the design, gave the promise; but he followed close on the heels of the envoys, and he himself with one legion seized the Cælian gate, while Pompeius with another secured the Colline; a third went round to the bridge, a fourth stayed without, and Sulla led the remaining two into the city. The people began to fling missiles and tiles on them from the roofs; but when Sulla threatened to set fire to the houses they desisted. Marius and his party gave them battle at the Esquiline, but were defeated; and Marius and Sulpicius, having vainly essayed to excite the slaves, fled out of the city.

Sulla next day assembled the people, and having deplored the condition into which the constitution had been brought by the arts and the violence of wicked men, proposed as the only remedy a return to the former wholesome state of things; that no measure should be brought before the people that had not been examined and approved of by the senate; and that

the voting should be by the classes, as arranged by king Servius, and not by the tribes. He then, as the senate was so much reduced, selected three hundred of the most respectable men to augment it. All the late measures of Sulpicius were declared illegal, and himself and the elder and younger Marius, and about twelve other senators, were outlawed, and their property confiscated.

Sulpicius was betrayed by a slave, and was put to death. Marius escaped in the night to Ostia, where one of his friends had provided a vessel for him in which he embarked, but a storm coming on he was obliged to land near Circeii, where, as he and his companions were rambling about, some herdsmen who knew him telling him that a party of horse had just been seen in quest of him, they got into a wood, where they passed the night without food. Next morning they set out for Minturnæ, but on turning round they saw a troop of horsemen in pursuit of them. There happened to be two vessels just then lying close in to the shore, and they ran and got aboard of them. The horsemen came to the water's edge, and called out to the crews to put Marius out, but they were moved by his entreaties, and, refusing to deliver him up, sailed away; but afterwards, reflecting on the danger they were running, they persuaded him to land at the mouth of the Liris to get some food and repose, and while he was lying asleep in the grass, they went on board, and making sail left him to his fate. He rambled about the marshes till he reached the solitary hut of an old man, whose compassion he implored. The old man led him away into the marsh, and making him lie down in a hollow spot near the river, covered him with sedge and rushes. Presently Marius heard at the hut the voices of those who were in pursuit of him, and fearing lest his host might betray him, he got up, and went and stood up to his neck in the mud and water of the marsh. Here, however, he was soon discovered, and was dragged out, naked as he was, and led to Minturnæ, and placed in confinement. The authorities there having consulted together resolved to put him to death, and a Gallic horseman* was sent to despatch him. The Gaul, when he approached the spot where he was lying in a dark room, was daunted by the fiery glare of the old warrior's eyes, and when he rose and cried with a tremendous voice, "Dost thou dare to slay Caius Marius?" he rushed out, crying, "I cannot kill Caius Marius." The magistrates then de-

* Some call him a Gaul, others a Cimbrian.

terminated not to have the blood of so great a man on their heads, and they gave him his liberty, and leading him to the coast, put him on board of a vessel to pass over to Africa. He landed at Carthage; but presently came a messenger from C. Sextilius, the governor of the province, ordering him to depart. He long sat in silence, looking sternly at the envoy, on whose inquiry of what reply he should make to the prætor, he groaned, and said, "Tell him you saw Caius Marius sitting an exile amidst the ruins of Carthage." He then retired to the little isle of Cercina, where he was joined by his son and several of his other friends, and they remained there watching the course of events.

Sulla sent back his army to Capua, in order to pass over to Greece; his colleague Q. Pompeius was to remain to protect Italy with the troops of Cn. Pompeius; but this army, probably with the approbation of their general, fell on and murdered the consul when he came to the camp, and Sulla was obliged to leave the command with Cn. Pompeius. He moreover found that the people were adverse to him, for they rejected his nephew Nonius and his friend Servius with contempt when he recommended them for office. He affected to be pleased at seeing the people exercising the liberty, for which he said they were indebted to him; and he acquiesced in the appointment of L. Cornelius Cinna, of the opposite faction, to the consulate with Cn. Octavius, who was of his own party. He tried to bind Cinna, by the solemnity of an oath, to attempt no innovation in his absence. They ascended the Capitol, and Cinna, in the ancient mode, grasping a stone, prayed that if he did not keep his engagement he might be cast out of the city as he flung away that stone*. Sulla then departed for his army.

* This was called swearing by Jupiter Lapis. See Polybius, iii. 25, 6-9. Cic. ad Fam. vii. 12. Gell. i. 21. The form of the oath is thus given by Festus (v. *Lapidem silicem*):—"Si sciens fallo, tum me Diespiter, salva urbe arceque, bonis ejiciat uti ego hunc lapidem."

CHAPTER IV.*

State of Asia.—First Mithridatic War.—Sulla in Greece.—Victories of Chæroneæ and Orchomenus.—Peace with Mithridates.—Flaccus and Fimbria.—Sedition of Cinna.—Return of Marius.—Cruelties of Marius and Cinna.—Death and character of Marius.—Return of Sulla.—His victories.—Proscriptions of Sulla.—His dictatorship and laws.—He lays down his office and retires.—His death and funeral.—His character.

THE acquisition of the kingdom of Attalus caused the Romans to become deeply interested in the affairs of the East. We will therefore now take a slight view of the political condition of Anterior Asia at this time.

After the reign of Antiochus the Great the kingdom of Syria had gone rapidly to decay. The dominions east of the Euphrates were gradually occupied by the Parthians, a people probably of Turkish race, and their empire finally extended over the whole of Persia; their princes were named Arsacids, from Arsaces, the first of their line. Another portion of the Syrian dominions was about this time seized on by Tigrânes king of Armenia, who became one of the most powerful monarchs of Asia. The kings of Bithynia and Cappadocia were dependent on the Romans; but the kingdom of Pontus on the Euxine, under its present monarch, Mithridâtes VI., a prince of great activity and talent, had risen to considerable importance. It was against this monarch that Sulla was now to direct the arms of Rome, with whom the war had originated in the following manner.

Mithridates, having, as it is said, caused the king of Cappadocia, who was married to his sister, to be murdered, claimed the guardianship of his infant nephew. His sister appealed for protection to Nicomêdes of Bithynia; but Mithridates entered Cappadocia, murdered his nephew, and seized the kingdom. The Cappadocians rebelled against him and called on the Romans. The senate declared them free, and directed them to form a republic; but knowing none but the regal form of government, they sent to entreat that they might have a king. Their wish was acceded to, and their choice fell on one Ariobarzanes. Mithridates made no opposition; but he secretly excited his son-in-law, Tigranes of Armenia, who drove

* Appian, *Mithridatica*, 1-63. Bell. Civ. i. 55-107. Velleius, ii. 20-28. Plut., *Marius*, 41-43. Sulla, 11-38. Pompeius, 6-14; the *Epitomators*.

the new monarch from his throne; and Sulla, who had just been prætor, was sent from Rome (660) to restore him. On this occasion Sulla advanced as far as the Euphrates, where Parthian ambassadors came to him proposing an alliance with Rome.

On the death of Nicomedes (661) the throne of Bithynia was disputed by his sons Nicomedes and Socrates named Chrestos; the Pontic king, in alliance with his powerful son-in-law Tigranes, supported the latter, and at the same time drove Ariobarzanes out of Cappadocia. The Romans sent (662) an embassy, headed by M. Aquilius, to restore the two kings, which was done without any attempt on the part of Mithridates to prevent it. Aquilius and his friends and followers, who had, according to the usual custom, made the kings and all the towns pay large sums of money or enormous interest for what they lent them, looking forward to the advantages to be derived from a war, required the kings to make an irruption into the dominions of Mithridates. Nicomedes unwillingly complied, on their assurance that they would aid him. Mithridates, desirous to put the Romans in the wrong, offered no resistance, but sent an embassy to complain; and on receiving an ambiguous, unsatisfactory reply, he entered and seized Cappadocia. He then sent again to the Romans, displaying his power and advising them to justice and peace; but they in indignation ordered his envoy to quit their camp, and never to return.

The Roman commissioners, with L. Cassius, the governor of the province of Asia, now took upon them, without consulting the senate and people, and in the very midst of the Social war, to make war on a most powerful monarch. They collected a force of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and divided them into three corps, with which Cassius, Aquilius, and Q. Oppius took different positions, while Nicomedes was at the head of an army of his subjects. But the Pontic generals Archelæus and Neoptolemus, two Cappadocians by birth, defeated Nicomedes; the Roman commanders successively had the same fate, and Mithridates was speedily master of the whole of Asia north of Mount Taurus; the isles of the Ægean also cheerfully submitted to his dominion, Rhodes alone remaining faithful to the Romans.

Mithridates now gave a dreadful proof of his hatred to the Romans. He sent secret orders to the people of the Greek towns on the coast to rise on a certain day and massacre all

the Romans and Italians, men, women and children, slaves and free, without mercy; and such was the hatred the Romans had brought on themselves by their insolence, oppression and extortion, that the mandate was strictly obeyed,—less, says the historian, from fear of the king than from animosity toward them. No mercy was shown, no temple was a sanctuary; those who grasped the images of the gods were torn from them; the children were slain before the face of their mothers, whose own fate was only so long deferred. The lowest calculation* gives eighty thousand as the number of those who perished. Such as escaped sought refuge in Rhodes, which Mithridates besieged by sea and land; but to no effect, as he was obliged to retire with disgrace. Meantime in Greece the Athenians, Bœotians, Achæans, and Laconians had declared for him, and Archelaüs passed over and made the Piræus his head-quarters, while an Epicurean philosopher named Aristion became the tyrant of the city by means of a garrison of two thousand men that Archelaüs had given him to guard the treasure which was transferred thither from Delos. Near Chæronêa Brutius Sura, the legate of C. Sentius, governor of Macedonia, engaged the Pontic troops for three days, and forced them to fall back to Athens.

Sulla was now (665) landed with five legions and some troops of the allies. The Bœotians returned to their allegiance to Rome; he advanced into Attica, and laid siege to Athens and the Piræus, being desirous to end the war as speedily as possible and return to Italy. He first tried to storm the Piræus, but failing in the attempt he made all kinds of machines, cutting down for that purpose the trees of the Academy and the Lycæum, and taking the sacred treasures from Epidaurus, Delphi, and Olympia. All the assaults on the Piræus were, however, gallantly repelled by Archelaüs, and as the Pontic fleet commanded the sea no want was felt; but in the city famine soon began to rage, while the misery of the wretched citizens was augmented by the insolence and cruelty of Aristion. At length the chatter of some old men, blaming him for not having secured a certain part of the wall, was overheard by the Romans, and Sulla attacked the town on that side and forced his way in. He gave orders for an indiscriminate slaughter; no age or sex was spared; the very streets ran blood, till night ended the carnage; he then granted to the prayers of his friends and the former renown of the city

* Memnon *ap.* Photius, ch. 33. Val. Max. ix. 2.

the lives of those who remained. Aristion fled to the Acropolis, but thirst soon compelled him to surrender, and he was put to death. Sulla then pressed the siege of the Piræus more vigorously than ever, and Archelaüs having at length embarked his troops, and left it to its fate, he took and burned it, without sparing its noble docks and arsenal (666).

Archelaüs meantime, in conjunction with the other generals, had assembled an army stated at one hundred and twenty thousand men, with which he encamped near Chæronea. Sulla led his troops into Bœotia. The Pontic general, knowing the inferiority of his soldiers, wished to avoid an action, but the impetuosity of some of the other officers was not to be restrained; they gave battle to disadvantage, and sustained so entire a defeat, that only ten thousand men, it is said, of the whole army escaped, while we are assured that the Romans lost but thirteen men! Archelaüs fled to Eubœa, and soon after Mithridates having sent another army of eighty thousand men under a general named Dorylaüs into Greece, he joined it, and taking the command encamped at Orchomenus. Sulla, seeing the fine plain which extends thence to Lake Copâis so well adapted for the action of the enemies' numerous cavalry, dug trenches through it ten feet wide to impede them. Archelaüs, observing what he was about, made a charge; the Romans were giving way, when Sulla, jumping from his horse, seized a standard, and advancing alone with it cried out, "If any ask you, Romans, where you left your general, say fighting at Orchomenus." Shame took place of fear, the troops turned, Sulla sprang again to horse, the enemies were driven to their camp with a loss of fifteen thousand men, and next day the camp was stormed, and those who were in it were slaughtered or driven into the marshes, where they were drowned. Archelaüs fled to Chalcis in Eubœa, and Sulla retired to Thesaly for the winter.

Meantime matters at Rome had taken a turn highly unfavourable to Sulla, and his friends came flying for safety to his camp (667). He was therefore anxious to terminate the war, and gladly hearkened to the proposal of an interview with Archelaüs for that purpose. The Pontic general, who knew his situation, proposed that he should give up all designs on Asia and return to the civil war in Italy, for which Mithridates would supply him with money, ships, and troops. This being indignantly rejected, it was agreed that the king should restore all his conquests in Asia, pay two thousand talents, and fur-

nish seventy ships fully equipped, and then be secured in his other dominions and declared an ally of Rome. Sulla then, accompanied by Archelaüs, set out for the Hellespont; but envoys came from Mithridates refusing to give up Paphlagonia. This roused the indignation of Sulla. Archelaüs craved permission to go to his master; and an interview between Sulla and Mithridates having taken place at Dardanum (668), all was arranged as Sulla desired. He excused himself to his soldiers for not exacting more satisfaction for the blood of so many myriads of Roman citizens, by telling them that if the king and Fimbria were to unite their troops he should be unable to withstand them.

C. Flavius Fimbria was at this time in Asia, at the head of a Roman army of the Marian faction. Cinna, as we shall presently relate, having made L. Valerius Flaccus his colleague in the consulate, sent him with two legions to take the conduct of the Mithridatic war from Sulla, and, as he was not a military man, Fimbria, who was a good officer, was sent out as his legate. Fearing, as it would seem, to meet Sulla, Flaccus led his troops through Macedonia to the Hellespont, and there a quarrel taking place between him and Fimbria, the latter, having excited a sedition against him among the soldiers, whom his avarice had alienated, murdered him and took the command of the army, with which he gained some advantages over Mithridates and his son. He was encamped at Thyatira at the time of the peace, and Sulla instantly marched against him. Fimbria's troops began at once to desert, and finding that he could not rely on them, and being mortified by Sulla's refusal of a personal interview, he put an end to himself. His army then joined that of Sulla, who having regulated the affairs of Asia, rewarding those who had been faithful to Rome, and imposing such heavy fines on the rest of the towns as immersed them in debt to the usurers and became a source of incalculable misery*, set out for Greece on his return to Italy, where a new war awaited him.

For scarcely had he left Rome, when Cinna, heedless of his oath, and having, it is said, received a large bribe from them for the purpose, renewed Sulpicius' project of dividing the new citizens among all the tribes. Octavius, with the senate and the old citizens, opposed him. A large number of the new citizens armed with daggers occupied the Forum, to carry

* The whole amounted to 20,000 talents, to be paid by annual instalments in five years. *Plut. Sull. 25. Lucull. 4.*

the law by terror; but Octavius, at the head of the opposite party, also armed, came down and dispersed them. Several were slain, and Cinna having vainly essayed to excite the slaves fled from the city. The senate declared his dignity to be forfeited, and L. Cornelius Merula, the Flamen Dialis, was made consul in his place. Cinna repaired to the army at Nola, which he induced to declare for him; he also gained over several of the allied towns, which furnished him with men and money; and C. Milonius, Q. Sertorius, and others of his senatorial friends, having come from Rome and joined him, he resumed the consular ensigns and advanced against the city, which Octavius and Merula had put into a state of defence. They had also summoned Pompeius Strabo to their aid, and he was now encamped before the Colline gate. (665).

Cinna having recalled Marius, the old general embarked with his friends and made sail for Italy. He landed in Etruria, where his name and his promises respecting the places in the tribes drew about six thousand men to his standard; he then sent to Cinna, offering to serve under him. Cinna overjoyed sent him proconsular ensigns; but Marius, who still wore the dress in which he had fled from Rome, and had never cut or trimmed his hair since that time, replied that they did not become one in his condition. They divided their forces into three parts, Cinna and Cn. Carbo lying before the city, Sertorius above, Marius below it; and Marius having taken Ostia, and put its inhabitants to the sword, threw a bridge over the river so that no provisions could reach the city.

Octavius was advised to offer liberty to the slaves; but he replied that he would not give slaves a share in that country, from which, in defence of the laws, he was excluding C. Marius. Orders were sent to Q. Metellus Pius, who was acting against the Samnites, to make terms with them and come to the aid of the city. But while he hesitated to grant the terms they required, Marius sent, and promising them all they demanded, gained them over to his side, and Metellus then passed over to Africa. Ap. Claudius, a military tribune who had charge of the Janiculan, admitted Marius into the town, who then let in Cinna; but the troops of Octavius and Pompeius drove them out again. Pompeius was shortly after killed by lightning.

Famine now began to be dreaded in the city, and both slaves and free deserted in great numbers. The senate therefore

sent envoys to treat with Cinna: he asked if they came to him as consul or as a private person; they hesitated, and retired. He then encamped nearer the city, and the senate finding the desertion increase were obliged to deprive Merula of his office, and send to Cinna as consul. They only asked him to swear that there should be no slaughter; he declined to swear, but promised that he would not of his own accord be the cause of any one's death, and he desired that Octavius should leave the city lest any evil should befall him. Cinna spoke thus from his tribunal, beside which stood C. Marius in silence; but his stern look showed what he was meditating. When the senate sent to invite them to enter the city, Marius said, smiling ironically, that such was not permitted to exiles. The tribunes instantly assembled the tribes to vote his recall, but not more than three or four had voted, when he flung off the mask, entered the city at the head of a body-guard of slaves named *Bardieans*, who slew all he pointed out to them; it at length sufficing for Marius not to return any one's salute for these ruffians to murder him; and their atrocities finally rose to such a height that Cinna and Sertorius found it necessary to fall on and massacre them in their sleep.

We will enter into some details of the murders now perpetrated. Octavius, declaring that while consul he would never quit the city, retired to the *Janiculan*. Here, while he sat on his tribunal surrounded by his lictors, some horsemen sent for the purpose killed him, and cutting off his head brought it to Cinna, by whom it was fixed on the *Rostra*. C. and L. Julius, *Atilius Serranus*, P. *Lentulus*, and M. *Bæbius* were overtaken and slain as they fled. Crassus and his son being pursued, the father killed the son and then was slain himself. M. *Antonius*, the great orator, sought refuge in the house of a peasant, who having sent his slave to a tavern to get somewhat better wine than usual, the host inquired the reason; the slave whispered it to him, and he went off, and finding Marius at supper, gave him the information. Marius clapped his hands with joy, and was hardly withheld from going himself to seize his victim. He sent a tribune named P. *Annius*, who staying without sent some soldiers in to kill him; but the eloquence with which *Antonius* pleaded for his life was such that the soldiers stood as if enchanted. *Annius*, wondering at their delay, went in and himself cut off *Antonius'* head, and brought it to Marius. Q. *Ancharius*, seeing Marius about to sacrifice on the *Capitol*, and thinking he might be in a merciful mood, approached

and addressed him, but the signal was given and he was slain. L. Merula and Q. Catulus, Marius' colleague in the Cimbric war, and whom he had never forgiven, put themselves to a voluntary death. Merula opened his veins, and a tablet was found by him saying that he had previously taken off his sacred hat (*apex*), in which it was not lawful for a flamen to die*. Catulus shut himself up in a room newly plastered with lime, and burning charcoal in it suffocated himself. Nor must the fidelity of the slaves of Cornutus go without its praise, who concealed their master, and taking and dressing the corpse of some common person burned it as his, and then conveyed him away secretly to Cisalpine Gaul. All the friends of Sulla were murdered, his house was razed, his property confiscated, and himself declared an enemy. Murder, banishment, confiscation raged every day, and even sepulture was refused to the bodies of the slain. Marius, whose appetite for blood increased with indulgence, was at the end of the year made consul the seventh time with Cinna, but he died in the first month (666), while meditating new schemes of vengeance†. Cinna then had L. Valerius Flaccus, and when he heard of his murder Cn. Papirius Carbo, chosen as his colleague (667).

Caius Marius was one of those men who in particular states of society rise to eminence without being really great. His talents were purely military, his good qualities those of the mere soldier; he was temperate and free from avarice, but he was envious, jealous, ignorant, superstitious, and cruel even to ferocity. As a statesman he was contemptible, the mere tool of others, and deficient in moral courage. Even in his military capacity he was rather a good officer than a great general. In Numidia he only imitated Metellus, who had really brought the war to a conclusion; there is nothing remarkable in his conduct of the Cimbric war; and, if Sulla is to be believed, the battle of Vercellæ did him no great credit. It was party-spirit, not a sense of his superior merits, that renewed his consulates at this time; for surely Metellus, if no other, could have con-

* The office now remained vacant till 744, Dion, liv. 36; Tac. Ann. iii. 58; Suet. Octav. 31.

† Fimbria, who was at this time *quæstor*, at the funeral of Marius ordered Q. Scævola the chief pontiff to be slain. Finding that the wound was not mortal he prosecuted him, and being asked what charges he could bring against so excellent a man, he replied that of not receiving the whole weapon in his body. Cicero, Roscius Amer. 12.

ducted the Cimbric war as well as Marius. Finally, in the Social war, when opposed to able generals and good troops, his deficiencies became apparent*.

Those who had escaped from the tyranny of Marius and Cinna sought refuge with Sulla, and they were so numerous that his camp seemed to contain a senate†. Cinna and Carbo, knowing their danger, exerted themselves to the utmost to raise troops and money through Italy to oppose him. It was however carried in the senate to send an embassy to treat of peace. Orders were forwarded to Cinna to give over levying troops till Sulla's answer should arrive; to these he promised obedience, but yielded none. He assembled his troops, intending to pass over to Liburnia and oppose Sulla there; but he was shortly after killed by them in a mutiny, and Carbo remained sole consul (668)‡.

Sulla's answer now arrived, declaring his willingness to obey the senate, provided all those who had sought refuge with him were restored to their country, and himself to all his dignities and honours; but he never, he said, could be the friend of those who had perpetrated such atrocities, though the people might pardon them if they pleased; adding that he should be better able to protect himself and friends by retaining a well-affected army. His envoys however, hearing at Brundisium of the death of Cinna, did not proceed in the business. Carbo, to strengthen himself, distributed the freedmen through all the tribes, and he wished to exact hostages from all the towns and colonies in Italy, but was prevented by the senate. He also caused a decree to be passed ordering all the armies to be disbanded.

In Africa the cause of Cinna's faction was at this time triumphant, for C. Fabius, whom they had sent thither as prætor, defeated and drove out of it Q. Metellus Pius, who supported the cause of the aristocracy.

At length (669) Sulla, having regulated the affairs of Greece and Asia, embarked in sixteen hundred vessels, with an army of forty thousand men, at Patræ, and landed at Brundisium§.

* It may surprise some to find the aristocratic Cicero constantly lauding Marius; but they were natives of the same place, their families had been connected, and Cicero was a vain-glorious man.

† Dion, Frag. 126.

‡ Cinna and Carbo had made themselves consuls a second time.

§ Appian, l. 79. Velleius says 30,000 men, and Plutarch that he sailed from Dyrrhachium in 1200 ships,

He was joined by Metellus with what troops he had, and the nobility flocked to him in such numbers that scarcely any seemed left in the city. Cn. Pompeius (the son of him who had been struck by lightning), a young man of but three-and-twenty years, who had impeded the levies of Carbo in Picenum, and raised there an army of three legions on his own account, with which he had successfully opposed the troops of Carbo's generals, also came to join him. Sulla received this young man with distinguished favour, styled him *Imperator*, and always rose at his approach and uncovered his head,—honours which he showed to no one else.

Those of the other party at Rome, well aware of Sulla's merciless, unrelenting character, saw that there was no medium for them between victory and ruin; and the people in general, knowing that his victory would be followed by murders and confiscations, made every effort to resist him. The consuls therefore, L. Scipio and C. Norbanus, were enabled to enroll a force of one hundred thousand men for the war. The first battle was fought between Sulla and Norbanus at Canusium, where the latter was defeated with the loss of six thousand men, and he fled to Capua. Sulla then advanced into Campania: at Teanum he proposed a conference with Scipio about regulating the state, and he took advantage of the negotiations to gain the consul's troops, who when Sulla prepared to attack their camp all went over to him, leaving Scipio and his son alone in their tent; they were, however, dismissed in safety by Sulla, who then tried the same course with Norbanus and his troops at Capua, but without success. Carbo hastened to the defence of Rome, where he caused Metellus Pius, and all the other senators who were with Sulla, to be declared public enemies. The rest of the year was spent by both parties in augmenting their forces, in which the consuls had the advantage, being largely reinforced from the greater part of Italy and from Cisalpine Gaul. Among the events of this year (July 6) was the conflagration of the temple erected on the Capitol by the last kings of Rome.

Carbo caused himself and C. Marius, the son of the great Marius, to be chosen consuls for the next year (670). The campaign was opened with the defeat at the *Æsis*, a stream which divides Umbria from Picenum, of Carbo's legate C. Albius Carrinas by Metellus; and soon after Marius, giving battle to Sulla at Sacriportus near Signia, was overcome, in consequence of a part of his troops going over to the enemy.

Marius and the rest of his troops fled to Præneste, but when a part had gotten in, the Prænestines closed their gates lest the pursuers should enter also. Marius himself was drawn up by a rope; but those without, who were mostly Samnites, were slaughtered without mercy by Sulla; who having left Q. Lucretius Ofella to blockade the town, led his troops toward Rome. Marius, being resolved that his enemies there should not escape, had sent orders to the prætor L. Junius Brutus Damasippus to assemble the senate as if for some other purpose, and then to seize and put to death P. Antistius, P. Carbo, L. Domitius, and Q. Mucius Scævola the chief pontiff. His orders were executed; Scævola, it is said, was butchered in the vestibule of the temple of Vesta.

Sulla having led his army to the field of Mars entered the city, from which all his enemies had fled. He sold all their goods by auction, and then assembling the people lamented the necessity he was under of acting thus, and assured them that all would soon be well again. Leaving Rome he marched against Carbo, who was at Clusium in Etruria: but we need not enter into an enumeration of the various actions which now occurred in different parts; the superiority in military skill was so decided on the part of Sulla and his generals that they had the advantage in every encounter; many places submitted; the defeated armies mostly dispersed and went to their several homes; Norbanus fled to Rhodes, and Carbo to Africa.

The Samnites and Lucanians had taken a large share in the war, and now their troops under Pontius Telesinus and M. Lamponius, united with the remnants of Carbo's army under Carrinas, Marcius, and Damasippus, having made a vain attempt to relieve Præneste, advanced against Rome; Telesinus crying that "there never would be wanting wolves to ravage Italy if the wood that harboured them was not cut down." Their forces amounted to forty thousand men. Sulla returned with all speed to Rome, and late in the day (Nov. 1) a furious engagement commenced before the Colline gate. Sulla's right wing under M. Licinius Crassus was victorious, the left led by himself was driven back to the city, but the gates were shut against them and they were forced back on the enemy. The engagement lasted till late in the night. The whole number of the slain on both sides is said to have been fifty thousand, among whom was Telesinus, whose head and those of Marcius and Carrinas were cut off and exposed before Præneste. Marius, in attempting to escape by a mine from that town, was

killed by those who saw him coming out* ; others say he put an end to himself. His head was cut off and fixed on the Rostra by Sulla, who now assumed the title of Felix, or Fortunate. After his victory Sulla collected about six or eight thousand of his prisoners in the Villa Publica, near the temple of Bellona, whither he called the senate. As he was addressing them, the cries of the captives, whom the soldiers were slaughtering by his orders, reached their ears ; the fathers started, but he coolly desired them to attend to him, as it was only some rebels who were being chastised by his orders. They saw then that the tyrant was changed, not the tyranny.

Sulla and his partisans now gave a loose to their vengeance ; murders were committed all over the city ; and the Marians were not alone the victims, as several took the opportunity of killing their private enemies or their creditors†. Universal terror prevailed : at length a young man named C. Metellus ventured in the senate to ask Sulla when there was to be an end of the slaughter. "We do not ask," said he, "to save those whom you intend to destroy, but to free from apprehension those whom you mean to save." Sulla replied that he did not yet know whom he would spare. "Then tell us," said Metellus, "whom you will punish." Sulla said he would, and he at once posted (*proscripsit*) the names of eighty persons ; next day he added two hundred and twenty names, and the following day an equal number. He addressed the people, telling them that these were all he could recollect at present, but that he would add any others that occurred to him, as he was resolved to spare none who had borne any command, or aided his enemies since the day that Scipio, as he alleged, had broken his engagement with him, but that if the people obeyed him he would make a salutary change in their condition‡.

In this *proscription*, as it was named, lists of those included in it were hung up in the Forum, and a reward of 50,000 sesterces was offered for each head ; it was made a capital offence to harbour or save any of the *proscribed*. The properties of all in the proscription-lists were declared forfeit, and their children and grandchildren incapable of holding office in the state.

In the prevalent state of morals at Rome the effect of this

* Liv. Epit. lxxxviii. Vell. Pat. ii. 27. Strabo, v. 239.

† Orosius (v. 21.) gives the number already slain at 9000.

‡ Appian says he then proscribed 40 senators and 1600 knights.

proscription may be easily conceived. Men were fallen on and butchered in the face of day in the streets and in the temples, and their heads were cut off and brought before the tribunal of Sulla. Sons might be seen bearing the gory visages of their fathers, brothers those of their brothers, slaves those of their masters: wives were even known to close their doors against their own husbands.

Fresh lists soon appeared; some made interest with Sulla to have their private enemies proscribed, others those whose houses or lands they coveted. Q. Aurelius, a quiet man who had abstained from politics, reading the proscription-list one day in the Forum, saw his own name in it. "Alas!" cried he, "my Alban estate has ruined me," and he had gone but a few steps when he was followed and slain. L. Catilina, afterwards so notorious, killed his own brother, and then applied to Sulla to have his name put in the list. To evince his gratitude he soon after slew the prætor M. Marius Gratidianus with great cruelty at the tomb of Catulus, and carrying his head in his hand, presented it to Sulla at the temple of Apollo, and then went coolly before all the people, and washed his hands in the holy-water vessel of the temple*. Sulla himself always presided at the sale of the goods and properties of the proscribed, saying that he was selling his spoils†; and many of his friends, such as his step-son M. Æmilius Scaurus, and M. Licinius Crassus, were enabled to acquire immense fortunes by their purchases at these sales‡.

Sulla's atrocities were not confined to Rome. Murder and confiscations spread all through Italy; the states and towns which had aided Cinna, Carbo, or his other foes, with men, money, or in any other way, were called to a severe reckoning, their citadels and walls were pulled down, and heavy fines or taxes imposed on them. Some, especially in Samnium and Tuscany, were depopulated, and the houses and lands given to his soldiers, for whom he also founded other colonies, and thus provided his three-and-twenty legions with lands.

The great object of Sulla was to break down the democracy, and to re-establish the ancient aristocratic form of the constitution. For this purpose he resolved to revive in his own

* Cic. in Tog. Cand. Plut. Sulla, 32. See Lucan. Phars. ii. 174, with Bentley's note.

† Cicero, Rullus, ii. 21.

‡ Lepidus in his speech against Sulla (Sall. Hist. frag. i. 16.), says that himself and others were obliged to purchase the properties of the proscribed in order to escape suspicion.

person the dictatorship, which had now been out of use one hundred and twenty years. As there were no consuls he directed the senate to appoint an interrex: M. Valerius Flaccus was chosen, and acting under the directions of Sulla he proposed to the people to create him dictator for as long a time as might suffice to regulate the city and all Italy, that is, to give him the office for as long as he might choose to hold it. The people of course voted as required, and Sulla now appeared with four-and-twenty lictors and a strong guard. He allowed, however, M. Tullius and Cn. Cornelius Dolabella to be chosen consuls for the next year.

While Sulla was thus engaged in Italy, Pompeius had passed over to Sicily. Perperna, who was in the island, quitted it when he landed; and shortly after Carbo, who was coming thither from Africa, was made a prisoner and led in chains before the young general's tribunal. Pompeius, after reproaching him bitterly, ordered him to be executed, though Carbo, it is said*, when in power had befriended him and prevented his property from being confiscated. Pompeius then passed over to Africa, and having defeated Cinna's son-in-law, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and the Moorish king Iiarbas, reduced it within forty days. Though he was only a knight, and had never been consul or prætor, Sulla allowed him to triumph (671). On this occasion the dictator gave him the title of *Magnus—Great*.

We will enumerate the principal of the Cornelian laws, as those now passed by Sulla were named. First, respecting the colleges of priests, the Domitian law was repealed, and the right of co-opting their members restored to the sacred colleges; the number of the pontiffs and augurs and keepers of the Sibylline books was raised from ten to fifteen. Respecting the magistracies, no one was to be prætor before quæstor, or consul before prætor; twenty quæstors were to be chosen annually by the people†; in like manner the number of prætors was to be raised from six to eight; those who had been tribunes of the people were to be incapable of the higher offices, and the tribunes not to have the power of proposing laws. He restored the judicial power to the senators, and prohibited any one from challenging more than three jurors, and they were to give their verdict openly or secretly at the option of the accused. It was also forbidden to any governor to go out of his province or to make war without the consent of

* Val. Max. v. 3, 5. vi. 2, 8.

† Tac. Ann. xi. 22.

the senate and people. The laws against extortion in the provinces were made more strict, it being Sulla's wish to attach the provincials to the government. Sumptuary and other laws relating to morals were passed; in that against assassins especial care was taken to exempt those who had murdered the proscribed. As the senate was now greatly reduced, Sulla augmented it by three hundred members from the equestrian order, each of them being chosen by the comitia of the tribes*. He also selected ten thousand of the slaves of the proscribed, to whom he gave their liberty, and enrolled them in the tribes under the name of Cornelians†. These men were therefore always at his devotion, and his old soldiers were ready to appear when summoned; so that he was under no apprehension for his power.

Sulla showed in the case of L. Lucretius Ofella that he would have his laws obeyed, for when he saw him suing for the consulate without having been quæstor or prætor he sent to tell him to desist. Ofella taking no notice of the warning, a centurion was despatched to kill him; and when the people seized the centurion for the murder, and brought him before Sulla, he said it was done by his order, adding, "A ploughman was one time annoyed by the vermin; he stopped the plough twice and shook his coat, and when they still bit him he burned the coat not to lose his time; so I advise those who have been twice overcome not to expose themselves the third time to the fire."

During the first year of his dictatorship (671) Sulla caused himself and Metellus Pius to be chosen consuls for the following year. In 673, having had P. Servilius and Ap. Claudius elected, he, to the surprise of all men, laid down his office and retired into private life. The man who had put to death ninety senators, fifteen consulars, two thousand six hundred knights, besides having driven numbers into exile, and in whose struggle for the supremacy one hundred thousand men had perished, who had confiscated the property of towns and individuals to such an extent as had reduced thousands and thousands to beggary and desperation‡—that man dismissed

* According to Sallust (B.C. 37.) he placed some of his common soldiers in the senate. See Dionys. v. 77.

† *i.e.* they assumed Cornelius as their *nomen*, for freedmen always took the name of their patron. This act of Sulla's was the same in effect as the giving of liveries among our ancestors. See Hist. of Engl. i. 414, 8vo edit.

‡ Appian, B.C. i. 103, 104.

his lictors, walked alone about the Forum and the streets of Rome, calmly offering to account for any of his public actions ! It is said that one day a young man followed him home cursing and reviling him, and that he bore it patiently, only saying, " That youth's conduct will teach another not to lay down such an office so readily."

Sulla retired to Cumæ, where he employed his time in writing his memoirs, in hunting and fishing, and in drinking and revelling with players and musicians. He was there attacked the very next year (674) with the most odious of all diseases (*morbus pedicularis*), a judgment, one might almost say, from Heaven on him ; and one day hearing that a magistrate of the adjacent town of Puteoli was putting off the payment of a debt to the corporation expecting his death, he sent for him to his chamber and had him strangled before his eyes. The exertions he made caused him to throw up a quantity of blood, and he died that night, in the sixtieth year of his age*.

Though the Cornelian gens had hitherto always inhumed their dead, it was Sulla's desire that his body should be burnt, lest the impotent vengeance which he had exercised on the remains of Marius might in a turn of affairs be directed against his own†. After some opposition on the part of the consul Lepidus, it was decided by the senate that his corpse should be conveyed in state to Rome, and be burnt in the Field of Mars. It was carried on a golden bier, horsemen and trumpeters followed it, his old soldiers flocked from all parts to attend the procession ; they moved in military array, standards and axes preceding the bier. The priests and vestals, the senate, magistrates, and knights, came forth to meet it ; more than two thousand golden crowns, the gifts of the towns, his legions, and his friends, were borne along ; the Roman ladies contributed spices in such abundance that large figures of Sulla and a lictor were formed out of them, in addition to two hundred and twenty basketfuls which were to be flung on the pyre. The morning being lowering, the corpse was not brought out till toward evening ; but when the pyre was kindled, a strong breeze sprang up and the corpse was rapidly consumed ; an abundant rain then fell and quenched the embers, so that Sulla's good fortune seemed to attend him to the last.

Sulla composed his own epitaph, the purport of which was, that no one had ever exceeded him in serving his friends or

* It was also reported that he died by his own hand. Dion. liii. 17.

† Cicero, Laws, ii. 22. Val. Max. ix. 2, 1.

in injuring his enemies. He was a man doubtless of great talents both as a general and a statesman, but never did a more ruthless soul animate a human body than his; he was cruel, less from natural ferocity than from a calm contempt of human nature. He thoroughly despised mankind; therefore he was an aristocrat*, and therefore he ventured to lay down his power, confident that none would dare to attack him, and not in reliance on his soldiers or his Cornelians, for how could they protect him against the dagger of the assassin? In this contempt of mankind he resembled Napoleon, as he also did in his superstitious belief in fortune, and in the circumstance of having left the world an account of his actions written by himself; but Napoleon was incapable of Sulla's cold-blooded cruelty.

CHAPTER V.†

Sedition of Lepidus.—Sertorian war in Spain.—Death of Sertorius and end of the war.—Spartacian or Gladiatorial war.—Defeat and death of Spartacus.—Consulate of Pompeius and Crassus.—Piratic war.—Reduction of Crete.

THE consuls of the year in which Sulla died were Q. Lutatius Catulus of the Sullian, and M. Æmilius Lepidus of the Marian party; the latter had been chosen through the influence of Pompeius, contrary to the opinion of Sulla, who warned him of the consequences of what he had done. Events proved the dictator's foresight, for no sooner was the funeral over than Lepidus proposed a law to recall the proscribed and to rescind all the acts of Sulla. The first measure seems but barely just,

* Let us not be misunderstood; we mean that a proud man, like Sulla, who thinks thus of human nature, will be in general an aristocrat. The demagogue is usually of the same way of thinking, but he is mean enough to flatter those whom he despises. The honest democrat, on the contrary, is often a man of the most amiable and generous character, and his error is that of judging of others by himself. Bias' *maxim oĩ πλείους κακοί* ('most men are bad,' i. e. selfish,) should always be present to the mind of a politician, and he should think how *they*, not how the good, would act under any given circumstances.

† Appian, B.C. i. 107–121. Velleius, H. 29–32. Dion, xxxvi. 1–27. Plut., Sertorius, 6–27, Pompeius, 15–29, Crassus, 8–12; the Epitomators.

yet it would in fact have been a renewal of the civil war. The nobility therefore, headed by the consul Catulus, the best man of his time, opposed it. The senate, dreading the recurrence of scenes of civil war and bloodshed, made the consuls swear to refrain from arms; and as Narbonese Gaul had fallen to Lepidus as his province, they supplied him liberally with money in order to hasten his departure. He set out accordingly as if for his province, but he halted in Etruria, and drew together an army of the proscribed and others; and being joined by M. Junius Brutus, who commanded in Cisalpine Gaul, he advanced toward Rome, demanding the consulate a second time. Catulus and Pompeius took the field against him; he was defeated at the Mulvian bridge and driven back into Etruria, where he was routed a second time. He then fled to Sardinia, and he died shortly after in that island. Pompeius reduced Cisalpine Gaul, but his conduct to Brutus on this occasion was a great stain on his character: for Brutus having surrendered, had retired by his direction to a small town on the banks of the Po; and the next day a man named Geminus, sent by Pompeius, came thither and put him to death.

The Marian cause was however not yet despaired of, for Q. Sertorius, a man of first-rate talent, still upheld it in Spain. After the ruin of the cause in Italy through the folly of the consul Scipio, Sertorius, whose advice he would not follow, set out with all haste for Spain, of which he had been appointed prætor. He exerted himself to gain the affections of the people by justice and affability and by the reduction of the tributes; and knowing that Sulla would soon pursue him, he despatched a force of six thousand men to guard the Pyrenees; but treachery aided C. Annius, whom Sulla sent as proconsul (671) to Spain, and Sertorius, unable to maintain himself there, passed over to Africa, where, aiding one of the native princes, he defeated and killed Paccianus, one of Sulla's officers. While considering what further course he should take, he was invited by the Lusitanians to come and be their leader against the troops of Sulla. He gladly accepted the command; and uniting in himself the talents of a Viriathus and of a Roman general, equally adapted for the *guerilla* and the regular warfare, he speedily routed all the Roman commanders and made himself master of the country south of the Ebro. He did not disdain having recourse to art to establish his influence over the natives. Having been presented by a

hunter with a milk-white fawn, he tamed it so that it would come when called, and heeded not the noise and tumult of the camp, and he pretended that it had been the gift of a deity to him and was inspired, and revealed distant or future events. He trained his Spanish troops after the Roman manner, and having collected the children of the principal persons into the town of Osca (*Huesca*), he had them instructed in Greek and Latin literature that they might be fit for offices of state, though he had in this a further object in view, namely, that they should be hostages for the fidelity of their parents. So many Romans of the Marian party had repaired to him, that he formed a senate of three hundred members, which he called the real senate, in opposition to that of Sulla. Though his troops were mostly all Spaniards he gave the chief commands to the Romans, yet he did not thereby lose the affections of the natives.

The fame of Sertorius reached the ears of Mithridates, who was now again at war with the Romans, and he sent to him to propose an alliance, on condition of all the country which he had been obliged to surrender being restored to him. Sertorius, having assembled his senate, replied that Mithridates might if he pleased occupy Cappadocia and Bithynia, but that he could not allow him to hold the Roman province. "What would he not impose," said the king, "if sitting in Rome, when thus driven to the edge of the Atlantic he sets limits to my kingdom and menaces me with war?" The alliance however was concluded, but it came to nought.

Sulla had committed the war in Spain to Metellus Pius (673); but Metellus being only used to regular warfare, was quite perplexed by the irregular system adopted by Sertorius, and he was so hard pressed at the time of the fall of Lepidus, that Pompeius, with the consent of the senate, led his army to his aid (676). Sertorius at the same time received an accession of force, for after the death of Lepidus in Sardinia, his legate C. Perperna, having passed over to Spain with fifty-three cohorts, the remains of his army, thinking to carry on the war independently, was forced by his men to join Sertorius.

The fame of Pompeius was so great, that when it was known that he was entering Spain several towns declared for him. Sertorius having laid siege to one of these towns named Lauro, Pompeius came to its relief, and he was preparing to occupy an adjacent hill, when Sertorius anticipated him. Thinking

then that he had Sertorius in a trap between his army and the town, Pompeius sent in to tell the people to mount their walls and see Sertorius besieged. Sertorius when he heard this laughed, and said he would teach Sulla's pupil that a general should look behind as well as before, and pointed to six thousand men he had left in his camp. Pompeius feared to stir; the town surrendered before his face, and Sertorius burned it, to prove how little able Pompeius was to aid revolvers*.

At a place named Sucro (*Xucar*) Sertorius gave Pompeius battle (677), selecting the evening, as the night would be against the enemy, who knew not the country, whether victors or vanquished. He drove back the wing opposed to him under L. Afranius; then sped away to the other, where Pompeius was gaining the advantage, and defeated him. Finding that Afranius had penetrated to his camp and was plundering it, he came and drove off his troops with great loss. Next day he offered battle again; but just then Metellus came up. "If that old woman † had not come," said he, "I should have whipped this boy well, and sent him back to Rome." He then retired.

Sertorius eventually reduced his opponents to such straits that it was apprehended he would even invade Italy. Pompeius wrote word, that unless supplied with money from home he could not stand ‡; Metellus offered a large reward for Sertorius' head; and envy and treachery at length relieved them from all their fears. Perperna, who had all along been jealous of Sertorius' superiority, did his utmost to alienate the affections of the Spaniards from him by exercising severities in his name, and he organised a conspiracy against him among the Romans. He finally invited him to a feast at Osca, and there he was fallen on and murdered (680). Perperna hoped to be able to take his place, but the Spaniards having no confidence in him submitted to Pompeius and Metellus; and venturing to give battle with the troops he had remaining, he was defeated and taken. He had found among the papers of Serto-

* Plut. Sert. 18. Frontinus (*Strateg.* ii. 5, 31.) relates this matter differently, on the authority of Livy.

† Metellus was not more than fifty-six years of age, but he had given himself up to luxurious habits, and had grown very corpulent. He was an amiable man. When Calidius, who had been the means of recalling his father, stood for the prætorship, Metellus canvassed for him, and though consul, styled him his patron and the protector of his family. Cicero, *Plan.* c. 29. Val. Max. v. 2, 7.

‡ See his letter to the senate in the fragments of Sallust's History, iii. 11.

rius letters from several of the leading men at Rome inviting him to invade Italy, and these he offered to Pompeius to save his life; but Pompeius nobly and wisely burned these and all Sertorius' other papers without being read by himself or any one else, and he put Perperna to death without delay, lest he should mention names and thus give occasion to new commotions.

Thus, after a continuance of eight years, terminated the war in Spain. Meantime Italy was the scene of a contest of a most sanguinary and atrocious character.

We have already related what an enormous slave-population there was in Italy, and how hardly the slaves were treated by their masters. The passion of the Roman people for the combats of gladiators had also increased to such an extent, that it was become a kind of trade to train gladiators in schools, and hire them out to ædiles and all who wished to gratify the people with their combats; and stout strong slaves were purchased for this purpose. The cheapness of provisions in Campania made it a great seat of these schools, and there those in the school of one Cn. Lentulus Batiatus, at Capua, resolved (679) to break out, and if they could not escape to their homes, to die fighting for their liberty, rather than slaughter one another for the gratification of a ferocious populace. Their plot was betrayed, but upwards of seventy got out, and arming themselves with spits and cleavers from the adjoining cook-shops, they broke open other schools and freed those who were in them. Near the town they met a waggon laden with arms for the use of the schools in other towns; and having thus armed themselves, they took a strong position on Mount Vesuvius. Here they were joined by great numbers of slaves, and they routed the troops sent from Capua to attack them, and got possession of their arms. The chief command was given to Spartacus, a Thracian by birth who had served in the Roman army, though he had been afterwards reduced to slavery; and under him were two other gladiators, Crixus and Enomaüs.

The task of reducing the slaves was committed to the prætor P. Varinius Glaber, who sent against them his legate C. Claudius Pulcher with three thousand men. Claudius forced them to retire to the steep summit of Vesuvius, which had but one narrow approach. This he guarded straitly; but they made themselves ladders of the branches of the wild-vine, with which the hill was overgrown, and let themselves down on the other

side, and then suddenly fell on and routed the troops of the legate. Spartacus was now joined by vast numbers of the slaves who were employed as herdsmen. He armed them with such weapons as fortune offered, and he spread his ravages over all Campania and Lucania, plundering towns, villages, and country-houses. He defeated Varinius' legate Furius and his colleague Coscinius, and gained two victories over Varinius himself; but aware that his men, though brave, would not eventually be able to resist the disciplined troops of Rome, he proposed that they should march for the Alps, and if they reached them, then disperse and seek their native countries. This prudent plan was rejected by the slaves, who, as they were now forty thousand strong, looked forward to the plunder of Italy. The senate meantime, aware of the importance which the war was assuming, directed (680) the consuls L. Gellius Poplicola and Cn. Lentulus to take the field against them. The prætor Arrius engaging Crixus (who with the Germans had separated from Spartacus) in Apulia, killed him and twenty thousand of his men; but he was soon after himself defeated by Spartacus, as also were both the consuls. Spartacus was now preparing to march against Rome at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand men; but as the consuls had posted themselves in Picenum to oppose him, he gave up his design and fell back to Thurii, which he made his headquarters.

The war against Spartacus had lasted more than two years; the hopes of the Romans were in the prætor M. Licinius Crassus, to whom it was now committed (681). Six legions were raised, to which he joined those of the consuls which had fought so ill, having previously decimated a part of them. Spartacus retired, on the approach of Crassus, to the point of Rhegium, where he agreed with some Cilician pirates to transport him and his men over to Sicily, hoping to be able to rouse the slaves there again to arms. The pirates took the money, and then sailed away, leaving them to their fate. Crassus, to prevent all escape, ran a ditch and wall across from sea to sea at the neck of the peninsula of Bruttium; but Spartacus, taking advantage of a dark stormy night, made his way over the rampart. A body of Gauls or Germans which separated from him was defeated by Crassus, who soon after gave Spartacus himself a signal defeat; but the gladiator in his turn routed the quæstor and legate of the victor. The confidence which this advantage gave the slaves caused their ruin; for

they would not obey their leader and continue a desultory war, but insisted on being led against the Romans. Crassus on his part was equally anxious for a battle, as Pompeius, who at his desire had been recalled by the senate, was now on his way, probably to rob him of the glory of ending the war. The slaves were so eager for the combat that they attacked as he was pitching his camp. A general engagement ensued: Spartacus fell fighting like a hero, and his whole army was cut to pieces: about six thousand who were taken were hung by Crassus from the trees along the road from Capua to Rome. Pompeius, however, came in for some share of the glory, for he met and destroyed a body of five thousand who were endeavouring to make their way to the Alps. The Servile War, in which it is said sixty thousand slaves perished, thus terminated. Pompeius and Metellus triumphed for their successes in Spain: Crassus, on account of the mean condition of his foes, only sought the honour of an ovation.

The enormous wealth of Crassus, and his eloquence, gave him great influence in the state, and he was one of the chief props of the aristocracy; Pompeius on the other hand sought the favour of the people, whose idol he soon became. Both now stood for the consulate. Pompeius, though he had borne no previous office, as the Cornelian law required, and was several years under the legitimate age of forty-two years, was certain of his election; while Crassus could only succeed by Pompeius' asking it for him as a favour to himself. They were both chosen, but their year (682) passed away in strife and contention. Before they went out of office the people insisted on their becoming friends; and Crassus declaring that he did not think it unbecoming in him to make the first advances to one on whom senate and people had bestowed such honours at so early an age, they shook hands in presence of the people, and never again were at open enmity. In this consulate the tribunes were restored to all the rights and powers of which Sulla had deprived them; the measure proceeded from Pompeius with a view to popular favour. With his consent also the prætor L. Aurelius Cotta put the judicial power into the hands of the senators, knights, and the ærarian tribunes*; for the senators alone had shown themselves as corrupt as ever, and the knights, while the right had been exclusively theirs, had

* These were wealthy plebeians, to whom the quæstors issued the pay of the soldiers. Varro, *L. L.* v. p. 181. Festus *v.* *Ærarii*. Cato *ap.* Gellius, vii. 10.

proved no better. It was hoped, but hoped in vain, that three separate verdicts might be more favourable to justice.

Crassus now returned to his money-bags, and was wholly occupied in augmenting his already enormous wealth. Pompeius, whose passion was glory, kept rather out of the public view, rarely entering the Forum, and when he did visit it being environed by a host of friends and clients. At length the alarming extent to which the pirates of Cilicia were carrying their depredations gave him another opportunity of exercising extensive military command.

From the most remote ages piracy had been practised in various parts of the Mediterranean sea. The Athenians, in the days of their might, had kept it down in the Ægean; the Rhodians had followed their example; but when their naval power had been reduced by the Romans, the Cilicians, who had been encouraged in piracy by the kings of Egypt and Syria in their contests with each other, carried on the system to an extent hitherto unparalleled. Not only did private persons join in this profitable trade, but whole towns and islands shared in it. The slave-market at Delos was abundantly supplied by the pirates; the temples of Samothrace, Claros, and other renowned sanctuaries were plundered; towns on the coasts were taken and sacked; the piratic fleets penetrated to the straits of Gades. The freebooters landed in Italy, and carried off the Roman magistrates and the senators and their families, whom they set at heavy ransoms. They even had the audacity to make an attack on the port of Ostia: the corn-fleets destined for Rome were intercepted, and famine menaced the city.

Fleets and troops had at various times been sent against the pirates to no effect. In 674 P. Servilius put to sea with a strong fleet, and having routed their squadrons of light vessels, took several of their towns on the coast of Lycia, and reduced the country of Isauria (677), whence he gained the title of *Isauricus*. But he had hardly triumphed when the sea was again covered with swarms of pirates. M. Antonius, the son of the great orator, was then (678) sent against them, as pro-prætor, with most extensive powers; but he effected nothing; their depredations became as numerous as ever, and they even laid siege to the city of Syracuse. In this state of things the tribune A. Gabinius (685), either moved by Pompeius or hoping thereby to gain his favour, proposed that to one of the consulars should be given the command against the pirates,

with absolute power for three years over the whole sea and the coasts to a distance of fifty miles inlands, and authority to make levies and take money for the war out of the treasury and from the publicans in the provinces, and to raise what number of men he pleased. Though no one was named, all knew who was meant. The aristocratic party exerted themselves to the utmost against the law. Gabinus was near being killed in the senate-house: the people would then have massacred the senate, but they fled; and the consul C. Calpurnius Piso was indebted to Gabinus for his life. When the day for voting came, Pompeius spoke affecting to decline the invidious honour; but Gabinus, as of course had been arranged, called on the people to elect him, and on him to obey the voice of his country. Catulus, the chief of the senate, being present, Gabinus required him to speak, expecting that he would not oppose the law. The people listened in respectful silence while he argued against it; and when in conclusion, having extolled Pompeius, he asked them whom, if anything should happen to him, they would put in his place, the whole assembly cried out, "Thyself, Q. Catulus!" Finding further opposition useless, he retired. Nothing further was done at that time, but on the following day the law was passed. The tribunes L. Trebellius and L. Roscius Otho* attempted to interpose, but, like Tib. Gracchus, Gabinus put it to the vote to deprive Trebellius of his office. When seventeen tribes had voted, Trebellius gave over; Roscius, as he could not be heard, held up two fingers, to intimate that he proposed that two persons should be appointed; but such a shout of disapprobation was raised that it is said a crow flying over the Forum fell down stunned. Pompeius, who had left the town, returned in the night, and next day he called an assembly, and had various additions made to the law, which nearly doubled the force he was to have, giving him 500 ships, 120,000 foot and 5000 horse, with 24 senators to command as legates under him, and power to take as much money as he pleased out of the treasury, or from the quæstors and publicans in the provinces. Such was the general confidence in his talents and fortune, that the prices of corn and bread fell at once to their usual level.

Pompeius lost no time in making all the needful arrangements. He placed his legates with divisions of ships and troops along all the coasts from the straits of Gades to the Ægean;

* This was the author of the famous Roscian law which assigned fourteen rows of seats in the theatre to the knights.

and in the space of a few months the pirates were destroyed, or forced to take refuge in their strongholds in Cilicia. He sailed thither with a fleet in person, and the reputation of his clemency making them deem it their safest course to submit, they surrendered themselves, their strongholds, their ships, and stores; and thus, in forty-nine days after his departure from Brundisium, Pompeius terminated the Piratic War. The pirates were not deceived in their expectations: he placed them as colonists in Soli, Adana, and other towns of Cilicia which had been depopulated by Tigranes; Dyme, in Achaia, received a portion of them to cultivate its territory, which was lying waste, and others were settled on the coast of Calabria in Italy*.

In this year also the island of Crete was reduced. The Cretans, who appear so contemptible in Grecian history that one hardly knows how to give credit to the greatness of their Minôs in the mythic ages, had of late become of rather more importance. M. Antonius, when he was sent against the pirates, hoping to acquire plunder and fame in Crete, accused the Cretans, probably with justice, of being connected with them, and proceeded to invade the island; but he was repulsed with disgrace, and he died of chagrin. The Cretans, knowing that a storm would burst on them from Rome, tried to avert it by an embassy, laying all the blame on Antonius; but the terms offered by the senate were such as were beyond their power to fulfil, and they had to prepare for war. The proconsul Q. Metellus invaded their island (683): under two chiefs named Lasthenes and Panares they held out bravely for two years. The war was one of extermination on the part of Metellus, who wasted the whole island with fire and sword; and having at length reduced it, gained the honour of a triumph, and the title of *Creticus* (685).

* Servius on Virg. Geor. iv. 127.

CHAPTER VI*.

Second Mithridatic War.—Third Mithridatic War.—Victories of Lucullus.—His justice to the Provincials.—War with Tigranes.—Defeat of Tigranes.—Taking of Tigranocerta.—Invasion of Armenia.—Defeat of a Roman army.—Intrigues of Lucullus' enemies at Rome.—Manilian law.—Pompeius in Asia.—Defeat of Mithridates.—Pompeius in Armenia:—In Albania and Iberia:—In Syria and the Holy Land.—Death of Mithridates.—Return and triumph of Pompeius.

WHILE the Roman arms were occupied in Europe by the Sertorian and the other wars above related, the contest with Mithridates for the dominion of Asia still continued.

Sulla had left as proprætor in Asia L. Licinius Murena, with Fimbria's two legions under him. As was the usual practice, Murena, in hopes of a triumph, tried to stir up a war. Archelaüs, who had fled to him when he found himself suspected by his master, furnishing him with pretexts, he invaded the territories of Mithridates, who, instead of having recourse to arms, sent an embassy to Rome to complain, and Q. Calpurnius came out with orders to Murena to desist from attacking a king with whom there was a treaty. After a private conference with Calpurnius, however, Murena took no notice of the public order; and then Mithridates, finding that negotiation was of no use, took the field against him, and forced him to retire into Phrygia. Sulla, displeased at seeing the treaty he had made thus despised, sent out A. Gabinius with orders in earnest to Murena, and thus the war was ended for the present. Murena had the honour of a triumph, but how it was merited is not easy to discern.

Mithridates was well aware that he would soon be at war again; and he found the period after the death of Sulla so favourable, while the Roman arms were engaged in so many quarters, that he resolved to be the aggressor. At his impulsion his son-in-law Tigranes, of Armenia, invaded Cappadocia, and swept away three hundred thousand of its inhabitants, whom he sent to people the city of Tigranocerta, which he had lately built. Mithridates himself invaded Bithynia, which its last king, Nicomedes II., dying without heirs (678), had left to the Roman people.

* Appian, *Mithridatica*, 64 to the end. Dion, xxxvi. 28—xxxvii. 23. Plut. *Lucullus*, 7–36, *Pompeius*, 30–45.

The Pontic monarch, knowing the contest in which he was now to engage to be for his very existence, made all the preparations calculated to ensure its success. He sent to Spain and formed an alliance with Sertorius; he also made alliances with all the peoples round the Euxine: during eighteen months he caused timber to be felled in the forests of Pontus, and ships of war to be built; he hired able seamen in Phœnicia, and laid up magazines of corn in the towns of the coast; he armed and disciplined his troops in the Roman manner; and his army, we are told, amounted to 120,000 foot, 16,000 horse, with 100 sithed chariots. Still these troops were Asiatics, and little able to cope with the legions of Rome.

The war against Mithridates was committed to the consuls of the year 678, M. Aurelius Cotta and L. Licinius Lucullus, the latter of whom had been Sulla's quæstor in the first war. Cotta was soon driven by Mithridates out of his province, Bithynia, and he was besieged in Chalcedôn. When Lucullus came out he brought with him one legion from Rome, which joined with the two Fimbrian and two others already there gave him a force of thirty thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse. Mithridates, being forced by him to raise the siege of Chalcedôn, led his troops against Cyzicus, a town lying in an island joined by two bridges to the mainland. Lucullus followed him thither, and the king (by the treacherous advice of one of the Romans sent him by Sertorius, who assured him that the Fimbrian legions which had served under that general would desert,) let him without opposition occupy a hill, which enabled him to cut off his communication with the interior, so that he must get all his supplies by sea, and the winter was now at hand.

The defence of the Cyzicenes was most heroic; mounds, mines, rams, towers, and all the modes of attack then known were employed against them in vain. Mithridates finding his cavalry useless, and that it was suffering from want of forage, sent it away along with the beasts of burden, but Lucullus fell on it at the passage of the Ryndacus, killed a part, and took fifteen thousand men and six thousand horses with all the beasts of burden. A storm now came on and shattered Mithridates' fleet; all the horrors of famine were felt in his camp; still he persevered, hoping to take the town. At length he got on shipboard by night, leaving his army to make the best of its way to Lampsacus. It reached the river *Æsêpus*; but while it was crossing that stream, which was now greatly

swollen, the Romans came up and routed it with the loss of twenty thousand men (679).

A tremendous storm assailed and shattered the fleet of Mithridates, and he himself escaped with difficulty to Nicomedia, whence he sent envoys and money on all sides to raise new troops, and to induce Tigranes and other princes to give him aid. Meantime Lucullus, having overcome the Pontic fleet in the Ægean, advanced and entered Mithridates' paternal dominions, where the plunder was so abundant that a slave we are assured was sold for four drachmas and an ox for one. This however did not content the troops; they longed for the pillage of some wealthy city, and loudly blamed their general for receiving the submission of the towns. To gratify them Lucullus formed the siege of Amisus and Themiscyra; but these towns made a stout defence, and Mithridates, who was at Cabira, sent them abundant supplies of men, arms, and provisions.

These sieges lasted through the winter. In the spring (680) Lucullus, leaving Murena before Amisus, advanced against Mithridates. The king being greatly superior in cavalry, he kept along the hills, and finding a hunter in a cave, made him guide him till he came close to Cabira; he there encamped in a strong position, where he could not be forced to fight. As Lucullus drew his supplies from Cappadocia, the king, hoping by cutting them off to reduce him to extremity, sent his cavalry to intercept the convoys; but his officers were so unskillful as to make their attacks in the narrow passes instead of in the plains, where the superiority of their cavalry would be decisive; and the consequence was, that they were completely defeated, and but a small portion of their troops reached the camp. Mithridates, having lost his cavalry, in which his strength lay, resolved to fly that very night. He summoned his friends to his tent, and informed them of his design: they immediately thought only of saving their property, and were sending it off on beasts of burden. But the number of these was so great that they impeded one another in the gates; the noise called the attention of the soldiers, who finding themselves thus about to be abandoned, in their anger and terror began at once to pull down the rampart and to fly in all directions. Mithridates vainly endeavoured to restrain them; he was obliged to join in the flight. Lucullus sent his horse in pursuit, and leading his infantry against the camp, gave orders to abstain from plunder and to slay without mercy; but the former command was little heeded by the greedy soldiery, and the king himself escaped

captivity through the cupidity of his pursuers, who stopped to divide the gold with which a mule was laden. He reached Comâna, whence he repaired to Tigranes, having sent the eunuch Bacchus to Pharnacia to put all the women of his harem to death, lest they should fall into the hands of the Romans.

Lucullus having sent his brother-in-law P. Clodius to Tigranes to demand the surrender of Mithridates, proceeded (681) to reduce the Pontic towns and fortresses. Many surrendered; Amisus, Heraclêa, and others were taken; and Mithridates' son, Machares king of Bosporus, was received into friendship and alliance. The wretched condition of the people of the province of Asia next claimed the attention of Lucullus, for they were ground to dust by the avarice and oppression of the Roman usurers and publicans. The fine of 20,000 talents imposed by Sulla had by addition of interest upon interest been raised to the enormous sum of 120,000 talents; they were obliged to sell the ornaments of their temples and public places, nay, it is added, their very sons and daughters, to satisfy their remorseless creditors. The remedies devised by Lucullus were simple, just, and efficacious; he forbade more than twelve per cent. interest to be paid, cut off the portion of interest due above the amount of the capital, and assigned the creditor a fourth part of the debtor's income. In less than four years it is said all incumbrances were cleared off and the provincials out of debt! But great was the indignation of the worshipful company of knights, who farmed the revenues and lent out money; they considered themselves treated with the utmost injustice, and they hired the demagogues at Rome to attack and abuse Lucullus, and at length succeeded in depriving him of his command; but he had the blessings of the provincials and the good-will of all honest men.

P. Clodius had to go as far as Antioch on the Orontes and there to wait the arrival of Tigranes, who was in Phœnicia. While there he held secret communication with many of the towns subject to that monarch, and received their assurances of revolt when Lucullus should appear. When admitted (682) to an audience with the king, he rudely desired him to surrender Mithridates, or else to prepare for war. The offended despot set the Romans at defiance, and Clodius departed. Lucullus then returned to Pontus, and laid siege to and took the city of Sinôpe (683); and leaving one legion under Sornatius to keep possession of the country, he set out himself

with 12,000 foot and about 3000 horse to make war on the potent king of Armenia*. He reached the Euphrates, and having passed it advanced to the Tigris unopposed; then turning northwards he entered the mountains, directing his course for Tigranocerta. Meantime Tigranes was ignorant of the approach of the Romans, for as he had cut off the head of the first person who brought him tidings of it, as a spreader of false alarms, all others were deterred. At length Mithrobarzanes, one of his friends, venturing to assure him of the fact, he was ordered to take a body of horse and ride down the Romans, and to bring their leader captive; Mithrobarzanes however was defeated and slain, and Lucullus laid siege to Tigranocerta.

Tigranes, finding the danger so near, summoned troops from all parts of his empire, and assembled an immense army, containing, it is said, 150,000 heavy and 20,000 light infantry, 55,000 horse, of which 17,000 were in full armour, and 35,000 pioneers, and advanced to the relief of its capital. Mithridates and his general Taxiles, who knew by experience how ill suited Asiatic troops were to cope with Europeans, strongly urged Tigranes not to risk a general engagement, but to cut off the supplies, and thus reduce the Romans by famine. But the despot laughed these prudent counsels to scorn, and descended into the plain; and when he saw the small appearance of the Roman army, he cried "If they are come as ambassadors they are too many, if as enemies too few." Never, however, was defeat more decisive than that of the Armenian king; he himself was one of the first to fly: the earth for miles was covered with the slain and with spoils, and the Romans declared themselves ashamed of having employed their arms against such cowardly slaves. Lucullus gave all the booty to his soldiers, and then resumed the siege of Tigranocerta, which its mingled population, who had been dragged from their homes to people it, gladly put into his hands. Having taken possession of the royal treasures for himself, he gave his soldiers permission to pillage the town, and he afterwards gave them a donation of 800 drachmas a man. The inhabitants of Tigranocerta were allowed to return to their respective countries.

The fame of the justice and moderation of Lucullus caused several of the native princes to declare for him (684), and even the Parthian king sent an embassy to propose an alliance;

* Plut. Luc. 24. Appian (Mith. 84) says two legions and 500 horse, meaning perhaps only the Romans.

but Lucullus having discovered that he was dealing double, being at the same time in treaty with Tigranes, resolved to make war on him, and thus perhaps acquire the glory of having overcome the three greatest monarchs in the world. He sent to Sornatius, desiring him to join him with the troops from Pontus; but these positively refused to march; and Lucullus' own army hearing of their refusal, applauded their conduct and followed their example. Lucullus, thus forced to give up all hopes of glory from a Parthian war, as it was now midsummer, invaded Armenia anew; but when he had crossed the ridges of Taurus, and entered on the plains, he was greatly dismayed to find the corn still green in that elevated land. He however obtained a sufficient supply in the villages, and having in vain offered battle to the troops of Tigranes, he advanced to lay siege to Artaxata, the former capital of Armenia. As Tigranes' harem was in that city, he could not calmly see it invested, and he gave Lucullus battle on the road to it; but skill and discipline triumphed as usual over numbers, and he sustained a total defeat. Lucullus was desirous of following up his success and conquering the whole country, but it was now the autumnal equinox, and the snow began already to fall; the rivers were frozen and difficult to cross, and the soldiers having advanced for a few days mutilated and refused to go any further. He implored them to remain till they had taken Artaxata; but finding his entreaties to no purpose he evacuated the country, and entering Mygdonia besieged and stormed the wealthy city of Nisibis*.

Here ended the glory of Lucullus: he was disliked by his whole army; his extreme pride disgusted his officers; the soldiers hated him for the rigorous discipline which he maintained, and for his want of affability; his having appropriated to himself so much of the spoils of Tigranocerta and other places was another cause of discontent; and his own brother-in-law, Clodius, mortified at not being made more of than he was, added continual fuel to the flame, especially addressing himself to those who had served under Fimbria.

Meantime Mithridates had returned to Pontus, where he attacked and defeated M. Fabius Adrianus who commanded there, and shut him up in Cabira; but C. Valerius Triarius, who was on his way from the province to join Lucullus, came to the relief of Fabius and drove off Mithridates, whom he

* This city continued to be at intervals a Roman possession till A.D. 363. See Hist. Rom. Emp. 354 *seq.*

followed to Comagêna, where he gave him a defeat. Both sides now retired to winter-quarters. In the spring (685) Mithridates, knowing that Triarius had sent to summon Lucullus from Nisibis to his aid, did his utmost to bring on an action before he should arrive : for this purpose he despatched a part of his army to attack a fortress named Dadasa, where the baggage of the Romans lay. The soldiers, fearing the loss of their property, forced Triarius to lead them out. Before they had time to form, the barbarians assailed them on all sides, and they would have been utterly destroyed, were it not that a centurion, feigning to be one of Mithridates' soldiers, went up to him and gave him a wound in the thigh. The centurion was instantly slain, but the confusion caused by the danger of the king enabled many of the Romans to escape. Their loss however is stated at seven thousand men, among whom were twenty-four tribunes and one hundred and fifty centurions. It was rare indeed for the Romans to lose so many officers since the days of Hannibal.

Lucullus' enemies at Rome were meantime not idle ; they loudly accused him of protracting the war from ambition and avarice, and a decree of the people was procured (686), under the pretext of returning to the old practice of shortening the duration of military command, assigning to the consul M' Acilius Glabrio the province of Bithynia and Pontus, and directing that the Fimbrians and the oldest of the troops in Asia should have their discharge. Lucullus was encamped opposite the army of Mithridates when the proclamation of Glabrio arrived, announcing that he was deprived of his command, giving their discharge to those who were serving under him, and menacing with the loss of their property those who did not obey the proclamation. The Fimbrian soldiers immediately left Lucullus ; he could do nothing with those who remained ; Q. Marcius Rex, the consul of the preceding year, who was in Cilicia, declined giving him any aid, alleging that his troops would not obey him, but probably influenced by Clodius, who was also *his* brother-in-law, and to whom he had given the command of the fleet. Meantime Glabrio remained inactive in Bithynia, and the two kings recovered the whole of their dominions.

Such was the state of things in the East when the tribune C. Manilius, with the private view, it is said*, of gaining the

* "*Semper venalis et alienæ minister potentiæ*" is Velleius' character of Manilius.

favour and protection of Pompeius, brought in a bill giving him, in addition to the command and the forces he had against the pirates, the conduct of the war against Tigranes and Mithridates, with the troops and provinces which Lucullus had, and also those of the proconsuls Glabrio and Marcius,—in short, placing the whole power of the republic at his disposal. This measure was viewed with just dread and apprehension by the aristocracy, who plainly saw that the giddy thoughtless populace were thus creating a monarch, and they opposed it to the utmost. Hortensius and Catulus employed all their eloquence against it. “Look out,” cried the latter to the senate from the Rostra, “look out for some hill and precipice like our ancestors, whither you may fly to preserve our liberty*.” The bill was supported by C. Julius Cæsar and by M. Tullius Cicero,—not, says the historian†, out of regard to Pompeius or that they thought it good for the state, but because they knew it must pass; the former, who had probably already formed the plan which he afterwards executed, wished to court the populace and establish a precedent, and by heaping honours on Pompeius to make him the sooner odious to the people; the latter, a vain man, wanted to display his own importance, by showing that whatever side he took would have the superiority. The bill was passed by all the tribes, the senate did not venture to give any opposition, there was thus no longer any balance or counterpoise in the state, and the Republic was virtually at an end.

Pompeius received the intelligence of his appointment with complaints of not being allowed to retire into private life, for which he longed so much; but his very friends were disgusted with this hypoerisy, as his actions soon proved it to be. His first care was to reverse all the acts of Lucullus in order to prove to all the people there that his power was at an end; he also called all his troops from him, and took especial care to re-enroll the Fimbrians, who had shown themselves so refractory.

* Plut., Pomp. 30. It is doubtful whether the allusion is to the Sacred Mount or the Capitol.

† Dion, xxxvi. 26. This writer is frequently unjust toward Cicero. The orator on this occasion seems to have sought the favour of Pompeius; perhaps he really thought the measure necessary. He was also at all times anxious to gain favour with the knights, who were now hostile to Lucullus; and he perhaps was not unwilling to take some revenge on the nobility, who, as he was not one of themselves, endeavoured to impede him in his political career.

The two commanders then had a conference in a plain of Galatia. They at first behaved to one another with great courtesy; but they soon gave vent to their ill feeling, the one reproaching the other with his avarice, who replied by likening his rival to the bird that comes to feed on the carcases of those slain by others, as he was doing now what he had before done in the cases of Lepidus, Sertorius, and Spartacus, who had been vanquished by Catulus, Metellus, and Crassus, when he came to share their fame,—a reproach in which there was no little truth. Pompeius took all Lucullus' troops from him but sixteen hundred men, whom he knew to be inimical to him and who would be useless to himself.

Mithridates, aware of the immense force that could now be brought against him, sent to ask on what terms peace might be had. The answer was, the surrender of the deserters and his own unconditional submission. As worse could not be expected in any case, he resolved to try once more the fate of war; and assembling the deserters, and assuring them that it was on their account he refused peace, he swore eternal hostility to Rome: he then retired before the Romans, laying the country waste. Pompeius entered Armenia, and Mithridates fearing for it came and encamped on a hill opposite him, cutting off his supplies, but giving no opportunity of fighting. His position was so strong that Pompeius did not venture to attack him; by decamping however he drew him down, and then laying in ambuscade cut off several of his men. Soon after Pompeius being joined by the troops of Marcius, Mithridates broke up by night and marched for Tigranes' part of Armenia. Pompeius pursued, anxious to bring him to a battle; but as Mithridates encamped by day and marched by night, he could not succeed till they came to the frontiers: then taking advantage of the midday repose of the barbarians, Pompeius marched on before them, and coming to a hollow between hills through which they were to pass, he halted, and placed his troops on the hills. At nightfall the barbarians set forth unsuspecting of danger; it was dark night when they entered the hollow; suddenly their ears were assailed by the sound of the trumpets of the Romans, and the clashing of their arms and their shouts over their heads, and arrows, darts, and stones were showered down upon them, and then the Romans fell on with their swords and *pila*. The slaughter was great and promiscuous, as none could make any resistance in the dark; and when the moon at length rose, it favoured the

Romans by being behind their backs, and thus lengthening their shadows.

Mithridates having escaped was proceeding to Tigranes; but this king, irritated by his misfortunes, and attributing the conduct of his son, who was in rebellion against him, to the councils of Mithridates, refused him an asylum, and even, it is said, set a reward on his head. He therefore turned and directed his course for Colchis, whence he went on to the Mæotis and Bosphorus, where he caused his son Machares, who had joined the Romans, to be put to death, and employed himself in making further preparations for continuing the war. Pompeius, when he found he had passed the Phasis, gave up all thoughts of pursuit, and employed himself in founding a city named Nicopolis in the country where he had gained his victory, settling in it his wounded and invalid soldiers, and such of the neighbouring people as chose to make it their abode.

The young Tigranes had fled to Phraâtes king of the Parthians, who was his father-in-law; and as Phraates had formed an alliance with Pompeius, and promised to make a diversion in his favour, he now joined the young prince in an invasion of Armenia. They advanced and laid siege to Artaxata: the old king fled to the mountains; and Phraates, leaving a part of his forces with Tigranes to continue the siege, which seemed likely to be tedious, returned to his own dominions. The elder Tigranes then came down and defeated his son, who at first was flying to Mithridates; but learning that that monarch was himself a fugitive, he repaired to Pompeius, and became his guide into Armenia. Pompeius had passed the Araxes and was approaching Artaxata, when Tigranes, whose proposals for peace had been hitherto frustrated by his son, embraced the resolution of surrendering his capital, and coming in person as a suppliant to the Roman general. He laid aside most of the ensigns of his dignity, and approaching the camp on horseback, was preparing after the oriental fashion to ride into it, when a licitor met and told him that it was not permitted to any one to enter a Roman camp on horseback. He then advanced on foot, and coming to the tribunal of Pompeius, cast himself on the ground before him. The Roman general raised and consoled the humbled monarch; while his son, who was sitting beside the tribunal, did not rise or take any notice of him; and when Pompeius invited the king to supper, the young prince did not appear at it; conduct which drew on him the aversion of Pompeius, who next day, having heard

both parties, decided that the king should retain his paternal dominions, giving up all his conquests and paying 6000 talents, and the prince have the provinces of Gordyène and Sophène. As the treasures were in this last country, the prince claimed them, and he irritated Pompeius so much, that at length he laid him in bonds and reserved him for his triumph.

Pompeius wintered in Armenia, forming three separate camps on the banks of the Cynus (*Kûr*). Orôses, king of the neighbouring Albanians, having been in alliance with the young Tigranes, and fearing that his country would be invaded in the spring, resolved to fall on the Romans while they were separate. In the very depth of the winter, therefore, he made three simultaneous attacks on their camps; but his troops were everywhere driven off with loss, and he was obliged to sue for a truce.

When spring came (687), Pompeius advanced into the country of the Iberians, whose king was obliged to give hostages and to sue for peace. Pompeius then entered Colchis, intending to pursue Mithridates; but when he heard what difficulties he would have to encounter, he gave up the project, and returning to Albania again defeated Orôses. He then made peace with the Albanians and several of the tribes that dwelt toward the Caspian. Returning to Pontus, he received the submission of several of Mithridates' governors and officers; large treasures were put into his hands, all of which, unlike Lucullus, he delivered up to the quæstors; and he sent Mithridates' concubines uninjured to their parents and friends.

Having regulated the affairs of this part of Asia, Pompeius proceeded to take possession of the part of Syria which had been conquered by Tigranes. All the cities submitted at his approach; the Arabian emirs did him homage, and he reduced Syria to a province. In the summer of the following year (688) he was obliged to return to Armenia to the aid of Tigranes, who had been attacked by Phraates. He thence proceeded to Pontus, where he wintered.

At Damascus the next year (689) Pompeius was waited on by the two brothers Hyrcânus and Aristobûlus, who were contending for the high-priesthood at Jerusalem, and now appeared as suitors for the favour of the powerful Roman. As Pompeius inclined to the former, Aristobulus secretly retired to the Holy City, and the Roman legions entered Judæa for the first time. Knowing his inability to resist, Aristobulus gave himself up to remain as a prisoner, till the gates of Je-

rusalem should be opened and his treasures delivered up to the Romans. But when A. Gabinius, who was sent to take possession of the city, appeared, the gates were closed against him: Pompeius, accusing Aristobulus of treachery, put him into close confinement and advanced to lay siege to the city. Timber for the construction of machines was brought from Tyre; but though the friends of Hyrcanus admitted the Romans into the lower town, the temple was so bravely defended that the siege lasted three months; and it was only by taking advantage of the Sabbath, on which the superstition of the Jews would not let them defend themselves, and storming on that day, that it was taken. Pompeius, it is said, entered into the Holy of Holies of the temple, but he took away none of the sacred treasures; the priesthood was given to Hyrcanus, all the conquests made by his predecessors were taken from him, and an annual tribute was imposed on the land.

When Pompeius was about to form the siege of Jerusalem, tidings came to him of the death of Mithridates. This persevering monarch, undismayed by his reverses, had, it is said, formed the bold plan of effecting a union of the various tribes and nations dwelling from the Mæotis to the Alps, and at their head descending on Italy while Pompeius was away in Syria. His friends and officers, however, shrank from this daring project, and thought rather of making their peace with the Romans; some of them had even carried off his children, and put them into Pompeius' hands. This made the old king suspicious and cruel, and he put some of his sons to death. His son Pharnaces, fearing for himself, and expecting to get the kingdom from the Romans, conspired against him in the city of Panticapæum, where they were residing. Mithridates on learning the conspiracy sent his guards to seize the rebel, but they went over to his side, and the citizens also declared for him. Having vainly sent to ask permission to depart, and seeing that all was now over, the aged monarch retired into the palace, and taking the poison which he had always ready, he gave part of it to his two virgin daughters and drank the remainder himself. The princesses died immediately; but his own body had, it is said, been so fortified with antidotes, that the poison took little effect on him. He then implored a Gallic chief not to let him endure the disgrace of being led in triumph, and the Gaul despatched him with his sword.

Thus perished in the seventy-third year of his age, and after a contest of twenty-seven years with Rome, the king of Pon-

tus, a man certainly to be classed among those whom we denominate great. Enterprising, ambitious, of great strength and dexterity of mind and body, quick to discern advantages, unscrupulous as to means, utterly careless of human life, and therefore at times barbarously cruel, his greatness was that of an Asiatic, and his character will find many a parallel, though not many an equal, in Oriental history. As a proof of his mental powers, we are told that, ruling over twenty-two different peoples, he could converse with each of them in their own language.

Pompeius, giving up all thoughts of Arabia, of which he had proposed the conquest, returned to Pontus. At Amisus he was met by envoys bearing the submission of Pharnaces, with presents and the embalmed body of Mithridates and his royal ornaments. The Roman general, who warred not with the dead, sent the corpse for interment to Sinope. He confirmed Pharnaces in the kingdom of Bosporus, and reduced Pontus to a province; and having wintered at Ephesus, he set out (690) on his return for Italy. Great apprehension was felt at Rome, as it was surely expected that, elate with conquest and possessed of such power, he would lead his army to the city and make himself absolute. But, true to his character, on landing at Brundisium he dismissed his soldiers to their homes, only requiring them to appear at his triumph, and then, attended by his friends alone, he set out for Rome.

His triumph, which took place the following year (691) and lasted for two days, was the most magnificent Rome had as yet seen. The procession opened in the usual manner with men carrying boards on which were inscribed the names of the kings and nations against which he had carried on war, and the number of the ships he had taken or destroyed, and of the towns he had reduced or founded. The immense treasures and spoils he had won were next displayed. The images of Mithridates, the elder Tigranes, and other absent princes were carried along; the younger Tigranes, Aristobulus and other captive princes and their families walked in the procession before the conqueror, who appeared in a stately chariot, followed by his officers and his whole army, horse and foot. Contrary to the usual practice, none of the captive princes were put to death. The money brought into the treasury amounted to 20,000 talents, beside 16,000 which the general had distributed among his soldiers, the lowest sum given to any of them being 1500 drachmas.

Even before Pompeius came to Rome, a decree had been passed allowing him to wear a triumphal robe at the Circensian games, the *prætecta* at all others, and a laurel-wreath at all. He had however the modesty to take advantage but once of this decree.

CHAPTER VII.*

Catalina's conspiracy.—Arrest and execution of the conspirators.—Defeat and death of Catilina.—Honours given to Cicero.—Factious attempts at Rome.—Clodius violates the Mysteries of the Bona Dea.—His trial.

WHILE Pompeius was absent in the East, a conspiracy was discovered and suppressed at Rome, which from the rank of those engaged in it, and the atrocious means resorted to to accomplish the most nefarious objects, sets in a strong light the state of moral corruption among the Roman nobility of this time, and shows that no form of government but the single power of monarchy was adequate to maintaining the state.

L. Sergius Catilina, a member of one of the oldest patrician families, was a man of very great powers of mind and body, but from his youth familiar with every species of crime. In the time of Sulla he was the murderer of his own brother: he afterwards, it was firmly believed, put his own son out of the way, to make room for his marriage with a beautiful but abandoned woman; and he was accused of various other enormities. He had been prætor (686) in Africa, and he aspired to the consulate; but he only regarded this high office as the means of relieving his desperate circumstances, by renewing scenes of proscription, bloodshed, and robbery, similar to those in which he had acted in the days of Sulla.

Catilina had collected around him a vast number of desperadoes of every description, all bankrupts in fame and fortune, all who had been punished or feared punishment for their crimes, all in fine who had anything to hope from a revolution. He sought by every means to inveigle young men of family, and for this purpose spared no expense to gratify their propensities and vices. But it was not such alone that were en-

* Sallust, Catilina. Appian, B.C., ii. 1—7. Dion, xxxvii. 24—46. Vell. Pat. ii. 34, 35. Plut., Cicero, 10—23. Cæsar, 7—18; the Epitomators.

gaged in his designs; they were shared in by some of the first men in Rome, magistrates, senators, and knights*. In an assembly which met on one occasion at his house, when he unfolded his views, there were present, of the senatorian order, P. Lentulus Sura, C. Cethegus, P. and Ser. Sulla (all of the Cornelian gens), L. Cassius Longinus, P. Autronius, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Læca, L. Calpurnius Bestia, and Q. Curius; of the equestrian, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, and C. Cornelius. It was thought too that M. Licinius Crassus and C. Julius Cæsar knew at least of the conspiracy. Several women of rank were also engaged in it, as Catilina expected them to be useful in raising the slaves, in firing the city, in gaining over, or, if not, in murdering, their husbands. The young noblemen in general were favourably disposed to it; several leading men in the colonies and municipal towns joined in it; and it was reckoned that Sulla's soldiers, who had dissipated their gains, would be easily brought to take arms again, along with those whom he had robbed of their lands.

The meeting alluded to was held about the kalends of June, 688; and Catilina, having addressed the conspirators in the strain usual on such occasions, representing them as the most injured and unhappy of mortals, and the possessors of wealth as the most oppressive of tyrants, called on them to aid in every way to gain him the consulate; promising in return the abolition of debts, proscription of the wealthy, the possession of the lucrative priesthoods and magistracies, and rapine and plunder of every kind. It was even reported, that before they separated they bound themselves by an oath, drinking human blood mingled with wine.

A woman was the cause of the affair's coming to light. Curius, who carried on an intrigue with a lady named Fulvia, had been of late rather slighted by her, as he was not able from poverty to make her presents as heretofore; but he now completely altered his tone, boasting of the wealth he should have, and treating her with the greatest insolence. Fulvia, guessing that there must be some secret cause for such a change, never ceased till she had drawn the truth from him; and she made known what she had heard without naming her author. The nobility, whose pride had hitherto made them adverse to Cicero's getting the consulate, as he was what was called a

* "Patricium nefas" was the name given to this conspiracy by Cornelius Severus. Senec. Suasor. 6.

new man, now finding themselves menaced with ruin, and knowing him to be the only man able effectually to oppose Catilina, gave him their support, and he and C. Antonius were elected.

Catilina, though disappointed, did not despair; he resolved to stand for the consulate again (689); he exerted himself to gain more associates at Rome and throughout Italy; and having borrowed money on his own and his friends' credit, he sent it to Fæsulæ to one C. Manlius, one of Sulla's old officers, to enable him to raise troops. He also made every effort to have Cicero taken off; but this able consul went always well guarded, and having through Fulvia gained over Curius, he received regular information of Catilina's designs; he also, by giving his colleague, who was a distressed and profligate man, the choice of provinces, secured his fidelity to the state.

The day of election came, and Catilina was again foiled. He now became desperate and resolved on war, for which purpose he sent Manlius back to Fæsulæ, C. Julius to Apulia, and one Septimius to Picenum, and others to other places; then assembling the principal conspirators and upbraiding them with their inertness, he declared his intention of setting out for Manlius' army, but said that he must first have an end put to Cicero, who impeded all his plans. A senator and a knight, L. Vargunteius and C. Cornelius, forthwith offered to go that very night with armed men to the consul's house, and under pretence of saluting to murder him. Curius, as no time was to be lost, hastened to Fulvia; the consul was warned in time, and his doors were closed against the assassins. Cicero having also ascertained that Manlius was actually in arms, saw that there was no further room for delay; he laid the whole matter before the senate, and it was decreed in the usual form that the consuls should take measures for the safety of the state. The prætors and other officers were sent to Apulia and elsewhere to provide against emergencies; guards were placed at Rome; the gladiators were removed to Capua and other towns; rewards were offered for information, to a slave his freedom and 100,000 sesterces, to a freeman double that sum and a pardon.

At length Catilina, as if he were the victim of persecution, boldly entered the senate and faced his foes. Cicero's anger was roused at the sight of him; he poured forth a flood of indignant oratory: the overwhelmed traitor muttered some sentences of exculpation; the whole senate called him an

enemy and a parricide; he then flung off the mask, and in a fury crying out that he would quench the flames raised around him in the ruins of his country, he left the house and hurried to his home. Then having directed Lentulus and the others how to act, he set out that very night with a few companions for the camp of Manlius. On his way he wrote to several consulars, saying that he was going into exile at Massilia: it was however soon ascertained that he had entered the rebel camp with fasces and other consular ornaments. The senate then proclaimed him and Manlius public enemies, and offered a pardon to all those, not guilty of capital crimes, who should quit them before a certain day; but neither this nor the former decree had the slightest effect, such was the general appetite for change, for blood, and for rapine.

Lentulus meantime was exerting himself to gain associates, and as there happened to be ambassadors from the Allobroges then at Rome, come, as usual, to try if they could get redress from the senate for the oppression of the Roman governors, he made one Umbrenus sound them, and when they eagerly caught at hopes of relief, Umbrenus introduced them to Gabinius and informed them of the conspiracy, telling them the names of those engaged in it, and mentioning among others many innocent persons. They agreed on the part of their nation to join it; but afterwards when they reflected coolly on the matter, they thought the course too hazardous, and went and revealed all they knew to Q. Fabius Sanga, the patron of their state. Sanga instantly informed Cicero, who directed that they should pretend the greatest zeal for the plot, and learn as much of it as they could.

The conspirators had now arranged their plan. On a certain day Bestia, who was a tribune, was to harangue the people, throwing all the blame of the civil war now on the eve of breaking out on Cicero; the following night Statilius and Gabinius with their bands were to fire the city in twelve places, while Cethegus should watch at Cicero's doors, others at those of other men of rank, to kill them as they came out; the young noblemen were to murder their fathers; and thus having filled the city with blood and tumult, the whole party were to break out and join Catilina.

By Cicero's direction the Allobroges required an oath, sealed by the principal conspirators, to take home to their people. This was readily given them, and one T. Volturcius was directed to go with them and introduce them on the way

to Catilina, to whom he was also the bearer of a letter from Lentulus. They left Rome by night, and when they came to the Mulvian bridge they were assailed by the troops which they knew the consul had placed there: they gave themselves up at once, as also did Volturcius, seeing that resistance was in vain, and all were brought back to Rome. Cicero, having now sufficient evidence in his hands, sent for the principal conspirators and arrested them. He then called together the senate; the letters were read, the Allobroges gave their evidence; Volturcius, being promised life and liberty, made a full confession; Lentulus and the rest acknowledged their seals. It was decreed that Lentulus, who was prætor, should lay down his office, and that he and all the rest should be held in free custody. The tide of popular feeling turned completely against the conspirators when it was known that they had designed to fire the city, and every voice now extolled the consul.

In a day or two after, one L. Tarquinius was taken on his way to Catilina, and being promised his life, told the same story with Volturcius, but added, that he was sent by M. Crassus to tell Catilina not to be cast down at the arrest of Lentulus and the others, but on the contrary to advance with all speed toward the city. The information was possibly true, but such was the power and influence his wealth gave Crassus, and so many of the senators were in his debt, that it was at once voted false, and Tarquinius was ordered to be laid in chains till he should tell at whose instigation he acted. Some thought it was a plan of Autronius, that, by implicating Crassus, he might save himself and the others; others, that it was done by Cicero to keep Crassus from taking up the cause of criminals, as was his wont. Crassus himself affected to take this last view of the case. Catulus and Piso, it is said, tried, but in vain, to induce the consul to implicate Cæsar*; yet the opinion of his being concerned was so strong, that some of the knights menaced him with their swords as he came out of the senate.

Some days after (the nones of December) Cicero, having ascertained that Lentulus and Cethegus were making every exertion to induce the slaves and the rabble to rise in their favour, again assembled the senate, and put the question what should be done with those in custody, as they had already

* Sallust, *Catil.* 49. Perhaps they only wanted him to produce the evidence he possessed.

declared them guilty of treason. D. Junius Silanus, consul-elect, being, as was usual, asked the first, voted for capital punishment. When the consul put the question to C. Cæsar, prætor-elect, he rose, and in an artful speech, dissuaded from severity, and proposed that their properties should be confiscated, themselves confined in the municipal towns, and that any one who should speak in their favour to the senate or people should be held to have acted against the interests of the republic. This speech caused many to waver; but when M. Porcius Cato, one of the tribunes, rose, and displayed the guilt of the conspirators in its true colours, and the danger and impolicy of ill-timed clemency, their execution was decided on almost unanimously. Cicero that very day, having directed the Capital Triumvirs to have everything ready, himself conducted Lentulus to the prison, where he was immediately strangled by the officers*, as also were Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Cæparius. When Cicero came forth, he said, using a common euphemism, "they have lived!" in order to extinguish the hopes of such of their confederates as were in the Forum. The populace then gave a loose to their joy, and followed him home, calling him the saviour and founder of the city; and it being now evening, lights were set at the doors throughout all the streets, and the women stood on the roofs of the houses to gaze on him as he passed.

Catilina had meantime augmented his forces from two thousand men to two legions, of which however only a fourth were properly armed. On the approach of Antonius, who was sent against him, he fell back into the mountains, avoiding an action till he should hear from Rome. He also rejected the slaves, who at first were flocking to him in great numbers. But when the news of the execution of Lentulus and the others came, and he found his forces melting away,—as those whose only object had been plunder, thinking the case now desperate, were going off every day,—he tried to escape into Cisalpine Gaul with those who remained. But Q. Metellus Celer, who commanded in Picenum, being informed by deserters of his design, came and encamped at the foot of the mountains. Catilina seeing escape thus cut off, resolved to give battle at once to Antonius. He chose a position between hills on one side and rocks on the other; and having placed his best men in front, and sent away all the horses, that the danger might be equal, he prepared for action. Antonius,

* In the Tullianum. Sall. Cat. 55, see above, p. 322, note.

being either really ill of the gout, or making it a pretext, gave the command to his legate M. Petreius. Catilina and his men fought with desperation, and were slain to a man; and the loss on the part of the victors was also considerable (690).

The suppression of this conspiracy was doubtless the most glorious act of Cicero's life; and could he have controlled his vanity, which was inordinate, and left more to others the task of praising it, his fame would perhaps be purer*. Pompeius declared more than once in the senate that the safety of the state was due to Cicero, and that he himself had vainly been entitled to claim a third triumph if Cicero had not preserved a republic for him to triumph in. Crassus said on one occasion that he was indebted to Cicero for his being now a senator, a citizen, free, and alive; and that whenever he looked at his wife, his house, his country, he beheld his good deeds†. L. Gellius declared in the senate that he deserved a civic crown; and on the motion of the censor L. Aurelius Cotta a supplication‡ was decreed him,—an honour never before granted to a *togaed* citizen. Finally, he was styled by Q. Catulus the first of the senate, Father of his Country§; and several of the senators, even Cato included, joined in the appellation; and when, on going out of office, he was prevented by the tribune Q. Metellus Nepos from haranguing the people, as was usual, before he made oath that he had kept the laws, he swore aloud that through him alone the republic and the city had been saved; and the whole people averred that he had sworn the truth||.

But the party who wished the subversion of the state persisted in their efforts against him. The same Metellus, urged on by Cæsar it is said, proposed a bill to recall Pompeius with his army, in order to end the seditions caused by the attempt of Catilina and the tyranny of Cicero. As this was evidently directed against the senate, Cato tried at first, in that assembly, to soothe Metellus, reminding him of the aristocratic feelings always shown by his family; but when he found that

* "Consulatus Ciceronis non sine causa sed sine fine ab ipso laudatus," observes Seneca, *De Brev. Vit.* 5.

† Cic. *ad Att.* i. 14.

‡ Cic. *Phil.* ii. 5, 6. The *supplication* or thanksgiving (the probable origin of the *Te Deum* of modern times) was usually given only on occasion of victories over foreign enemies in the field.

§ This was the first occasion of giving this title. "Roma patrem patriæ Ciceronem libera dicit." *Juv. Sat.* viii. 244.

|| Cic. *Pis.* 3, *ad Fam.* v. 2.

this only increased his insolence, he changed his tone, and loudly declared that while *he* lived Pompeius should not bring an army into the city ; and he pointed out to the senate the evident danger of the proposed measure.

When the day of voting came, Metellus filled the Forum with strangers, gladiators, and slaves, being resolved to carry his bill by force. Cato's family and friends were under great apprehension for him ; but, fixed on doing his duty, when one of his colleagues, Q. Minucius, came and called him up in the morning, he rose and set out for the Forum. Seeing the temple of Castor occupied by gladiators, while Cæsar and Metellus sat on the Rostra, he cried, "What a bold and timid man, who has raised such a force against one unarmed man !" He then advanced to the Rostra, and took his seat between the two : numbers of well-disposed persons in the crowd cried out to him to be stout, and to those about them to stand by him in defence of their freedom. Metellus then ordered the clerk to read out the bill ; Cato forbade him. Metellus took it himself, and began to read it ; Cato snatched it from him. Metellus then began to repeat it from memory ; but Minucius put his hand on his mouth and stopped it. Metellus then ordered his gladiators to act. The people were dispersed ; Cato remained alone ; he was assailed with sticks and stones ; but Murena, whom he had one time prosecuted, threw his toga over him, and brought him into the temple of Castor. Metellus then dismissed his bandits, and was proceeding at his ease to pass his law, when the opposite party rallied and drove him and his partisans away. Cato came forth and encouraged them, and the senate met and passed a decree for the consuls to take care of the republic. Metellus having assembled the people, and uttered a tirade against the tyranny of Cato and the conspiracy against Pompeius, went off to Asia to boast to him of what he had done. The senate deprived both him and Cæsar of their offices : the latter at first disregarded the decree, and sat in court as usual ; but finding that force was about to be employed against him, he dismissed his lictors and retired to his house ; and when, two days after, a multitude repaired to him offering to re-instate him by force, he declined their services. This conduct, so unexpected, was so grateful to the senate, that they sent forthwith to thank him, and rescinded their decree*.

At the close of Cæsar's prætorship, the rites of the Bona

* Suetonius, Jul. Cæs. 16.

Dea were, according to usage, celebrated by the women in his house. At this festival no man was allowed to be present; but P. Clodius, the brother-in-law of Lucullus, a man of such profligacy of morals that the suspicion of incest with his own sisters was so strong against him that Lucullus had divorced his wife on account of it, shrank not from polluting the mysteries. He was violently enamoured of Cæsar's wife, Pompeia; and it was arranged between them, that, to elude the vigilance of her mother-in-law Aurelia, he should come disguised as a woman. He got into the house, but while Abra the slave who was the confidant was gone to inform her mistress he went roaming about, and meeting one of Aurelia's slaves was discovered by her. She gave the alarm; a search was made for the impious intruder, but by the aid of Abra he effected his escape. The affair was soon however known to every one. The senate consulted the pontiffs, and on their pronouncing it to have been impiety, the new consuls, M. Pupius Piso and M. Valerius Messala (691), were directed to bring the matter before the people. Piso, himself a man of indifferent character, and the creature of Pompeius, worked underhand against it. Clodius and his partisans exerted themselves to have a good body of the rabble in readiness to disturb the voting. The nobles, seeing how it would be, had the assembly dismissed; and on the motion of Q. Hortensius, it was resolved that the prætor and the usual judges, who were to be chosen by lot, should try the matter. Money and every other inducement were now to be employed on the judges, who were mostly embarrassed and profligate men. Crassus, as usual, was most liberal*; and out of fifty-six, thirty-one acquitted Clodius. The judges pretending fear had asked a guard from the senate. "Were you afraid," said Catulus a few days after to one of them, "that the money would be taken from you?" When Clodius in the senate afterwards said to Cicero, who had given evidence against him†, that the judges had not given him credit, "Yes," replied he, "twenty-five did; but thirty-one would not give you credit, for they received the money beforehand,"—so notorious was the man-

* Cicero ad Att. l. 16.

† Clodius had attempted to prove an *alibi*, by bringing people to swear that he had been at Interamna, sixty miles off, at the time he was said to have been in Cæsar's house; but Cicero when examined declared that he had been with him at Rome that very morning. Clodius never forgave him for not having perjured himself.

ner in which the verdict had been obtained. Cæsar, when examined on the trial, though his mother and sister had given the fullest and most satisfactory evidence, denied that he had found anything wrong. He had however divorced his wife; and on being asked why he did so, as he declared her to be innocent, he replied, "Because I will have those belonging to me as free from suspicion as from crime*." A very specious sentiment certainly! Cæsar however could have had no doubt of his wife's guilt, but he wanted to secure the aid of Clodius, whom he knew to be a bold villain, for his future projects, and he thought the purchase worth the price.

CHAPTER VIII.†

Pompeius and Lucullus.—C. Julius Cæsar.—M. Licinius Crassus.—M. Porcius Cato.—M. Tullius Cicero.—Pompeius at Rome.—Consulate of Cæsar.—Exile of Cicero.—Robbery of the king of Cyprus.—Recall of Cicero.—His conduct after his return.

As Catulus died about this time, and Hortensius did not take a very prominent part in public affairs, the leading men in the Roman state were Lucullus, Pompeius, Cæsar, Crassus, Cato and Cicero. We will now, therefore, sketch the previous history of these persons. The actions of the first two have been already related. Pompeius now only aimed at maintaining a virtual supremacy in the state: he was no tyrant by nature; but he was vain and covetous of fame, and finding himself thwarted and opposed in the senate, he courted the favour of the people. Lucullus, after his return from Asia, took little share in public affairs; he abandoned himself to luxurious enjoyments to such an excess as to have made his name proverbial. His luxury, however, was of a far more refined and elegant nature than was usual, and he was a zealous patron and cultivator of literature. He rarely visited the senate or Forum, and only when it was necessary to oppose the projects of Pompeius, with whom he was justly incensed for his treatment of him in Asia. His politics were at all times aristocratic.

* Suetonius, *Jul. Cæs.* 74.

† Appian, *B.C.* ii. 8–16. Dion, xxxviii. 1–30, xxxix. 6–11, 17–23. Vel-
leius, li. 41–45. Plut., Cicero, 1–34; Cato, 1–40; Cæsar, 11–14; Pompeius,
46–50; the Epitomators.

C. Julius Cæsar, of an ancient patrician family, was nephew by marriage to Marius, and had married the daughter of Cinna, whom, when ordered by Sulla, he refused to divorce. The dictator then would not allow him to assume the dignity of Flamen Dialis (to which he had been nominated by Marius and Cinna); deprived him of his wife's portion, and his gentile rights of inheritance; and only granted his life to the prayers of the Vestals, and of his relations Mam. Æmilius and C. Aurelius Cotta, telling them at the same time, it is said, that he would one time be the destruction of the aristocratic party, for that there were many Marii in him*. Cæsar retired to Asia, and his enemies always asserted that at this time he disgraced himself by becoming the object of the pleasure of Nicomedes king of Bithynia. On the death of Sulla he returned to Rome, and prosecuted Cn. Cornelius Dolabella for extortion in Greece; but failing to convict him, he retired to Rhodes to attend the lectures of the rhetorician Molo. On his way he was taken by pirates, and while detained by them, waiting for his ransom, he used, apparently in jest, to threaten that he would yet crucify them; but when at liberty, he collected a fleet, attacked them, and did as he had threatened. When he came back to Rome he was chosen by the people one of the military tribunes (682), and he was active in aiding Pompeius and Crassus in restoring their powers to the tribunes of the people. He then (686) went as quæstor with Antistius Vetus to Ulterior Spain; but finding no occupation there for his ambitious spirit, he obtained leave to return to Rome, and his wife Cornelia being now dead, he espoused Pompeia, a grand-daughter of Sulla's. He soon after (688) fell under a strong suspicion of being concerned with Crassus, Catilina, Piso, and others to murder a part of the senate; Crassus, it is said, was then to be dictator, and Cæsar his master of the horse. Piso being sent to Spain, Cæsar, it is added, planned a simultaneous rising with him; but the death of Piso prevented its execution. Cæsar was ædile this year, and he entertained the people with all kinds of shows at an enormous expense; and as a means of repairing his fortune, he sought the charge of reducing Egypt to the form of a province; but the nobility opposed, and to spite them he replaced on the Capitol the statues and the Cimbric trophies of Marius, which

* "*Male præcinctum puerum cavere*," was another of Sulla's cautions to his party with respect to Cæsar, who wore his toga and tunic in a loose flowing manner. Suet. Jul. Cæs., 45. Dion, xliii. 43.

Sulla had removed. Q. Catulus, observing these proceedings, exclaimed, "Cæsar assails the constitution now with engines, not by mines." Cæsar also caused to be prosecuted as murderers those who had received money out of the treasury for bringing the heads of the proscribed; and he excited T. Labienus to prosecute C. Rabirius for the murder of L. Saturninus, who was put to death by order of the senate thirty-seven years before. On the death of the chief pontiff Metellus Pius he stood for the office against Q. Catulus and P. Servilius Isauricus, two of the first men in the state, relying on the power of his money; for he had bribed to such an extent, and was thereby so immersed in debt, that when taking leave of his mother on the day of election, he said to her, "Mother, you will see your son today chief pontiff or an exile." He was elected; having had more votes in his competitor's own tribes than they had altogether. He was prætor-elect at the time of Catilina's conspiracy, and we have seen his conduct on that occasion and his union with Metellus Nepos. On the expiration of his office he was appointed proprætor in Spain; but his creditors would not let him go, till Crassus, who knew how useful he might be to him, satisfied the most urgent, and gave security to the amount of eight hundred and thirty talents to the others.

M. Licinius Crassus was a man of considerable talent and eloquence, but of insatiable avarice. In the time of Sulla he obtained by gift or purchase at low rates an immense quantity of the property of the proscribed, and he used every means to augment his wealth. He courted the people with entertainments; he lent money to his friends without interest, and to others on interest; and by these means had such a number of persons under his influence, that he possessed considerable power in the state. His eloquence gave him great advantage as an advocate, and he usually undertook the defence of those accused of crimes. Crassus had not the great talents of Cæsar, but his private character was much purer.

M. Porcius Cato, a descendant of the celebrated censor, was like him a rigid maintainer of the old Roman manners. His life was stainless, his morals austere; but he was not totally exempt from the vanity which seemed inherent in his family. Having served as a military tribune in Macedonia, and made a tour through Asia, he returned to Rome, and devoted himself to public affairs. He was first appointed to the quæstorship, and (what was, it seems, very unusual at the time,) be-

fore he entered on the duties of his office he made himself master of the laws and rules belonging to it. The clerks, who heretofore had done all the business as they pleased under the name of the ignorant young noblemen who were appointed to the office, now found matters quite altered; they attempted to thwart him, but he turned some of them out, and soon reduced them to order. He brought the treasury into a more flourishing state than it had been for some time. He made those who had received from Sulla the 50,000 sesterces for the murder of the proscribed refund, as possessing the public money unlawfully; and they were then prosecuted for the murders they had committed. Cato never was absent from a sitting of the senate or an assembly of the people; he was the first to enter, the last to leave, the senate-house; in the intervals of business he drew his cloak before his face and read, having a book always with him. When his friends, in the year 689, urged him to stand for the tribunate, he declined and retired to his estate in Lucania; but on his road meeting the train of Metellus Nepos, who was going with Pompeius' approbation to sue for the office, he paused, and having reflected on the evil Metellus might do if not vigorously opposed, he returned, offered himself as a candidate, and being elected acted as we have seen above. Cicero objected to Cato that he did not, like himself, bend to circumstances, speaking, as he terms it, as if he were in Plato's Republic and not in the dregs of Romulus*; and his observation is just; but it is perhaps this very thing that gives dignity to Cato's character: as for the republic, it was already past redemption.

M. Tullius Cicero was a native of Arpinum in the Volscian country, where his family had been connected with that of Marius. His superior talents early displayed themselves and were sedulously cultured; and though of rather a timid character, he ventured to plead the cause of Sex. Roscius, who was unjustly prosecuted for parricide by Sulla's freedman Chrysogonus and his agents, after they had robbed him of his property. Though he succeeded, Sulla testified no enmity toward him; he however some time after went to Greece for the sake of study, and of hearing the lectures of the most distinguished teachers of rhetoric. After his return he was appointed (677) frumentary quæstor for Sicily, and in this office he exhibited that spirit of humanity and justice which al-

* "Noceat interdum rei publicæ, dicit enim sicut in Platonis πολιτειᾷ, non tanquam in Romuli sæce, sententiam." Ad Att. li. 1.

ways distinguished him. In 682, when Pompeius and Crassus were consuls, Cicero, then ædile-elect, appeared as the prosecutor of the notorious C. Verres for robbery and extortion in Sicily. He was chosen prætor for the year 686. It would appear that as the haughty nobility looked down on him as being a *new man*, he now chiefly sought the favour of the people and of Pompeius; for while in office he strenuously supported the Manilian law, which was certainly not a constitutional measure. The danger caused by Catilina however drew Cicero and the aristocracy closely together; they raised him to his glorious consulate, and he ever after continued to be their ablest supporter*.

Pompeius on his return from Asia found his party in the senate not so strong as hitherto; Lucullus and Metellus Creticus were both hostile to him, Crassus bore him the old grudge, Cicero had somewhat cooled in his ardour. The first request which he had made, namely to have the consular elections for 691 deferred till he should arrive to canvass for his friend M. Pupius Piso, was refused, Cato opposing it as unconstitutional. Piso however was elected; but he does not appear to have quite answered Pompeius' purpose, being perhaps impeded by his colleague M. Valerius Messala. At the next election (691) Pompeius (Piso being his agent) actually bought the consulate for his creature L. Afranius, paying the tribes so much apiece for their votes†. Even this did not answer, as Afranius was a man of little account, and his colleague Q. Metellus Celer was personally hostile to Pompeius for having divorced his sister Mucia. What Pompeius chiefly wanted to accomplish was, to get lands for his soldiers, and to have all his acts in Asia confirmed in the mass by the senate; but Lucullus and his party insisted, with reason, that they should be gone through separately, and confirmed or not according to their merits. At Pompeius' desire the tribune L. Flavius moved an agrarian law, and to gain the people they were joined in it with the soldiers. Cicero, proposing amendments for the security of private property, and for the purchase of the lands to be divided out of the new revenues of the state, gave the bill his support; for he wished to oblige Pompeius, and he expected that it would help to remove the rabble from the city‡. But the senate was strongly opposed to it: the tribune on his

* From the year 684 till that of his death, the speeches and letters of Cicero furnish valuable materials for the history of the time.

† Cicero ad Att. i. 16. Plut. Pomp. 44.

‡ Cic. ad Att. l. 19.

side was violent ; he cast the consul Metellus into prison, and when Metellus summoned the senate thither, Flavius placed his official seat in the door and told them they must make their way through the wall. Pompeius however through shame, and fear of disgusting the people, ordered him to rise and leave the passage free. The bill appears to have been then given up.

Cæsar, who by expeditions against the Lusitanians had, as he considered, gotten sufficient materials for a triumph, and was anxious to obtain the consulate, hastened home when the time of the elections was at hand (692). As there was no room for delay, he applied to the senate for permission to enter the city before his triumph in order to canvass the people ; but Cato and his friends opposing, it was refused. Cæsar, who was not a man to sacrifice the substance for the show, gave up the triumph ; and entering the city formed a coalition with L. Lucceius, a man of wealth who was also a candidate, of which the terms were that Lucceius should distribute money in his own and Cæsar's name conjointly, and Cæsar in like manner give him a share in his influence. The nobles, when they saw this coalition, resolved to exert all their interest in favour of M. Calpurnius Bibulus, the other candidate, and, with even Cato's consent, authorised him to offer as high as Lucceius, engaging to raise the money among them. Bibulus therefore was elected with Cæsar, whose daring projects the senate thus hoped to restrain.

Cæsar, who well knew the character of Pompeius, resolved to make him and Crassus the ladder of his ambition. He represented to them how absurd their jealousy and enmity was, which only gave importance to such people as Cato and Cicero ; whereas if they three were united they might command the state. They saw the truth of what he said, and each blinded by his vanity and ambition, expecting to derive the greatest advantage from it, agreed to the coalition ; and thus was formed a Triumvirate, as it is termed, or confederacy, bound by a secret pledge that no measure displeasing to any one of the parties should be allowed to pass.

Cæsar, as soon as he entered on his office (693), introduced an agrarian law for dividing the public land among Pompeius' soldiers and the poorer citizens ; purchasing it however from the present possessors, and appointing twenty commissioners to carry the law into effect, among whom were to be Pompeius and Crassus. This law, to which they could make no objec-

tion, was highly displeasing to the adverse party in the senate, who suspected Cæsar's ulterior designs, and Cato declared strongly against any change. Cæsar ordered a lictor to drag him off to prison; he professed himself ready to go that instant, and several rose to follow him. Cæsar then grew ashamed and desisted, but he dismissed the senate, telling them he would bring the matter at once before the people; and he very rarely called the senate together during his consulate.

He then laid before the people his bill for dividing the lands of Campania, in lots of ten jugers, among twenty thousand poor citizens with three or more children*; and being desirous to have some of the principal persons to express their approbation of it, he first addressed his colleague, but Bibulus declared himself adverse to innovation; he then affected to entreat him, asking the people to join with him, as if Bibulus wished they might have it; "Then," cried Bibulus, "you shall not have it this year even if you all will it," and went away; Cæsar, expecting a similar refusal from the other magistrates, made no application to them, but bringing forward Pompeius and Crassus desired them to say what they thought of the law. Pompeius then spoke highly in favour of it, and on Cæsar and the people asking him if he would support them against those who opposed it, he cried, elate with this proof of his importance, "If any man dares to draw a sword I will raise a buckler!" Crassus also expressed his approbation, and as the coalition was a secret, the example of these two leading men induced many others to give their consent and support to the law. Bibulus however was still firm, and he was supported by three of the tribunes; and, as a means of impeding the law, he declared all the remaining days of the year *nefasti*, or holydays. When Cæsar, regardless of his proclamations, fixed a day for passing the law, Bibulus and his friends came to the temple of Castor, whence he was haranguing the people, and attempted to oppose him; but he was pushed down, a basket of dung was flung upon him, his lictors' *fascæ* were broken, his friends (among whom were Cato and the tribunes) were beaten and wounded, and so the law was passed. Bibulus henceforth did not quit his house, whence he continually issued edicts declaring all that was done on the nefast days to be unlawful. The tribune P. Vatinius, one of Cæsar's creatures, had even

* Cicero (ad Att. ii. 16.) highly disapproved of this measure. He however expected that as the land would yield but 5000 lots the people would be discontented.

attempted to drag him to prison, but he was opposed by his colleagues.

The senate were required to swear to this law, as formerly to that of Saturninus. Metellus Celer, Cato, and Cato's imitator Favonius at first declared loudly that *they* would not do so; but having the fate of Numidicus before their eyes, and knowing the inutility of opposition, they yielded to the remonstrances of their friends.

Having thus gained the people Cæsar proceeded to secure the knights, and here Cato's Utopian policy aided him. This most influential body thinking, or pretending, that they had taken the tolls at too high a rate, had applied to the senate for a reduction, but Cato insisted on keeping them to their bargain. Cæsar without heeding him or the senate reduced them at once a third, and thus this self-interested body was detached from the party of the aristocracy, and all Cicero's work undone. Cæsar now found himself strong enough to keep his promise to Pompeius, all whose acts in Asia were confirmed by the people*.

The triumvirate, or rather Cæsar, was extremely anxious to gain Cicero over to their side, on account of the influence which he possessed. But though he had a great personal regard for Pompeius he rejected all their overtures. Cæsar then resolved to make him feel his resentment, and the best mode seemed to be to let Clodius loose at him. This profligate had long been trying to become a tribune of the people, but for that purpose it was necessary he should be a plebeian, which could only be effected by adoption. His first efforts were unavailing; but when Cicero, in defending his former colleague Antonius, took occasion to make some reflections on the present condition of the commonwealth, Cæsar to punish him had the law for Clodius' adoption passed at once, Pompeius degrading himself by acting as augur on this occasion, in which all the laws and rules on the subject were violated†. This affair is said to have been done with such rapidity, that Cicero's

* It was on this occasion that Cæsar so terrified Lucullus by false accusations that he threw himself at his feet. Suet. Jul. Cæs. 20. Dion, xxxviii. 7.

† To make an adoption legal, it was necessary that the adopter should be older than the adopted, have no children, and be incapable of having any, and that there should be no collusion in the affair; all of which should be proved before the pontiffs in the *comitia curiata*. (Gell. v. 19.) Now Fonteius, who adopted Clodius, was not twenty, while his adopted son was thirty-five: he had moreover a wife and children, and the priests were never consulted.

words which gave the offence were only uttered at noon and three hours after Clodius was a plebeian !*

Some time after, a knight named L. Vettius, who had been one of Cicero's informers in the affair of Catilina, being suborned it is said by Cæsar, declared that several young noblemen had entered into a plot, in which he himself partook, to murder Pompeius ; the senate ordered him to prison ; next day Cæsar produced him on the Rostra, when he omitted some whom he had named to the senate, and added others, among whom were Lucullus and Cicero's son-in-law Piso, and hinted at Cicero himself. Vettius was taken back to prison, where he was privately murdered by his accomplices, as Cæsar said †,—by Cæsar himself, according to others‡.

The senate, to render Cæsar as innocuous as possible, had, in right of the Sempronian law, assigned the woods and roads as the provinces of the consuls on the expiration of their office. But Cæsar had no idea of being foiled thus ; and his creature, the tribune Vatinius, had a law passed by the people, giving him the province of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, with three legions, for five years ; and when on the death of Metellus Celer he expressed a wish to have Transalpine Gaul added, the senate, as he would otherwise have applied to the people, granted it to him with another legion. In order to draw the ties more closely between himself and Pompeius, he had given him in marriage his lovely and amiable daughter Julia, and he himself married the daughter of L. Calpurnius Piso, whom, with A. Gabinius, a creature of Pompeius, the triumvirs had destined for the consulate of the following year. They also secured the tribunate for Clodius ; and thus terminated the memorable consulate of Cæsar and Bibulus.

Clodius lost no time (694) in preparing for his attack on Cicero. To win the people, he proposed a law for distributing corn to them gratis ; by another law he re-established the clubs and unions§, which the senate had suppressed, and

* Suet. Jul. Cæs. 20. Orat. pro Dom. 16. Yet it seems clear, from Cicero's letters to Atticus (ii. 4-12.), that he was not in Rome at the time. The adoption took place in March or April.

† Appian, B.C. ii. 12.

‡ Suet. Jul. Cæs. 20.

§ The *sodalitates* were, properly speaking, guilds or companies of trades, and as such they had religious festivals, a common purse, officers, &c. As their members were of a very low rank in society, trade being in no repute at Rome, and as we find them mere tools of demagogues in their political capacity, we think the terms in the text will give the reader of the present day a more correct idea of them than the more dignified ones of *guilds* and *companies*.

formed new ones out of the dregs of the populace and even of the slaves; by a third law he prohibited any one from watching the heavens on assembly days*; by a fourth, to gain the profligate nobility, he forbade the censors to note any senator unless he was openly accused before them, and that they both agreed. He then made sure of the consuls, who were distressed and profligate men, by engaging to get Macedonia and Achaia for Piso as his province, and Syria for Gabinius†. Having thus, as he thought, secured the favour of the consuls, the nobility, and the people, and having a sufficient number of ruffians from the clubs and unions at his devotion, he proposed a bill interdicting from fire and water any person who, without sentence of the people, had or should put any citizen to death. Cicero, who, though he was not named, knew that he was aimed at, was so foolish and cowardly as to change his raiment, (a thing he afterwards justly regretted,) and go about supplicating the people according to custom, as if he were actually accused; but Clodius and his followers met him in all the streets, threw dirt and stones at him, and impeded his supplications. The knights, the young men, and numbers of others, with young Crassus at their head, changed their habits with him and protected him. They also assembled on the Capitol, and sent some of the most respectable of their body on his behalf to the consul Gabinius and the senate, who were in the temple of Concord; but Gabinius would not let them come near the senate, and Clodius had them beaten by his ruffians. On the proposal of the tribune L. Ninius, the senate decreed that they should change their raiment as in a public calamity; but Gabinius forbade it, and Clodius was at hand with his cut-throats, so that many of them tore their clothes, and rushed out of the temple with loud cries. Pompeius had told Cicero not to fear, and repeatedly promised him his aid; and Cæsar, whose design was only to humble him, had offered to appoint him his legate, to give him an excuse for absenting himself from the city; but Cicero suspecting his object in so doing, and thinking it derogatory to him, had refused it. He now found that Pompeius had been deceiving him, for he kept out of the way lest he should be called on to perform his promises‡. Sooner, as he says, than be the cause of civil tumult and bloodshed, he retired by night from the city, which but

* Because thunder, &c., would cause the assembly to be put off, and by this means bad measures, and good ones too, had often been stopped.

† Cic. Pis. 4, 5. Ascon. *in loco*.

‡ *Id. ib.* 31. Plut. Cic. 31.

five years before he had saved from the associates of those who now expelled him. Cæsar, who had remained in the suburbs waiting for the effect of Clodius' measures, then set out for his province. When Clodius found that Cicero was gone, he had a bill passed interdicting him from fire and water, and outlawing any person living within four hundred miles of Rome who should entertain him. He burned and destroyed his different villas and his house on the Palatine, the site of which he consecrated to Liberty ! His goods were put up to auction, but no one would bid for them ; the consuls, however, had taken possession of the more valuable portions of them for themselves.

Cicero, it is much to be lamented, bore his exile with far less equanimity than could have been wished for by the admirers of his really estimable character ; his extant letters are filled with the most unmanly complaints, and he justly drew on himself the derision of his enemies. But his was not one of those characters which, based on the high consciousness of worth, derive all their support and consolation from within ; it could only unfold its bloom and display its strength beneath the fostering sun of public favour and applause, and Cicero was great nowhere but at Rome. It was his first intention to go to Sicily, but the prætor of that island, C. Virgilius, who had been his intimate friend, wrote desiring him not to enter it. He then passed over to Greece, where he was received with the most distinguished honours, and finally fixed his residence in Macedonia, where the quæstor Cn. Plancius showed him every attention.

Having driven Cicero away, Clodius next proceeded to remove Cato, that he might not be on the spot to impede his measures. He proposed at the same time to gratify an old grudge against the king of Cyprus, the brother of the king of Egypt ; for when Clodius was in Asia he chanced to be taken by the pirates, and having no money he applied to the king of Cyprus, who being a miser, sent him only two talents, and the pirates sent the paltry sum back, and set Clodius at liberty without ransom*. Clodius kept this conduct in his mind ; and just as he entered on his tribunate, the Cypriots happening to send to Rome to complain of their king, he caused a bill to be passed for reducing Cyprus to the form of a province, and for selling the king's private property ; he added in the bill, that this province should be committed to Cato as quæstor, with præ-

* Strabo, xiv. 684.

torian power, who (to keep him the longer away from Rome) was also directed to go to Byzantium, and restore the exiles who had been driven thence for their crimes. Cato, we are assured, undertook this most iniquitous commission against his will* ; he executed it, however, most punctually. He went to Rhodes, whence he sent one of his friends named M. Canidius to Cyprus, to desire the king to resign quietly, offering him the priesthood of the Paphian goddess. Ptolemæus however preferred death to degradation, and he took poison. Cato then, not trusting Canidius, sent his nephew, M. Junius Brutus, to look after the property, and went himself to Byzantium, where he effected his object without any difficulty. He then proceeded to Cyprus to sell the late king's property ; and being resolved to make this a model-sale, he attended the auction constantly himself, saw that every article was sold to the best advantage, and even offended his friends by not allowing them to get bargains. He thus brought together a sum of 7000 talents, which he made up in vessels containing 2 talents 500 drachmas each, to which he attached a cord and cork, that they might float in case of shipwreck. He also had two separate accounts of the sale drawn out, one of which he kept, and the other he committed to one of his freedmen, but both happened to be lost, and he had not the gratification of proving his ability of making the most of a property.

When the news that Cato had entered the Tiber with the money reached Rome, priests and magistrates, senate and people, poured out to receive him ; but though the consuls and prætors were among them, Cato would not quit his charge till he had brought his vessel into the docks. The people were amazed at the quantity of the wealth, and the senate voted a prætorship to Cato, though he was under the legal age, and permission to appear at the games in a *prætecta*, of which however he took no advantage. No one thought of the iniquity of the whole proceeding ; and when Cicero, after his return, wished to annul all the acts of Clodius' tribunate, Cato opposed him, and this caused a coolness between them for some time.

Cicero had been only two months gone when his friend Ninius the tribune, supported by seven of his colleagues, made a motion in the senate for his recall. The whole house agreed to it, but one of the other tribunes interposed. Pompeius

* A Roman, it would seem, was not at liberty to refuse a charge committed to him by the state.

himself was, however, now disposed to join in restoring him, for Clodius' insolence was gone past his endurance. This ruffian had by stratagem got into his hands the young Tigranes, whom Pompeius had given in charge to the prætor L. Flavius. He had promised him his liberty for a large sum of money; and when Pompeius demanded him, he put him on board a ship bound for Asia. A storm having driven the vessel into Antium, Flavius went with an armed force to seize the prince, but Sex. Clodius, one of the tribune's bravoës, met him on the Appian Road, and, after an engagement in which several were slain on both sides, drove him off*. While Pompeius was brooding over this insult, one of Clodius' slaves was seized at the door of the senate-house with a dagger, which he said his master had given him that he might kill Pompeius†; Clodius' mob also made frequent attacks on him, so that out of real or pretended fear he resolved to keep his house till the end of the year; indeed he had been actually pursued to and besieged in it one day by a mob, headed by Clodius' freedman Damio, and the consul Gabinius had to fight in his defence‡. Pompeius therefore now resolved to befriend Cicero; and P. Sextius, one of the tribunes-elect, took a journey into Gaul to obtain Cæsar's consent. About the end of October the eight tribunes again proposed a law for his recall, and P. Lentulus Spinther, the consul-elect, spoke strongly in favour of it. Lentulus' colleague, Q. Metellus Nepos, though he had been Cicero's enemy, seeing how Cæsar and Pompeius were inclined, promised his aid, as also did all the tribunes-elect: Clodius, however, soon managed to purchase two of them, namely, Num. Quinctius and Sex. Serranus.

On the 1st of January (695) Lentulus moved the senate for Cicero's recall. L. Cotta said, that as he had been expelled without law, he did not require a law for his restoration. Pompeius agreed, but said that for Cicero's sake it would be better if the people had a share in restoring him. The senate were unanimously of this opinion, but the tribune Sex. Serranus interposed. The senate then appointed the 22nd for laying the matter before the people. When that day came, the tribune Q. Fabricius set out before it was light with a party to occupy the Rostra; but Clodius had already taken possession of the Forum with his own gladiators, and a band he had borrowed from his brother Appius, and his ordinary

* Asconius on Cic. for Milo. † Cic. Mil. 7. Pis. 12. ‡ Ascon. *ut supra*.

troop of ruffians*. Fabricius' party was driven off with the loss of several lives, another tribune, M. Cispus, was treated in a similar manner, and Q. Cicero only saved himself by the aid of his slaves and freedmen. In the picture which Cicero draws in his orations of this scene†, the Tiber and the sewers are filled with dead bodies, and the Forum covered with blood as in the time of the contest of Cinna and Octavius.

The contest was renewed with daylight, and the tribune Sextius was pierced with twenty wounds and left for dead. Clodius then, elate with his victory, burned the temple of the Nymphs, where the books of the censors were kept; and he attacked the houses of the prætor L. Cæcilius and the tribune T. Annius Milo. The latter impeached Clodius, *de vi*, but his brother Appius the prætor, and the consul Metellus, screened him, and meantime aided his suit for the ædileship, which would protect him for another year. Milo then, to repel force by force, also purchased a band of gladiators, and daily conflicts occurred in the streets.

The senate, resolved not to be thus bullied, directed the magistrates to summon well-affected voters from all parts of Italy. They came in great numbers from every town and district. Pompeius, who was then at Capua, exerted himself greatly in the affair. Encouraged by their presence the senate passed a decree in proper form for Cicero's restoration; but Clodius still was able to prevent its ratification by the people. The senate then met on the Capitol; Pompeius spoke highly in praise of Cicero; others followed him; Metellus, who had been playing a double part all through, ceased to oppose, and a decree was passed, Clodius alone dissenting. The senate met again the next day; and Pompeius and the other leading men having previously addressed the people, and told them all that had been said, the law was made ready to be laid before the centuries; on the 4th of August the centuries met on the Field of Mars, and by a unanimous vote Cicero was recalled.

That very day Cicero sailed from Dyrrhachium and the following day he landed at Brundisium. He advanced leisurely toward Rome, the people poured out from every town and village as he passed to congratulate him, and all ranks and

* These are always called the *operæ* (operatives). They were the common workmen of the city, members of the unions (*sodalitates*, see p. 395), freedmen, slaves, &c.

† Cic. Sext. 35, 36.

orders at Rome received him at the Capene gate (Sept. 4). Next day he returned thanks to the senate; and to prove his gratitude to Pompeius, he was the proposer of a law giving him the superintendence of the corn trade for a term of five years*, and Pompeius in return made him his first legate. The senate decreed that Cicero's house and villas should be rebuilt at the public expense. Cicero then asserted that as Clodius had become a plebeian in an illegal manner, all the acts of his tribunate were equally so, and should be annulled. But here he was opposed by Cato, whose vanity took alarm, and who feared lest he should lose the fame of the ability with which he had conducted the robbery of the king of Cyprus; and this produced a coolness between him and Cicero, who also was disgusted, and with reason, with the conduct of several of the other leaders of the aristocratic party, at which we need not be surprised when we find them, purely to annoy Pompeius, aiding Clodius so effectually that he was chosen ædile without opposition (696). This pest of Rome immediately accused Milo of the very crime (*de vi*) of which he had been accused himself. Pompeius appeared and spoke for Milo, and it came to a regular engagement between their respective partisans, in which the Clodians were worsted and driven off the Forum. Pompeius now saw that Crassus was at the bottom of all the insults offered him, and that Bibulus and others of the nobles were anxious to destroy his influence, and he resolved to unite himself more closely than ever with Cæsar in order to counteract their intrigues.

Cicero at this time abstained as much as he could from public affairs, attending entirely to the bar. To understand his conduct we must keep his known character in view, in which vanity and timidity were prominent; but he was also grateful, placable, and humane. He had all his life had a strong personal affection for Pompeius, and he was now full of admiration for the exploits of Cæsar in Gaul, by whom he was moreover treated with the utmost consideration, while he was disgusted with the paltry conduct of the leading aristocrats. Hence we find him, at the request of Cæsar or Pompeius, employing his eloquence in the defence of even his personal enemies, and doing things for which we sometimes must pity, sometimes despise him. It is pleasing, however, to behold

* On the motion of the tribune C. Messius it was added that Pompeius should have as extensive powers as were committed to him in the Piratic war.

the triumph of his eloquence in the defence of his friend Sextus, whom the Clodians had the audacity to prosecute *de vi*, for not having died, we may suppose, of his wounds*. Cicero also carried a motion in the senate, that as there was not money in the treasury to purchase the Campanian lands, which by Cæsar's law were to be divided, the act itself should be reconsidered. Finding, however, that this was highly displeasing to Cæsar and Pompeius, and that those who applauded him for it did it because they expected it would produce a breach between the latter and him, he thought it best to consult his interest, and therefore dropped it†.

CHAPTER IX.‡

Second consulate of Pompeius and Crassus.—Parthian war of Crassus.—His defeat and death.—Anarchy at Rome.—Death of Clodius.—Pompeius sole consul.—Trial and exile of Milo.—Gallic wars of Cæsar.

It was Cæsar's custom to return, after his summer campaigns in Gaul, to pass the winter in his Cisalpine province, in order to keep up his intercourse with Rome. He came in the present winter to Luca, on the verge of his province, whither, in the following month of April, Pompeius, Crassus, and such a number of the Roman magistrates repaired to him, that one hundred and twenty lictors have been seen at a time at his gates. It was there privately agreed by the triumvirate that Pompeius and Crassus should stand for the consulate, and that if successful, they should obtain a renewal of Cæsar's government for five years longer. As the actual consuls, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, and L. Marcus Philippus, were adverse to the triumvirate, the tribune C. Cato was directed to impede all elections for the rest of the year; and in consequence of his opposition, the consular elections were held by

* Like Scævola, see above, p. 346, *note*.

† Cicero, in a letter to P. Lentulus, the consul of the year 695 (ad Fam. i. 9.), gives a full explanation of the whole of his conduct at this time.

‡ Appian, B.C. ii. 17–25. Dion, xxxviii. 31; xl. 57. Vell. Pat. ii. 46, 47. Cæsar, Gallic Wars. Plut. Pompeius, 51–55; Crassus, 15–33; Cæsar, 15–27; Cato, 41–48; the Epitomators.

an interrex in the beginning of the next year (697). Pompeius and Crassus were chosen without opposition, for M. Cato's brother-in-law, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who alone ventured to stand, was, we are told*, attacked by their party as he was going before day to the Field of Mars, where the election was to be held: the slave who carried the torch before him was killed; others were wounded, as was Cato himself; Domitius fled home, and gave up the contest. Cato then stood for the prætorship, but the consuls, aware of the trouble he would give them if elected, made every effort to prevent him from succeeding. They bribed extensively for his opponent P. Vatinius, and procured a decree of the senate that the prætors should enter on their office at once, instead of remaining private men for sixty days, as was the usual course, to give an opportunity of accusing them if they were suspected of bribery. The first century however, when the election came, voted for Cato. Pompeius, who presided, pretended that he heard thunder, and put off the election; and the consuls took care to have Vatinius chosen on the following one. The tribune C. Trebonius then by their directions proposed a bill, giving them when out of office the provinces of Syria and the Spains for five years, with authority to raise what troops they pleased; this law, though strongly opposed in the senate, was carried, and then Pompeius proposed and carried the one he had promised Cæsar†.

The consuls having drawn lots for their provinces, or more probably arranged them by a private agreement, Syria, as he coveted, fell to Crassus; and Pompeius was equally well pleased to have the Spains, which, as being at hand, he could govern by his lieutenants, while he himself, under pretext of his office of inspector of the corn-market, might remain at Rome and enjoy the domestic happiness in which he so much delighted‡. The triumvirs not thinking it necessary to interfere, L. Domitius and Ap. Claudius were elected consuls, and Cato one of the prætors, for the following year.

Crassus, though nothing was said in the law about the Parthians, made little secret of his design to make war on them; and Cæsar, it is said, wrote encouraging him to it. Many, however, were or affected to be shocked at the injustice of

* Plut. Cato, 41.

† Of this consulate Velleius observes that, "neque petitus honeste ab his, neque probabiliter gestus est."

‡ Plut. Pomp. 53; Crass. 16. Yet Julia must have been dead at this time.

waging war against a people who had given no just cause of offence, and the tribune C. Ateius Capito was resolved to prevent his departure. Crassus begged of Pompeius to see him out of the city, as he knew he should be opposed. Pompeius complied with his request, and the people made way in silence; but Ateius meeting them, called to Crassus to stop, and when he did not heed him, sent a beadle to seize him; the other tribunes however interposed. Ateius then ran on to the gate, and kindling a fire on a portable altar, poured wine and incense on it, and pronounced direful curses on Crassus, invoking strange and terrible deities (698).

Heedless of the tribune's imprecations, Crassus proceeded to Brundisium and embarked, though the sea was rough and stormy. He reached Epirus with the loss of several of his ships, and thence took the usual route overland to Syria. He immediately crossed the Euphrates, and began to ravage Mesopotamia. Several of the Greek towns there cheerfully submitted; but instead of pushing on, he returned to Syria to winter, thus giving the Parthians time to collect their forces. He spent the winter busily engaged in amassing treasures: to a Parthian embassy which came to complain of his acts of aggression he made a boastful reply, saying that he would give an answer in Seleucia*; the eldest of the envoys laughed, and showing the palm of his hand, said, "Crassus, hairs will grow there before *you* see Seleucia."

The Roman soldiers, when they heard of the numbers of the Parthians and their mode of fighting, were dispirited; the soothsayers announced evil signs in the victims; C. Cassius Longinus, the quæstor, and his other officers, advised Crassus to pause, but in vain. To as little effect did the Armenian prince Artabâzes, who came with six thousand horse, and promised many more, counsel him to march through Armenia, which was a hilly country, and adverse to cavalry, in which the Parthian strength lay: he replied that he would go through Mesopotamia, where he had left many brave Romans in garrison. The Armenian then retired, and Crassus passed the river at Zeugma (699); thunder roared, lightning flashed, and other ominous signs, it is said, appeared; but they did not stop him. He marched along its left bank, his army consist-

* The Parthian capital was Ctesiphôn, of which Seleucia, built on the opposite side of the Tigris, was a suburb. See *Hist. of Rom. Emp.* p. 171 *note*, and p. 347.

ing of seven legions, with nearly one thousand horse, and an equal number of light troops.

As no enemy appeared, Cassius advised to keep along the river till they should reach the nearest point to Seleucia; but an Arab emir named Agbar (Akbar, *i. e.* Great), who had been on friendly terms with the Romans when Pompeius was there, now came and joined Crassus, and assuring him that the Parthians were collecting their most valuable property with the intention of flying to Hyrcania and Scythia, urged him to push on without delay. But all he said was false; he was come to lead the Romans to their ruin: the Parthian king Orôdes had himself invaded Armenia, and his general the Surêna* was at hand with a large army. Crassus, however, giving credit to the Arab, left the river and entered on the extensive plain of Mesopotamia. Cassius gave over his remonstrances: the Arab led them on, and when he had brought them to the place arranged with the Parthians, he rode off, assuring Crassus that it was for his advantage. That very day a party of horse, sent to reconnoitre, fell in with the enemy, and were nearly all killed. This intelligence perplexed Crassus, but he resolved to proceed; he drew up his infantry in a square, with the horse on the flanks, and moved on. They reached a stream, where his officers wished him to halt for the night, and try to gain further intelligence; but he would go on, and at length they came in sight of the enemy. The Surena however kept the greater part of his troops out of view, and those who appeared had their armour covered to deceive the Romans. At a signal the Parthians began to beat their numerous kettledrums; and when they thought this unusual sound had thrilled the hearts of the Romans, they flung off their coverings and appeared glittering in helms and corselets of steel, and pouring round the solid mass of the Romans, showered their arrows on them, numerous camels being at hand laden with arrows to give them fresh supplies of their missiles. The light troops vainly essayed to drive them off; Crassus then desired his son to charge with his horse and light troops. The Parthians feigning flight drew them on, and when they were at a sufficient distance from the main army turned and assailed them, riding round and round so as to raise such a dust that the Romans could not see to defend

* The Surena was the person next in rank to the king among the Parthians and the Persians: "*potestatis secundæ post regem.*" Am. Marcel. xxx. 2. See also Tac. An. vi. 42. Zosimus, iii. 15.

themselves. When numbers had been slain, P. Crassus broke through with a part of the horse, and reached an eminence, but the persevering foe gave them no rest. Two Greeks of that country proposed to P. Crassus to escape with them in the night, but he generously refused to quit his comrades. Being wounded, he made his shield-bearer kill him; the Parthians slew all that were with him but five hundred, and cutting off his head set it on a spear.

Crassus was advancing to the relief of his son when the rolling of the Parthians' drums was heard, and they came exhibiting the head of that unfortunate youth. The spirits of the Romans were now quite depressed; Crassus vainly tried to rouse them, crying that the loss was his not theirs, and urging them to renewed exertions. The Parthians after harassing them through the day retired for the night. Cassius and the legate Octavius, having tried but in vain to rouse their general, who was now sunk in despair, called a council of the officers, and it was resolved to attempt a retreat that night. The wailing of the sick and wounded who were left behind informed the Parthians, but it not being their custom to fight at night they remained quiet till morning. They then took the deserted camp, and slaughtered four thousand men whom they found in it, and pursuing after the army cut off the stragglers. The Romans reached the town of Carrhæ, in which they had a garrison. The Surena, to keep them from retreat, made feigned proposals of peace; but finding that he was only deceiving them, they set out in the night under the guidance of a Greek: their guide however proved treacherous, and led them into a place full of marshes and ditches. Cassius, who suspected him, turned back and made his escape with five hundred horse; Octavius with five thousand men, having had faithful guides, reached a secure position among the hills, and he brought off Crassus, who was assailed in the marshes by the Parthians. The Surena, fearing lest they should get away in the night, let go some of his prisoners, in whose hearing he had caused to be said that the king did not wish to carry things to extremities; and he himself and his officers rode to the hill with unbent bows, and holding out his hand he called on Crassus to come down and meet him. The soldiers were overjoyed, but Crassus put no faith in him; at length when his men, having urged and pressed, began to abuse and threaten him, he took his officers to witness of the force that was put on him, and went down accompanied by Octavius and

some of his other officers. The Parthians at first affected to receive him with respect, and a horse was brought for him to mount; but they soon contrived to pick a quarrel, and killed him and all who were with him. The head and right hand of Crassus were cut off; quarter was then offered to the troops, and most of them surrendered. The loss of the Romans in this unjust and ill-fated expedition was twenty thousand men slain and ten thousand captured. The Parthians, it is said, poured molten gold down the throat of Crassus, in reproach of his insatiable avarice. They afterwards made irruptions into Syria, which Cassius gallantly defended against them*.

When the news of Crassus' defeat and death reached Rome, the concern felt for the loss of the army was considerable, that of himself was thought nothing of; yet this was in reality the greater loss of the two, for he alone had the power to keep Cæsar and Pompeius at unity, as Julia, whom they both agreed in loving as she deserved, and who was a bond of union between them, had lately died in childbirth, to the grief not merely of her father and husband, but of the whole Roman people†.

Affairs at Rome were now indeed in a state of perfect anarchy; violence and bribery were the only modes of obtaining office. In 698 all the candidates for the consulate were prosecuted for bribery; and C. Memmius, one of them, actually read in the senate a written agreement between himself and a fellow-candidate Cn. Domitius Calvinus on one part, and the actual consuls L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Ap. Claudius on the other, by which the two former bound themselves, if elected through the consul's influence, to pay them each forty thousand sesterces unless they produced three augurs to declare that they were present when the curiate law was passed, and two consulars to aver that they were present when the consular provinces were arranged, which would give the ex-consuls the provinces they desired,—all utterly false‡. By these and other delays the elections were kept off for seven months, Pompeius looking quietly on in hopes that they would be obliged to create him dictator. Many spoke of it as the only remedy; and though they did not name, they described him very exactly as the fittest person; but Sulla had made

* Cassius took, we are told, to trading: "*Dein quod coemtis Syriacis mercibus foedissime negotiaretur Caryota cognominatus est.*" Auct. de Vir. Illust. 83.

† See Lucan, l. 98 seq.

‡ Cicero ad Att. iv. 18.

the name of dictator too odious; others talked of consular military tribunes. Cn. Domitius Calvinus and M. Valerius Messala were, however, chosen consuls at the end of the seven months.

The next year (700) T. Annius Milo, P. Plautius Hypsæus, and Q. Metellus Scipio were the candidates, and they all bribed to a most enormous extent. Clodius stood for the prætorship, and between his retainers and those of Milo and the other candidates, scenes of tumult and bloodshed occurred in the streets almost daily. Pompeius and the tribune T. Munatius Plancus purposely kept the patricians from meeting to appoint an interrex to hold the elections. On the 20th of January, Milo, who was dictator of his native place Lanuvium, had occasion to go thither to appoint a chief-priest of Juno Sospita, the patron deity of the place; Clodius, who had been to harangue the magistrates at Aricia, where he had a great deal of influence, happened to be returning just at this time, and he met Milo near Bovillæ. Milo was in his carriage with his wife, the daughter of Sulla, and a friend, and he was attended by a numerous train, among which were some of his gladiators: Clodius was on horseback, with thirty armed bravoës, who always accompanied him. Two of Milo's people followed those of Clodius and began to quarrel with them, and when he turned round to menace them, one of them ran a long sword through his shoulder. The tumult then became general; Clodius had been conveyed into an adjoining tavern, but Milo forced it, dragged him out, and killed him outright; his dead body was thrown on the highway, where it lay till a senator, who was returning to the city from his country-seat, took it up and brought it with him in his litter. It was laid in the hall of Clodius' own house, and his wife Fulvia with floods of tears showed his bleeding wounds to the rabble who repaired thither, and excited them to vengeance. Next morning Clodius' friends, the tribunes Q. Pompeius Rufus and T. Munatius Plancus, exposed it on the Rostra, and harangued the populace over it. The mob snatched it up, carried it into the senate-house, and making a pyre of the seats burned it and the house together. They then ran to Milo's house intending to burn it also, but they were beaten off by his slaves.

The excesses committed by the mob having injured the Clodian cause, Milo ventured to return to the city, and to go on bribing and canvassing for the consulate. The tribune M. Cœlius, whom he had gained, having filled the Forum with a

purchased mob, led Milo thither to defend himself, in hopes of having him acquitted by them as by the people; but the adverse tribunes armed their partisans and fell on and scattered them*. Milo and Cœlius were forced to fly in the dress of slaves; the rabble killed, wounded, and robbed without distinction; houses were broken open, plundered, and burnt, under the pretext of seeking for the friends of Milo. These excesses lasted for several days, and the senate at length decreed that the interrex, the tribunes of the people, and Pompeius, should see that the republic sustained no injury; and finally, as there seemed an absolute necessity for some extraordinary power, to avoid a dictatorship, and to exclude Cæsar (who was spoken of) from the consulate, it was resolved, on the motion of Bibulus, with the assent of Cato, to make Pompeius sole consul.

Pompeius, (who was resolved to crush Milo) as soon as he entered on his office (Feb. 25), had two laws passed, one against violence, the other against bribery. He ordained that trials should last only four days, the three first to be devoted to the hearing of evidence, the last to the pleadings of the parties; he assigned the number of pleaders in a cause; giving two hours to the prosecutor to speak, three to the accused to reply, and forbidding any one to come forward to praise the accused. To ensure prosecutions for bribery, he promised a pardon to any one found guilty of it if he convicted two others of an equal or lesser degree or one of a greater. He directed that a consular chosen by the people, and not the prætor as in ordinary cases, should preside in the trials for violence.

These preparations being made, the prosecution of Milo commenced. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the consul of the year 698, was chosen president by the people, and a jury, one of the most respectable we are assured that Rome ever beheld, was appointed. Milo and Cœlius had recourse to every means to prevent a conviction. The former was charged with having seized five persons who had witnessed the murder of Clodius, and kept them in close custody for two months at his country-seat; the latter with taking by force one of Milo's slaves out of the house of one of the *Triumviri Capitaless*†. Cicero was

* One of the tribunes of this year was Sallust the historian. As Milo had some time before caught him in adultery with his wife Fausta, and had cudgelled him and made him pay a sum of money, he now took his revenge. Varro, *ap. Gell.* xvii. 18.

† The best account of the death of Clodius, and trial of Milo, is given by

to plead Milo's cause. On the first day the tumult was so great that the lives of Pompeius and his lictors were endangered; soldiers were therefore placed in various parts of the city and Forum, with orders to strike with the flat of their swords any that were making a noise; but this not sufficing, they were obliged to wound and even kill several persons. When Cicero rose to speak on the fourth day, he was received with a loud shout of defiance by the Clodian faction; and the sight of Pompeius sitting surrounded by his officers, and the view of the temples and places around the Forum filled with armed men, so daunted him, that he pleaded with far less than his usual ability. Milo was found guilty, and he went into exile at Massilia.

Other offenders were then prosecuted. P. Plautius Hypsæus was found guilty of bribery, as also were P. Sextius, M. Scaurus, and C. Memmius. This last then accused, under the late law, Pompeius' own father-in-law, Q. Metellus Scipio*. Pompeius was weak enough to become a suppliant for him, and he sent for the three hundred and sixty persons who were on the jury-panel, and besought them to aid him. When Memmius saw Scipio come into the Forum surrounded by those who would have to try him, he gave over the prosecution, lamenting the ruin of the constitution. Rufus and Plancus when out of office were prosecuted for the burning of the senate house, and Pompeius again was weak enough to break his own law by sending a written eulogy of Plancus into the court. Cato, who was one of the jury, said that Pompeius must not be allowed to violate his own law. Plancus then challenged Cato; but it did not avail him, as the others found him guilty.

Pompeius, having acted for some time as sole consul, made his father-in-law his colleague for the five months that remained of his consulate. He made his own command in Spain be extended for another term of five years, but he governed his province, as before, by legates; and to soothe Cæsar, he had a law passed to enable him to sue for the consulate without coming to Rome in person. To strengthen the laws against bribery, it was enacted that no consul or prætor should obtain a province till he had been five years out of office; and to

Asconius, in his argument to the notes on Cicero's oration. We have followed this writer chiefly in the preceding narrative.

* Pompeius was now married to Scipio's daughter Cornelia, the widow of the younger Crassus, a young lady of the highest mental endowments and of great beauty and virtue.

provide for the next five years, it was decreed that the consuls and prætorians who had not had provinces should now take them. Cicero, therefore, much against his will, was obliged to go as proconsul to Cilicia; his government of it was a model of justice and disinterestedness, and proves how he would have acted if free at all times to follow his own inclinations, and, we may add, if less under the influence of vain glory and ambition. We must now turn our regards to Cæsar and his exploits in Gaul.

While such was the condition of affairs at Rome, this great man was acquiring the wealth and forming the army by means of which he hoped to become master of his country. He has himself left a narrative of his Gallic campaigns, which, though of course partial*, is almost our only authority for this part of the Roman history.

Fortune favoured Cæsar by furnishing him with an early occasion of war, though his province was tranquil when he received it (694). The Helvetians, a people of Gallic race, who dwelt from Mount Jura far into the Alps, resolved to leave their mountains and seek new seats in Gaul; and having burnt all their towns and villages, they set forth with wives and children to the number of 368,000 souls. As their easier way lay through the Roman province, they sent, on hearing that Cæsar had broken down the bridge over the Rhone at Geneva, and was making preparations to oppose them, to ask a free passage, promising to do no injury. Cæsar, who had not all his troops with him, gave an evasive answer, and meantime ran a ditch and rampart from the Lemane lake to Mount Jura. The Helvetians then turned, and going by Mount Jura entered the country of the Sequanians and Æduans; but Cæsar fell on them as they were passing the Arar (*Saône*), and defeated them; he afterwards routed them again, and finally compelled them to return to their own country, lest the Germans should occupy it.

The Æduans, who were ancient allies of Rome, then complained to Cæsar that their neighbours, the Arvernians and Sequanians, having in their disputes with them invited a German chief named Ariovistus (*Heer-fürst*, 'Army-prince'?) to their aid, he had been joined by large bodies of his countrymen, and had occupied a great part of the land of the Sequanians†, and now menaced the freedom of all the surrounding

* Here, as in the Samnite and Punic wars, we have reason to regret that the lions were not painters!

† Just as the Anglo-Saxons did afterwards in England.

peoples; their only hopes, they added, lay in the Romans. This invitation was, as they knew, precisely what Cæsar desired; he promised aid, and as in his consulate he had been the means of having Ariovistus acknowledged as a king and friend of the Roman people, and he now wished to put him in the wrong, he sent to require him to meet him at a certain place. The German haughtily replied, that if Cæsar wanted to speak with him he should come to *him*. Cæsar, further to irritate him, desired him to give back the hostages of the allies of Rome, and not to enter their lands or to bring over any more auxiliaries from Germany. Ariovistus replied by seizing on the Sequanian town of Vesontion (*Besançon*). On learning that the powerful nation of the Suevians were sending troops to Ariovistus, Cæsar resolved to march against him at once. But his soldiers were daunted by what they heard of the strength and ferocity of the Germans, till he made a speech to re-assure them, in which he declared that with the tenth legion alone he would prosecute the war. At the desire of Ariovistus a conference was held, at which however nothing could be arranged; and while it was going on, news (true or false) was brought to Cæsar that the Germans had attacked the Romans: this broke off the conference; Cæsar refused to renew it; and a battle taking place, Ariovistus was defeated, and forced to re-cross the Rhine.

Cæsar then retired for the winter to Cisalpine Gaul under the pretext of regulating the province, but in reality to keep up his communication with Rome, and acquire new friends there. As he had left his troops in the country of the Sequanians, the Belgians, a powerful people, who were a mixture of Germans and Gauls, and dwelt in the north-east of Gaul, fearing for their independence, resolved to take up arms. The Germans on this side of the Rhine joined them, and they invaded (695) the states in alliance with the Romans. Cæsar lost no time in repairing to the defence of his allies; and the Belgians finding that the Æduans had invaded their country, and moreover, being in want of supplies, returned home; but they were fallen on and defeated with great loss by a division of Cæsar's troops, and he himself entering their country took the town of Noviodûnum (*Noyon*), and obliged the Suesiônes (*Soissons*)*, Bellavacans (*Beauvais*), and Ambianians (*Amiens*) to sue for peace. He then entered the territory of the

* As in France the name of the people is usually retained only in that of the town, we give this last.

Nervians (*Hainault*). This people, the bravest of the Belgians, attacked him by surprise, routed his cavalry, and killed all the centurions of two legions; the camps on both sides were taken, and Cæsar himself was for some time surrounded with his guards on a hill: victory, however, was finally on the side of the Romans, and the Nervians sued for peace. The Atuaticans, when they saw the military machines advanced against their walls, submitted; but they soon resumed their arms, and Cæsar took and plundered the town, and sold fifty-three thousand of the inhabitants. Cæsar's legate, P. Crassus, who (we are not told why) had led a legion against the Venetans (*Vannes*) and other neighbouring peoples on the Ocean, now sent to say that they had submitted. The legions were then placed for the winter in the country of the Carnutes (*Chartres*), Andes (*Anjou*), and Turônes (*Touraine*), and Cæsar returned to Italy. On the motion of Cicero the senate decreed a supplication of fifteen days for these victories,—the longest ever as yet decreed*.

During the winter, P. Crassus, who was quartered with the seventh legion in the country of the Andes, being in want of corn, sent some of his officers in quest of supplies to the Venetans and the adjoining peoples. The Venetans however detained the envoys in order to get back their hostages in exchange, and the rest followed their example. Cæsar, when he heard of this, sent directions to have ships of war built on the Ligeris (*Loire*), and ordered sailors and pilots to repair thither from the province, and in the spring (696) he set out to take the command in person. The Venetans were a seafaring people, their towns mostly lay on capes where they could not easily be attacked, and their navy was numerous. The contest Cæsar saw must be on the sea, and his fleet therefore entered the ocean. The Roman ships of war were, as usual, impelled by oars, while those of the enemy, which were also much higher, were worked by sails. At first the advantage was on the side of the Gauls; but Cæsar had provided a number of sithes set on poles, with which the Romans laid hold on the rigging of the Gallic ships, and then urging on their own, thus cut the cordage and caused the sails to fall. This device, like that of the *crows* in the old times, gave the Romans the vic-

* The supplication was at first only one day. In 555 one of four days was decreed to C. Cethegus. Five then became the usual number. Cicero caused one of ten days to be decreed to Pompeius at the termination of the Mithridatic war.

tory: a sudden calm that came on was also greatly in their favour. The Venetans were forced to sue for peace, and as they had only detained his agents, Cæsar was mercifully content with putting their whole senate to death, and selling the people for slaves.

As the Morinians and Menapians of the north coast (*Picardy*) had been in league with the Venetans, Cæsar invaded their country, which abounded in woods and marshes, but the approach of the wet season obliged him to retire. Having put his troops into winter-quarters, he set out to look after his affairs in Italy. During this summer P. Crassus, who had been sent into Aquitaine to keep it quiet, or rather, as it would appear, to raise a war, routed the people named the Sotiâtes (*Sôs*), forced their chief town to surrender, and defeated a large army of the adjoining peoples, and the Spaniards who had joined them. Shortly after he left Gaul to join his father in Syria, taking with him one thousand Gallic horse.

Tribes of Germans named Usipetans and Tencterians having crossed the Rhine and entered the Menapian country, Cæsar, fearing lest their presence might induce the Gauls to rise, hastened (697) to oppose them. Some negotiations took place between them, during which a body of eight hundred German horse fell on, and even put to flight with a loss of seventy-four men, five thousand of Cæsar's Gallic cavalry; and they then had the audacity, as Cæsar represents it, to send an embassy, in which were all their principal men, to the Roman camp to justify themselves and to seek a truce. But Cæsar was even with them; he detained the envoys, and, having thus deprived them of their leaders, fell on and slaughtered them; and most of those who escaped were drowned in the Rhine and Meuse as they fled. Being resolved that Gaul should be all his own, Cæsar thought it would be well to show the Germans that *their* country too might be invaded. Accordingly, under the pretext of aiding the Ubians who had placed themselves under the protection of Rome against the Suevians, he threw a bridge over the Rhine, and having ravaged the lands of the Sicambrians, who had retired to their woods, he entered the country of the Ubians; then hearing that the Suevians had collected all their forces in the centre of their territory, and waited there to give him battle, he returned to the Rhine, having, as he says, accomplished all he had proposed. This run (as we may term it) into Germany had occupied only eighteen days; and as there was a part of the

summer remaining, he resolved to employ it in a similar inroad into the isle of Britain, whose people he asserts, but untruly, had been so audacious as to send aid to the Gauls when fighting for their independence against him : moreover, the invasion of unknown countries like Germany and Britain would tell to his advantage at Rome. He accordingly had ships brought round from the Loire to the Morinian coast (*Boulogne*), and putting two legions on board he set sail at midnight. At nine next morning he reached the coast of Britain ; but as the cliffs (*Dover*) were covered with armed men, he cast anchor, and in the evening sailed eight miles further down (*Deal*), and there effected a landing, though vigorously opposed by the natives. The Britons soon sent to sue for peace ; and they had given some of the hostages demanded of them, when a spring-tide having greatly damaged the Roman fleet, they resolved to try again the fate of war. They fell on the seventh legion as it was out foraging, and Cæsar had some difficulty in bringing it off ; they afterwards assailed the Roman camp, but were repulsed, and Cæsar, who had neither cavalry nor corn, and who wanted to get back to Gaul, readily made peace on their promise of sending a double number of hostages thither after him. He then departed ; and having written the wonderful news to Rome, a supplication of *twenty* days was decreed.

As only two of the British states sent the hostages, Cæsar resolved to make this a pretext for a second invasion of their island. When, therefore, he was setting out as usual for Italy, he directed his legates to repair the old and build new ships ; and on his return in the summer (698) he found a fleet of twenty-eight long ships and six hundred transports ready. He embarked with five legions and two thousand Gallic horse, and landed at the same place as before. The Britons retired to the hills ; and Cæsar, having left some troops to guard his camp, advanced in quest of them. He found them posted on the banks of a river (*the Stour*) about twelve miles inland. He attacked and drove them off ; but next day, as he was preparing to advance into the country, he was recalled to the coast by tidings of the damage his fleet had sustained from a storm during the night. Having given the needful directions, he resumed his pursuit of the Britons, who laying aside their jealousies had given the supreme command to Cassivelaunus, king of the Trinobantians (*Essex* and *Middlesex*) ; but the Roman cavalry cut them up so dreadfully when they attacked the foragers, that they dispersed, and most of them went to their

homes. Cæsar then advanced, and forcing the passage of the Thames invaded Cassivelaunus' kingdom, and took his chief town*. Having received the submissions and hostages of various states, and regulated the tributes they should (but never did) pay, he then returned to Gaul, where it being now late in autumn, he put his troops into winter-quarters. The Gauls however, who did not comprehend the right of Rome and Cæsar to a dominion over them, resolved to fall on the several Roman camps, and thus to free their country. The eighth legion and five cohorts who were quartered in the country of the Eburônes (*Liège*) were cut to pieces by that people, led by their prince Ambiorix; the camp of the legate Q. Cicero was assailed by them and the Nervians, and only saved by the arrival of Cæsar in person, who gave the Gauls a total defeat. The country became now tolerably tranquil; but Cæsar, knowing that he should have a war in the spring, had three new legions raised in Italy, and he prevailed on Pompeius to lend him one which he had just formed.

The most remarkable event of the following year (699) was Cæsar's second passage of the Rhine to punish the Germans for giving aid to their oppressed neighbours. He threw a bridge over the Rhine a little higher up the river than the former one, and advanced to attack the Suevians; but learning that they had assembled all their forces at the edge of a forest and there awaited him, he thought it advisable to retire, fearing, as he tells us, the want of corn in a country where there was so little tillage as in Germany†. Having broken down the bridge on the German side, and left some cohorts to guard what remained standing he then proceeded with all humanity to extirpate the Eburones, on account, he says, of their perfidy. He hunted them down everywhere; he burned their towns and villages, consumed or destroyed all their corn, and then left their country with the agreeable assurance that those who had escaped the sword would perish of famine. Then having executed *more majorum* a prince of the Senonians, and thus tranquillised Gaul, as he terms it, he set out for Italy to look after his interests there.

The next year (700) there was a general rising of nearly all Gaul against the Roman dominion. The chief command was

* The British towns were nothing more than fastnesses in the woods, without any walls; their dwellings were mere cabins. The Britons were much behind the Gauls in civilization.

† We may suspect that he feared something else also.

given to Vercingetorix, prince of the Arvernians (*Auvergne*), a young man of great talent and valour. Cæsar immediately left Italy, and crossing Mount Cebenna (*Cevennes*), though the snow lay six feet deep on it, at the head of his raw levies entered and ravaged the country of the Arvernians, who sent to recall Vercingetorix to their aid. Then leaving M. Brutus in command, Cæsar departed, and putting himself at the head of his cavalry, went with all speed to the country of the Lingonians (*Langres*), and there assembled his legions. Vercingetorix then laid siege to Gergovia, the capital of the Boians: Cæsar hastened to its relief; on his way he took the towns of Vellanodûnum (*Béaune*) and Genabum (*Orleans*), and having crossed the Loire, laid siege to Noviodûnum (*Nouan*), in the territory of the Biturigians (*Berri*), and on its surrender advanced against Avaricum (*Bourges*), the capital of the country and one of the finest cities in Gaul. Vercingetorix, who had raised the siege of Gergovia, held a council, in which he proposed, as the surest mode of distressing the Romans, to destroy all the towns and villages in the country. This advice being approved of, upwards of twenty towns were leveled; but, at the earnest entreaty of the Biturigians, Avaricum was exempted. A garrison was put into that town, and the Gallie army encamped at a moderate distance from it in order to impede the besiegers. It nevertheless was taken after a gallant defence: the Romans spared neither man, woman, nor child, and of forty thousand inhabitants eight hundred only escaped. Cæsar then prepared to lay siege to a town of the Arvernians also named Gergovia; but though he defeated the Gallie armies, he was obliged to give up his design on account of the revolt of the Æduans. Some time after, Vercingetorix, having attacked Cæsar on his march, and being repulsed, threw himself into Alesia (*Alise*), a strong town in the modern Burgundy, built on a hill at the confluence of two rivers. The Gauls collected a large army and came to its relief; but their forces were defeated, and the town was compelled to surrender. Vercingetorix was reserved to grace the conqueror's triumph*, to whom a supplication of twenty days was decreed at Rome.

In the next campaign (701) Cæsar and his legates subdued such states as still maintained their independence. As the people of Uxellodûnum (in *Querci*) made an obstinate defence, Cæsar (his lenity being, as we are assured, so well known that

* Six years after he was led through the streets of Rome in Cæsar's triumph, and then after the ancient barbarous practice put to death.

none could charge him with cruelty), in order to deter the rest of the Gauls from insurrection and resistance, cut off the hands of all the men and then let them go that all might see them. The following year (702), as all Gaul was reduced to peace*, he regulated its affairs, laying on an annual tribute; and having thus established his dominion over it, he prepared to impose his yoke on his own country.

The military talent displayed by Cæsar in the conquest of Gaul is not to be disputed, and it alone would suffice to place him in the first rank of generals. But is it to be endured that a man should obtain praise and renown for slaughtering innocent nations in order to be enabled to overthrow the constitution of his own country? We are told that he took or received the submission of eight hundred towns, subdued three hundred nations; defeated in battle three millions of men, of whom one million was slain, and another taken and sold for slaves†; and all this misery was inflicted that Cæsar might be great!

CHAPTER X.‡

Commencement of the civil war.—Cæsar at Rome.—Cæsar's war in Spain.
—Surrender of Massilia.—Cæsar's civil regulations.—Military events in Epirus.

THERE were now in the Roman world two men, Cæsar and Pompeius, of weight and influence far superior to all others; there were also two parties in the state, one for maintaining the constitution as it was, the other for revolution; it was therefore hardly possible that each party should not range itself under its appropriate chief, and a civil contest ensue.

At the elections in 701 § the consuls chosen for the follow-

* "Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem adpellant," said the Caledonian warrior. Tacit. Agric. 30.

† Appian, Celt. 2. Pliny, H. N. vii. 25.

‡ Cæsar, Civil Wars. Dion, xl. 58—xli. 52. Appian, B.C. ii. 26—65. Velleius, ii. 48—51. Suetonius, Jul. Cæsar. Plut., Cæsar, 29—41. Pompeius, 56—67. Cato, 49—54. Lucan, i.—vi. 332. The Epitomators.

§ At the elections of the preceding year Cato stood for the consulate, but as he would neither bribe nor court the electors he was of course unsuccessful.

ing year were L. Æmilius Paulus and C. Claudius Marcellus; M. Cœlius was one of the ædiles, and C. Scribonius Curio one of the tribunes,—all hitherto of the aristocratic party; but Cæsar had secretly purchased Paulus and Curio, and he had also gained over Cœlius. On the 1st of March (702) a motion which had long been meditated was made by the consul Marcellus for regulating the consular provinces, and therefore requiring Cæsar to resign his command; Curio declared his approbation of it provided Pompeius did the same. To this the senate would not consent, and Curio then put his negative on every other resolution. Pompeius was resolved that Cæsar should not be consul unless he resigned his army and provinces, and Cæsar was persuaded that there was no safety for him if he left his army; for Cato and his friends had already menaced him with a prosecution for his illegal acts in his consulate. He however gave up two legions, to be sent to Syria; but they were retained by Marcellus, and quartered at Capua.

Pompeius was at this time as eager for war as Cæsar possibly could be. The joy manifested by the people of Italy on occasion of his recovering from an illness which he had this year in Campania gave him the most exaggerated ideas of his influence over them, and he was completely misled by the accounts which he received of the ill-humour of Cæsar's legions and the disaffection of his provinces. He therefore derided those who expressed apprehension, and when some one said that if Cæsar entered Italy there were no troops to oppose him, he replied, "Wherever I but stamp with my foot legions will rise up."

On the 1st of January, 703, Curio, who on the expiration of his tribunate had repaired to Cæsar, came with a letter from him, saying that he would lay down his command if Pompeius did the same; otherwise he would march into Italy, and avenge himself and the republic. The consuls C. Marcellus and L. Lentulus Crus would not allow the senate to take the letter into their consideration; and after some debate it was agreed to declare Cæsar a public enemy if he did not disband his army against a certain day. The tribunes M. Antonius and Q. Cassius Longinus, sworn allies of Cæsar, put their negative on this decree, and nothing was then decided on. Pompeius expressed his approbation of the conduct of the consuls and more resolute members of the senate, and his veteran officers now began to flock from all sides to Rome in hopes of a war. The contest meantime in the senate was continued till the sixth day,

when the consuls menaced the two tribunes, and it is even said ordered them to leave the house ; and a decree was made that the consuls and other magistrates should take care that the republic sustained no injury. That very night Antonius and Cassius, disguised as slaves, left Rome in a hired carriage, accompanied by Curio and Cœlius, and hastened to join Cæsar.

The senate was then, on account of Pompeius, held without the city, and he expressed his entire approbation of what had been done, and said that he had ten legions in arms, and that he knew Cæsar's troops to be discontented. It was resolved that troops should be raised all through Italy, Pompeius be supported with money out of the treasury, and governors be sent out to all the provinces. War in effect was declared against Cæsar.

Cæsar was at Ravenna with but one legion when he heard of the proceedings against him. He forthwith assembled his soldiers and complained to them of the treatment he had received from the senate, and dwelt particularly on the indignities offered the tribunes. The soldiers having declared their resolution to stand by him, he sent off orders to his legates in Transalpine Gaul to make all haste to join him with their troops, and he then set forward for Ariminum. It is said that he sent his cohorts on secretly before him with directions to occupy that town, the first in Italy, and that he himself to obviate suspicion, having spent the day in viewing the exercises of gladiators, sat down as usual to supper in the evening. When it grew dark he rose and went out, telling the company that he would return presently. But he had desired some of his friends to set forth, and he himself mounting a hired horse took at first the contrary way, then turned and directed his course for Ariminum. When he came up with his troops at the Rubicon, a stream which divided Italy from Gaul, he halted and paused for some time, reflecting on the consequences of the step he was about to take. He debated the question with C. Asinius Pollio and his other friends : at length bidding adieu to reflection he cried out, " Let the die be cast ! " passed the bridge followed by his troops, and at dawn entered and took possession of Ariminum, where he found Antonius and Cassius, whom he produced in their servile disguise to the soldiers, and expatiated on the wrongs they had sustained. He sent Antonius with five cohorts to seize Arretium in Etruria ; others to Pisaurum, Fanum, and Ancona, and Curio to Iguvium, while he himself remained to levy more troops. His principal

legate T. Atius Labienus left him at this time and went to join Pompeius and the senate, who were much animated by his arrival and the report which he made of the temper and condition of Cæsar's forces.

When the intelligence of Cæsar's advance reached Rome, Pompeius, the consuls, and the senate retired with the utmost celerity to Capua, not even taking the money out of the treasury. P. Lentulus Spinther threw himself into Asculum with ten cohorts; L. Domitius repaired to Corfinium in order to impede Cæsar's progress. Pompeius and the consuls meantime went on with the levies in the colonies; but the names were given slowly and reluctantly, and Pompeius now began to distrust his strength. It was therefore resolved to try the way of accommodation, and the prætor L. Roscius and the young L. Cæsar were sent to Cæsar to learn his demands. These were that Pompeius should retire to his province, the new levies be disbanded, and the garrisons withdrawn; Cæsar would then disband his troops, give up his provinces, and come to Rome to stand for the consulate in the usual manner. These terms were accepted, even Cato consenting, provided Cæsar would immediately withdraw his troops from the towns he had seized. With this last condition he declined to comply, alleging that he should not be safe if he did so. Various efforts were made to no purpose: letters were written and published in justification of either side, but war now seemed inevitable. Pompeius, who relied on his army in Spain and on the troops of the East, sought only to gain time; Cæsar, who had but one army, saw that his only hopes lay in despatch. Leaving Auximum, therefore, where he now was, he advanced with his single legion through Picenum to the town of Cingulum, which opened its gates when he appeared. He was there joined by his twelfth legion, and he went on to Asculum, which Lentulus quitted at his approach. Lentulus being deserted on his retreat by most of his men, joined L. Vibullius Rufus with the remainder, and their united force amounting to thirteen cohorts, they led it by forced marches to Corfinium and joined Domitius. While Cæsar was advancing toward this town, Pompeius, who had reason to fear that he could not fully rely on the two legions he had with him, which were those that had been taken from Cæsar, and seeing that the consular levies were not ready, wrote pressing Domitius to evacuate Corfinium and to join him with the troops under him, as these were considered well-affected; but Domitius chose to judge for him-

self, and when Cæsar appeared under the walls he wrote urging Pompeius to advance, and by getting into Cæsar's rear to cut off his supplies. Pompeius replied, declaring it to be out of his power, and again desiring him to join him if possible. Domitius dissembled the contents of this letter and assured his men that Pompeius was coming to their aid. But they observed that his looks did not correspond with his words, and they found that he was planning to make his escape. They therefore mutinied, made him a prisoner, and sent deputies to surrender themselves and the town to Cæsar. Next morning Cæsar had Domitius, Lentulus, and the other leading Pompeians brought before him, and after gently reproaching them with their opposition to him gave them their liberty and their property. He made the soldiers take the military oath to him, and without loss of time he set out for Apulia in pursuit of Pompeius, who having lost the better part of his army through Domitius' obstinacy retired from Nuceria, where he then was, to Brundisium; for he had all along intended to pass over and transfer the war to Greece. Cæsar made all haste to impede him, and on the 9th of March he sat down before Brundisium with six legions. Pompeius had but twenty cohorts in the town, as he had sent thirty with the consuls over to Dyrrhachium. Cæsar attempted to shut him up by running moles across the mouth of the harbour; but the consuls having sent back the shipping, Pompeius embarked and brought off his troops in a very masterly manner and departed (Mar. 17), thus abandoning Italy to his rival.

Cicero greatly blames Pompeius for quitting Italy; yet what could he have done? He was deceived in all his expectations of the public spirit of the people, his troops were all deserting, Cæsar had eleven veteran legions and abundance of cavalry, the lower orders were in his favour or longed for a change, and the higher classes are thus described by Cicero himself: "I do not understand," says he to Atticus, "what you mean by patriots (*bonos*); I know of none; I mean I know of no order of men deserving that appellation. Take them man by man they are very worthy persons, but in civil dissensions we are to look for patriotism in the constituent members of the body politic. Do you look for it in the senate? Let me ask you by whom were the provinces left without governors? Do you look for patriotism among the farmers of the revenue? Alas! they never were steady, and now they are entirely devoted to Cæsar. Do you look for it in our trading or our

landed interest? They are fondest of peace. Can you imagine that they have any terrible apprehension of living under a monarchy, they to whom all forms of government are indifferent provided they enjoy their ease*?" Italy therefore could not be maintained; but Pompeius' error lay, some thought, in not going to Spain, where he had a veteran army and a brave population well-affected to him. He certainly seems to have relied too much on the ability of his lieutenants there, and it may have been his plan (had not Cæsar's celerity disconcerted it) to coop him up in Italy, and overwhelm him by a combined attack from the east and the west. At all events he had not shipping to convey his troops to Spain, and if he had gone thither Greece and the East would probably have been lost. But the great error of Pompeius and his party lay in their having given Cæsar's cause the semblance of justice and self-defence; the term of his command was not expired when they required him to resign his provinces, and they refused to let him stand for the consulate when absent, in contravention of Pompeius' own law to that effect. Cæsar in fact had no alternative between victory and ruin; he had no doubt voluntarily placed himself in that situation, but he *was* in it, and could not now recede. When we see such men as Asinius Pollio on his side, we may be sure that his cause was not so bad in the eyes of his contemporaries as it may seem in ours. In fact it is a mockery to dignify with the name of constitution the anarchy that had reigned for some years at Rome; people plainly saw that Cæsar or Pompeius must be master of the republic, and hence the indifference of which Cicero complains and in which he partly shared.

As the want of shipping prevented Cæsar from following Pompeius, he resolved to turn his strength without delay against the army in Spain. Lest in his absence Pompeius should, as it was expected, try to starve Italy by stopping the supplies of corn, he took measures for securing Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa. Curio was sent to the former island, with directions when he had gained it to pass over to Africa; the legate M. Valerius Orca to the latter, the people of which declared for him as soon as he appeared. Cato, to whom the senate had given charge of Sicily, at first made preparations

* Cic. ad Att., vii. 7. He says elsewhere (viii. 13.), "I have had a great deal of talk with our townsmen, and a great deal with our country-gentlemen in these quarters, and take my word for it they have no concern but about their lands, their farms, and their money."

for defence ; but finding that Pompeius had abandoned Italy, he said he would not engage the island in a war, and retired at the approach of Curio. Having settled Sicily Curio passed with two legions over to Africa, where he had some success against P. Atius Varus, who commanded there for the senate : but his army was soon after cut to pieces and himself slain by the troops of Juba king of Numidia.

Cæsar proceeded from Brundisium to Rome ; the people of the towns on the way, some through love, some through fear, poured forth to congratulate him. He came to Rome, and having assembled such of the senate as were attached to him, or who had not courage to refuse, he detailed his wrongs, as he affected to consider them ; dwelt on the cruelty and insolence, as he termed it, of those who had circumscribed the tribunician power ; and begged of them to aid him in governing the republic, adding, that if they would not he would do it by himself. He proposed that some persons should be sent to treat with Pompeius : the senate approved, but no one was willing to go, as Pompeius had declared that he should regard those who stayed at Rome as much his enemies as those in Cæsar's camp. Cæsar then, having committed the charge of Rome to the prætor L. Æmilius Lepidus, and the command of the troops in Italy to M. Antonius, prepared to set out for Spain. He would not however imitate the folly or good faith of his opponents by leaving the treasury untouched ; and when the tribune L. Metellus, relying perhaps on the horror he had expressed at the violation of the sacred authority of the tribunes, ventured to oppose him and referred to the laws, he told him that this was no time to talk of laws, that he and all who had opposed must now obey him. When he came to the door of the treasury the keys were not to be found ; he then sent for smiths to break open the doors : Metellus again opposed ; but Cæsar threatened to slay him, and, " Know, young man," added he, " that this is easier to do than to say." Metellus then withdrew, and the asserter of the laws took out all the money, even the most sacred deposits. This conduct disgusted the people so much that Cæsar did not venture to address them as he had intended, and he left Rome after a stay of only six or seven days*.

When he came into Gaul he found that the citizens of Massilia had resolved not to admit him into their town, wishing, as

* "*Censumque et patrimonium populi Romani ante rapuit quam imperium.*" Florus, iv. 2. See Cic. ad Att., x. 4. Dion, xli. 37. Lucan, iii. 117. Cæsar himself makes no allusion whatever to this transaction.

they said, to remain neuter; but when L. Domitius, to whom the senate had given the province of Cisalpine Gaul, appeared before their port they received him. Cæsar then laid siege to the town, having had some ships built for the purpose at Arles; and leaving the conduct of the siege to C. Trebonius, and the command of the fleet to D. Brutus, he hastened on to Spain, having previously sent C. Fabius with three legions to secure the passes of the Pyrenees. On his way, to make sure of the fidelity of his troops, he borrowed all the money he could from his officers and distributed it among the soldiers, thus binding both to him by the ties of interest.

Pompeius had three legates in Spain, L. Afranius, M. Petreius, and M. Terentius Varro, and their troops amounted to seven legions. When they heard of Cæsar's approach, they agreed that Varro should remain with two legions in Ulterior Spain, while Afranius and Petreius with the remaining five should oppose the invader. These generals therefore encamped on an eminence between the river Cinga (*Cinca*) and Sicoris (*Segre*), near the town of Ilerda (*Lerida*), in which they had placed their magazines; and a bridge over the Sicoris kept up their communication with the country beyond it, whence they drew their supplies. When Fabius arrived some skirmishing took place between him and the Pompeian generals, without any advantage on either side. Cæsar, when he came, encamped at the foot of the hill on which the enemy lay, and forthwith made a bold attempt to seize an eminence in the plain between it and the town, as the possession of it would enable him to cut off their communication with the town and bridge. Afranius, aware of his design, had sent some troops to occupy it; and the Cæsarians were driven off; they were reinforced, and chased the Afranians to the walls of Ilerda: the engagement lasted five hours, and Afranius finally remained in possession of the eminence, which he took care to fortify. Soon after a flood in the Sicoris carried away two bridges which Cæsar had thrown over it; and his communications being thus cut off, famine began to prevail in his camp, while the enemy had abundance of everything. Having vainly endeavoured to repair the bridges, he gave orders to build a number of *coracles*, or boats of osier covered with raw hide, such as he had seen in Britain, which he conveyed in waggons twenty-two miles up the river, and passed a legion over in them; and having secured a hill on the other side he then threw a bridge across. As he was greatly superior in cavalry

the advantage was now on his side, and several of the native peoples declared for him. This bridge however being too far off, he set about rendering the river fordable by cutting canals from it; and he had nearly completed his project, when Afranius and Petreius, having resolved to transfer the war to Celtiberia, set out for the Ebro, where they had directed a bridge of boats to be constructed. As the Sicoris was still too deep for his infantry to pass without hazard, Cæsar sent over his cavalry to pursue and harass them; but his infantry soon growing impatient, he was obliged to let them attempt the passage, though the stream was very rapid and the water above their shoulders. He placed two lines of the beasts of burden in the stream, one above to break the force of the current, the other below to stop those who might be carried away, and they thus got over without the loss of a single man. They came up with the enemy about three in the afternoon, and thus obliged them to encamp earlier than they had intended. Next day both parties sent out to examine the country, and they found that all depended on which should first secure the passes in the hills between them and the Ebro. Cæsar's superior celerity however overcame all difficulties, and when the Afranians came in view of the passes they found his legions in array before them. They halted on a rising ground; Cæsar's officers and soldiers were urgent with him to attack them, but hoping to make them surrender by cutting off their provisions he allowed them to regain their camp. He then encamped close by them, having secured the passes to the Ebro.

Conferences now took place between the soldiers of the two armies; the Afranians proposed to join Cæsar if the lives of their generals were spared, and some of their principal officers went to treat with him. The men of both armies visited one another in their tents, and everything seemed on the point of being arranged, when Petreius, arming his slaves, with some Spanish cavalry, forced his men to break off all conference, and put to the sword all the Cæsarians whom he could find. He then went through the camp imploring the soldiers to have pity on him and Pompeius, and not thus to give them up to the vengeance of their enemy. He made the whole army renew their military oath, and ordered them to produce all the Cæsarians in their tents that they might be put to death; some obeyed, but the greater part concealed their friends and let them go in the night. Cæsar, as he was wont, followed a different and a nobler course; he sought out the Afranians and

sent them back uninjured. The Pompeian generals now endeavoured to return to Ilerda, but they were so closely followed and harassed by the troops of Cæsar, that they were obliged to halt and encamp on a hill, round which Cæsar commenced drawing lines; and he at length cut them off so completely from water and forage that they were obliged to propose a surrender. He only required them to disband their forces and to quit Spain; these terms were gladly accepted; one third of the army, as having possessions in Spain, was discharged on the spot, the rest on the banks of the Var in Gaul. In Southern Spain, Varro, finding the people of all the towns in favour of Cæsar, resigned his command and left the province, the whole of which joyfully submitted to Cæsar.

Meantime Massilia was assailed and defended with equal energy and perseverance. At length however the works raised against the city were so numerous and powerful, that the people sent deputies offering a surrender, but requiring a truce till the arrival of Cæsar. The truce was granted, but we are told they broke it: it was however again renewed, and when Cæsar came he obliged them to deliver up all their arms, ships and money, and receive a garrison of two legions into their town. He spared the town, out of regard, he said, to its antiquity and renown, not for any merits its people had toward him.

While Cæsar was at Massilia he learned that pursuant to his directions Lepidus had caused a decree to be passed by the people for nominating him dictator to hold the elections. He did not however set out yet for Rome, but remained some time to regulate Cisalpine Gaul, and while he was there a mutiny broke out in the ninth legion at Placentia. The soldiers, probably because they had not yet gotten the plunder promised them, demanded their dismissal. Cæsar coolly addressed them, reproaching them with their ingratitude and folly; and telling them that he never should want for soldiers to share his triumphs, said he would dismiss them, but that he would first punish them by decimation. They threw themselves at his feet imploring pardon; their officers interceded; Cæsar was for some time inexorable; at length he agreed to pardon all but one hundred and twenty of the most guilty, and these being given up he selected twelve of the most turbulent for execution*. He then went to Rome to hold the consular elections, and had himself and P. Servilius Isauricus chosen consuls; Trebonius and Cœlius were two of the new prætors, and Lepidus

* Cæsar says nothing of this mutiny.

was appointed to govern Citerior Spain with proconsular authority. Antonius and others of his partisans, who were overwhelmed with debt, urged him to a total abolition of debts; but Cæsar, who wished to found an empire for himself, would establish no such precedent. He passed a law, directing that the property of debtors should be estimated at the value it bore before the war and transferred to their creditors, adding that the interest which had been paid should be deducted from the principal; by which the creditors lost about a fourth of their money. Cæsar then had all those who had been condemned for bribery under Pompeius' law, and who had resorted to him, restored to their civic rights,—Milo, the slayer of his friend Clodius, was however excepted; he also restored the sons of those who had been proscribed by Sulla. Having then held the Latin holydays he laid down his dictatorship and set out for Brundisium, where on the 1st of January (704) he entered on his office of consul.

Pompeius meantime had been making every effort to collect a large fleet and army. Ships came from all the ports of Greece and Asia, and a numerous navy was assembled, the chief command of which was given to Cæsar's former colleague Bibulus. His army consisted of nine Roman legions, beside the auxiliaries of Greece, Macedonia, and Asia. He had received large sums of money from the kings, princes, and states of the East; and he had collected great quantities of corn for the support of his army, which he intended should winter in the towns of the coast of Epirus, while his fleet cruised in the Adriatic to prevent Cæsar's passage. Toward the end of the year, the consuls having assembled the senators, two hundred in number, who were with them at Thessalonica, and declared them to be the true senate, Pompeius was made commander in chief of the armies of the republic, and the consuls and other magistrates were directed to retain their offices under the titles of proconsuls, etc.

Cæsar found twelve legions and all his cavalry at Brundisium, but the legions had been so reduced by fatigue and sickness that they were very incomplete. The ships which had been collected barely sufficed to transport seven legions (only 15,000 men) and five hundred horse; but with these he embarked, and eluding Bibulus landed at a place named Palæste, in Epirus; he immediately sent back the ships for the rest of his troops, but Bibulus met them and took thirty, and then strictly guarded the whole coast. Cæsar received the submis-

sions of the towns of Oricum and Apollonia ; and most of the states of Epirus declared for him. He was advancing against Dyrrhachium, when hearing that Pompeius was rapidly marching to its defence, he halted and encamped on the banks of the river Apsus, whither Pompeius came, and encamped also on the other side of that river. Cæsar, according to his own account, was so anxious for peace, that immediately on landing he had sent off L. Vibullius Rufus, whom he had twice made a prisoner, proposing to Pompeius that they should both disband their armies and submit to the decision of the senate and people. Vibullius had gone off with all speed, more with the intention of informing Pompeius of Cæsar's landing than of promoting peace, and it was in his camp on the Apsus that Pompeius first heard of these proposals, to which however he refused to listen. Cæsar also tells us that as the soldiers of the two armies used to converse together across the river, he directed his legate P. Vatinius to go and call out, asking if citizens might not send to citizens to treat of peace, a thing which Pompeius had not refused to robbers and pirates. Vatinius was heard in silence, and told that A. Varro would come the following day to treat. Next day a great number appeared on both sides, and Labienus advanced and began in a low voice to confer with Vatinius; when a shower of missiles, which wounded several of the Cæsarians, broke off the conference, and Labienus then cried, "Give over talking of accommodation; there can be no peace unless you bring us Cæsar's head."*

While Cæsar was lying on the Apsus, his friend Cælius, whom he had left one of the prætors at Rome, displeased that he had not been able to get rid of all his debts, began to raise disturbances. He commenced by opposing Trebonius in every way he could; and this not succeeding, he proposed two laws, the one for exempting from rent all the tenants of the state, the other for a general abolition of debt. At the head of the multitude he attacked Trebonius, and wounded some of those about him: the senate in return forbade him to execute the functions of his office. He then left Rome under the pretence of going to Cæsar, but he had secretly written to his old friend Milo urging him to come and raise some disturbance in Italy; and Milo, having collected his gladiators and what other forces he could, had laid siege to the town of Cosa, in the district of Thurii. Cælius proceeded to join him, but Milo had been killed by a stone flung from the walls; and Cælius, attempt-

* Cæsar, B. C. iii. 19.

ing to seduce some Gallic and Spanish horse that were in Thurii, was slain by them.

Cæsar's great object now was to get over the rest of his troops, and Pompeius was equally anxious to prevent their passage. Bibulus had lately died of an illness caused by cold and fatigue; but L. Scribonius Libo and others kept the sea, and impeded the transport. Some months had now passed, and as the wind had frequently been favourable for them, Cæsar thought there must be some fault on the part of M. Antonius and Q. Fufius Calenus, who commanded at Brundisium, and he wrote to them in the most peremptory terms. He even, it is said, resolved to pass over in person, and disguising himself as a slave he embarked in a fishing-boat in the river Aôûs; but the sea proved so rough that the fishermen feared to go out; Cæsar then discovered himself, saying to the master, "Why dost thou fear? thou carriest Cæsar!" and they made an attempt to get out to sea; but the storm was so furious that he was obliged to let them put back again*.

At length Antonius put to sea, and succeeded in landing near Lissus. Cæsar and Pompeius, when they heard of his arrival, both put their troops in motion, the one to join, the other to attack him. Antonius kept within his entrenchments till Cæsar came up. Pompeius then retired; Cæsar followed him, and having offered him battle in vain, set out for Dyrrhachium. Pompeius delayed for one day, and then took a shorter route for the same place, and encamped on a hill named Petra close to the sea, near that town. As there were hills at a little distance near Petra, Cæsar raised forts on them, proposing to circumvallate Pompeius' camp. Pompeius, to oblige him to take in a greater space, also formed a line of forts, inclosing an extent of fifteen miles, so as to yield him forage for his cavalry; and he received abundant supplies by sea, while Cæsar's men were obliged to live chiefly on a root named *chara* for want of bread. But the forage soon began to run short with Pompeius' army; and as Cæsar had turned the streams, the want of water also was severely felt. At length Pompeius made a bold and judicious attack on the enemy's lines, and forced them; and in the action which ensued he gained the victory. Cæsar then resolved to transfer the war to Macedonia, and he set out for that country, closely followed by Pompeius. After a pursuit of three days Pompeius changed

* Cæsar, who was no boaster, is silent as to this fact, which was so creditable to him. It is related by Lucan, Plutarch, Appian and others.

his course, and taking a nearer route arrived the first in Macedonia, where he was near surprising Cæsar's general Cn. Domitius Calvinus. Cæsar entered Thessaly and took the town of Gomphi by assault, and then advanced and encamped near the town of Metropolis. Pompeius entered Thessaly a few days after, and joined his father-in-law Scipio, who lay at Larissa; and the two armies finally encamped opposite each other on the ever-memorable plain of Pharsalus.

CHAPTER XI.*

Battle of Pharsalia.—Flight and death of Pompeius.—His character.—Cæsar's Alexandrian war.—The Pontic war.—Affairs of Rome.—Mutiny of Cæsar's Legions.—African war.—Death of Cato.—His character.—Cæsar's triumphs.—Reformation of the calendar.—Second Spanish war.—Battle of Munda.—Honours bestowed on Cæsar.—Conspiracy against him.—His death.—His character.

THE two armies now lay in sight of each other; that of Pompeius, which consisted of forty-five thousand infantry and seven thousand cavalry beside light troops, was superior in number but inferior in quality. Cæsar's army, of twenty-two thousand foot and one thousand cavalry, was composed of hardy veterans, used to victory and confident in themselves and their leader.

The superior number of their troops and their late successes had raised the confidence of the Pompeian leaders, and nothing, we are told†, could exceed their insolence; they contended with one another for the dignities and priesthoods in the state, and disposed of the consulate for several years to come. Scipio, Lentulus Spinther, and L. Domitius had an angry contest for the chief-priesthood with which Cæsar was invested, for of his defeat not a doubt was entertained; and when Pompeius acted with caution, he was accused of protracting the war out of the vanity of seeing such a number of consulars and prætorians under his command. Proscriptions

* Cæsar, Civil Wars. Hirtius' and others' Books of the Alexandrian, African, and Spanish Wars. Dion, xli. 53—xliv. Appian, ii. 56, to the end. Vell. Pat. ii. 52—57. Suetonius, Jul. Cæsar. Plut. Pompeius, 68—80. Cæsar, 40—69. Cato, 55—74. Brutus, 6—18. Lucan, vi. 333—x. the Epi-tomators.

† Cæsar, B.C. iii. 83.

and confiscations were resolved on; "in short," says Cicero, "excepting Pompeius himself and a few others (I speak of the principal leaders), they carried on the war with such a spirit of rapaciousness, and breathed such principles of cruelty in their conversation, that I could not think even of our success without horror. To this I must add, that some of our most dignified men were deeply involved in debt; and, in short, there was nothing good among them but their cause*."

Pompeius, who was superstitious by nature, had been greatly encouraged by accounts of favourable signs in the entrails of the victims and such like sent him by the haruspices from Rome, and he resolved to risk a general engagement. He drew up his army at the foot of the hill on which he was encamped; but Cæsar, unwilling to engage him at a disadvantage, prepared to decamp. Just, however, as the order was given, seeing that Pompeius had advanced into the plain, he changed his mind, and made ready to engage. The right wing of the Pompeians, commanded by Lentulus, rested on the river Enipeus. Pompeius himself, with Domitius, commanded the left; his father-in-law, Scipio, the centre; the horse and light troops were all on the left. Cæsar's right was commanded by himself and P. Sulla; his left by M. Antonius; the centre by Domitius Calvinus: to strengthen his cavalry, he had mingled through it some of his most active foot-soldiers; and he placed six cohorts separate from his line, to act on occasion against the enemy's horse. Pompeius had directed his men to stand and receive the enemy's charge, hoping thus to engage them when out of breath with running; but the Cæsarians, when they found that the enemy did not advance, halted of themselves, and having recovered their breath, advanced in order and hurled their *pila*. They then fell on sword in hand; the Pompeians did the same; and while they were engaged, their horse and light troops having attacked and defeated Cæsar's cavalry were preparing to take his infantry in flank, when he made the signal to the six cohorts, who fell on and drove them off the field. It is said that Cæsar had directed his men to aim their blows at the faces of the horsemen, and that the young Roman knights fled sooner than run the risk of having their beauty spoiled†. The six cohorts then took the Pompeian

* Cic. ad Fam. vii. 3. Cicero always speaks with horror and apprehension of the success of the Pompeians. See ad Att. viii. 11; ix. 6. 7. 9. 10. 11; x. 7.

† Plut. Cæsar, 45. Appian, B.C. ii. 76. Flor. iv. 2. Frontinus, iv. 32. Lucan, vii. 575. Cæsar himself says nothing of it; but that is of little mo-

left wing in the rear, while Cæsar brought into action his third line, which had not yet been engaged. The Pompeians broke, and fled. Pompeius, whose whole reliance was on his left wing, now despairing of victory, retired to his tent to await the event of the battle. But Cæsar soon led his men to the attack of the camp, which was carried after an obstinate resistance from the cohorts which had been left to guard it. Pompeius, laying aside his general's habit, mounted a horse, and left it by the Decuman gate. Cæsar found the tents of Lentulus and others hung with ivy, fresh turves cut for seats, tables covered with plate, and all the preparations for celebrating a victory. Leaving some troops to guard the two camps, he followed a body of the Pompeians who had fled to a hill, but they abandoned it and made for Larissa; he however got between them and that town, and finally forced them to surrender. His own loss in this battle, he tells us, was only 200 men and 30 centurions; that of the Pompeians was 15,000, of whom but 6000 were soldiers, the rest being servants and the like: upwards of 24,000 were made prisoners. He granted life and liberty to all; and finding, it is said, in Pompeius' tent the letters of several men of rank, he imitated that general's own conduct in Spain, and burned without reading them. L. Domitius had been slain in the pursuit; Labienus fled with the Gallic horse to Dyrrhachium, where he found Cicero and Varro with Cato, who commanded there; they passed over to Corcyra, and being joined by the young Cn. Pompeius and other commanders of the fleet, held a council; but as they could decide on nothing, they separated, and went different ways. Labienus, Scipio and some others sailed to Africa to join Varus and king Juba; Cato and young Pompeius went in quest of Pompeius; Cicero returned to Italy, intending to seek the victor's clemency.

We must now follow the unhappy Pompeius Magnus. He rode with about thirty followers to the gates of Larissa, but would not enter the town lest the people should incur the anger of Cæsar. He then went on to the Vale of Tempe, and at the mouth of the Penêus got on board a merchantman which

ment, as it was his rule (see above, p. 424) to suppress any circumstance that might not redound to his credit. Probably, however, *Miles faciem feri* was merely a general order given to the troops. Freinsheim, (on Curtius, iv. 4, 14.) quoting Lucan, vii. 318,

"Ne cedere quisquam

Hosti terga velit,"

is of opinion that it was dictated by Cæsar's humanity, and signified—Strike none but those who resist.

he found lying there; thence he sailed to the mouth of the Strymôn, and having gotten some money from his friends at Amphipolis, proceeded to Mytilène in Lesbos, where he had left his wife Cornelia. Having taken her and his son Sextus on board, and collected a few vessels, he proceeded to Cilicia, and thence to Cyprus. He had intended going to Syria, but finding that the people of Antioch had declared for Cæsar, he gave up that design; and having gotten money from the publicans and some private persons, and collected about two thousand men, he made sail for Egypt.

It is said that he had consulted with his friends whether he should seek a refuge with the king of the Parthians, or retire to king Juba in Africa, or repair to the young king of Egypt, whose father had been restored to his throne through his influence some years before*. The latter course was decided on, and he sailed for Pelusium, where the young king (who was at war with his sister Cleopatra, whom their father had made joint-heir of the throne) was lying with his army. Pompeius sent to request his protection, on account of his friendship for his father. The king's ministers, either fearing that Pompeius, by means of the troops which had been left there by Gabinus, might attempt to make himself master of the kingdom, or despising his fallen fortunes, resolved on his death. They sent Achilles, a captain of the guard, with Septimius, a former Roman centurion, and some others in a small boat to invite him to land. He was requested to come into the boat, as the shore was too oozy and shallow for a ship to approach it. He consented, and directing two centurions and his freedman Philip and a slave to follow him, and having embraced Cornelia, he entered the boat, and then turning round repeated the following lines of Sophocles:

He who unto a prince's house repairs,
Becomes his slave, though he go thither free †.

* Ptolemæus Aulêtes promised Cæsar 6000 talents for himself and Pompeius, for having him acknowledged as king of Egypt by the senate. He was forced by his subjects to fly when he oppressed them by raising that sum. He came to Rome; Pompeius wished to have the profitable task of restoring him; but the laws and Sibylline oracles were alleged by his opponents, and Ptolemæus being obliged to leave Rome for having poisoned the ambassadors sent thither by his subjects, Pompeius gave him letters to Gabinus, the governor of Syria, who, on being promised 10,000 talents, set the laws and oracles at nought, marched the troops out of his province, and replaced him on the throne of Egypt.

† "Ὅστις δὲ πρὸς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται
Κείνου σὶ δουλος, κἄν ἐλεύθερος μὲλῃ.

They went on some time in silence; at length Pompeius, turning to Septimius, said, "If I mistake not, you and I have been fellow-soldiers." Septimius merely nodded assent; the silence was resumed; Pompeius began to read over what he had prepared to say to the king in Greek. Meantime the boat approached the shore; Cornelia and his friends saw several of the royal officers coming down to receive Pompeius, who, taking hold of Philip's arm, rose from his seat. As he rose Septimius stabbed him in the back; Achilles and a Roman named Salvius then struck him: Pompeius drew his mantle before his face, groaned, and died in silence. Those on ship-board gave a loud piercing cry of grief, and set sail without delay, pursued by some Egyptian vessels. The head of Pompeius was cut off; his trunk was thrown on the beach, where his faithful freedman stayed by it, and having washed it in the sea, collected the wreck of a fishing-boat and prepared a pyre to burn it. While he was thus engaged, an old Roman who had served under Pompeius came up, and saying that the honour of aiding at the obsequies of the greatest of Roman generals compensated him in some sort for the evils of an abode in a foreign land, assisted him in his pious office.

Such was the end of Cn. Pompeius Magnus, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. In his person he was graceful and dignified; he spoke and wrote with ease and perspicuity, and was always heard with attention and respect. In private life his morals were remarkably pure, unstained by the excesses which disgraced Cæsar and so many others at that time; of the amiability of his character there can be no stronger proof than the fact of his having gained the entire and devoted affection of two such women as Julia and Cornelia, both so many years younger than himself. The public character of Pompeius is far less laudable: his vanity was unbounded; his love of sway was inordinate; he could not brook a rival; he would, however, be the freely chosen head of the republic, and in such case would have respected and maintained the laws. Not succeeding in this course, he was led to the commission of several illegal acts, and he formed that fatal coalition with Cæsar, for whom neither as a statesman nor as a general was he a match, and who, during their union, always exerted over him the power of a superior mind, and that mostly for evil. Pompeius was by no means inclined to cruelty; yet Cicero feared, and with reason, that his victory would have been more sanguinary than that of Cæsar; for though his natural humanity

might have kept him from imitating Sulla as he threatened, he had not Cæsar's energy to restrain the violence of his followers. Cæsar we must allow was better fitted for empire; Pompeius was by far the better man.

Cæsar, on learning that Pompeius was gone to Egypt, made all the speed he could to overtake him, and thus end the war. He arrived at Alexandria with only two legions (3200 men) and 800 horse; the head and ring of Pompeius were presented to him; he shed some tears (counterfeit, we may well suspect) over them, and caused the head to be burnt with costly spices. He then set about regulating the affairs of Egypt, and he summoned Ptolemæus and his sister before him*. The superior influence of Cleopatra was soon apparent, and Pothinus, the young king's minister, seeing the small number of the Roman troops, sent to desire Achilles to advance with the army from Pelusium. This army consisted of eighteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, all good troops, several of them being Romans left by Gabinus, and Cæsar found it necessary to act on the defensive. Achilles made himself master of all the town except the part which Cæsar had fortified, and for the possession of which a great struggle was made, as with the shipping there the blockade of the part held by Cæsar might be made complete. Cæsar however succeeded in burning all the ships in it; unfortunately the flames extended, and the magnificent library of the kings was nearly all consumed. He then secured the island of Pharos at the mouth of the port, and the mole leading to it. The eunuch Ganymêdes, the successor of Achilles, who had been murdered, then mixed sea-water with that of the Nile in the aqueducts which supplied Cæsar's quarters; but this evil he obviated by sinking wells. In a naval action in the port, Cæsar, with only a few ships, gained the advantage; but in an attempt to retake the mole and island, which the Alexandrians had recovered, he lost about eight hundred men and some ships, and he had to throw himself into the water and swim to a merchantman for safety†.

The Alexandrians now sent to demand their king, who was in his hands, and Cæsar, seeing no use in detaining him, let

* It is said, that to escape her brother's troops Cleopatra had herself wrapped up in a bale of bedclothes and thus conveyed into Alexandria.

† He held, it is said, on this occasion his papers with one hand over the water to save them from being wetted. It is rather strange that he should have had papers in his hand, or even about him, in such a hot engagement.

him go, and the war was then renewed more fiercely than ever. Meantime Mithridates, an officer whom Cæsar had directed to levy troops in Syria, was advancing with a large army to relieve him, but as he had to go round the Delta, the young king despatched a part of his army to oppose him. These troops however were defeated; the king hastened with the rest of his army to their aid, and Cæsar at the same time joined Mithridates. He now resolved to try to terminate the war by an attack on the Egyptian camp, which was on an eminence over the Nile, one of its sides being defended by the steepness of the ground, the other by a morass. While the attack was carried on in the front of the camp, some cohorts climbed up the steep of the hill and fell on the enemy's rear. The Egyptians fled on all sides, mostly to the Nile, and the king in endeavouring to escape was drowned in the river. Cæsar returned to Alexandria, whose inhabitants came forth preceded by their priests to implore his mercy. He gave the crown to Cleopatra and her younger brother, leaving them the greater part of his troops to protect them, and then set out for Syria. After his departure Cleopatra was delivered of a son, who was said to be his, and was named Cæsariôn.

When the civil war broke out, Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates the Great, resolved to seize the occasion of recovering his paternal dominions. He speedily regained Pontus, and then overran Lesser Armenia and Cappadocia. Deiotarus, the king of the former, applied for aid to Cn. Domitius, who commanded for Cæsar in Asia; and after some fruitless attempts at negotiation, Domitius collected what troops he could, and advancing to Nicopolis gave Pharnaces battle, but was defeated and forced to retire. Cæsar was meantime (705) hastening from Egypt; for though he had learned that things were in the utmost confusion at Rome, he resolved not to quit Asia till he should have reduced it to peace. Though his force was small he decided on giving battle without delay, and he advanced to within five miles of Pharnaces' camp, which was on a hill, and commenced fortifying another hill in its vicinity. Pharnaces, relying on the number of his troops, and recollecting that it was in that very place his father had defeated Triarius, crossed the valley, and leading his army up the hill attacked the Roman troops. The battle was long and dubious; at length the right wing of the Romans was victorious, the centre and left were soon equally successful; the enemy was driven down the hill and pursued to his camp,

which was speedily taken: Pharnaces himself escaped, but nearly his whole army was slain or taken. "I came, I saw, I conquered" (*Veni, vidi, vici*), were the terms in which Cæsar wrote to announce this victory, which ended the Pontic war.

Having regulated the affairs of Asia, Cæsar set out for Italy: at Brundisium he was met by Cicero, whom he received very kindly; he then went on to Rome, which he found in a state of distraction. For Cæsar, having been created a second time dictator after the battle of Pharsalia, had sent M. Antonius, his master of the horse, to govern Italy in his absence; and P. Cornelius Dolabella, another of his friends, being made one of the tribunes, had revived the laws of Cælius for the abolition of debts and rents. Antonius, who, like Dolabella, was immersed in debt, was at first willing to support him, but he finally sided with the senate and two of the other tribunes in opposing him. The people were of course for Dolabella, and such conflicts took place, during an absence of Antonius, between debtors and creditors, that the Vestals found it necessary to remove the sacred things to a place of safety. When Antonius returned the senate gave him the usual charge to see that the state suffered no injury. Dolabella, on the day of proposing his laws, had the Forum barricaded, and even wooden towers erected to keep off all opponents; but Antonius came down with soldiers from the Capitol, broke the tables of the laws, and seizing some of the more turbulent, flung them down from the Tarpeian rock. When Cæsar arrived he took no notice of what had occurred; but he steadily refused the abolition of debts. To gratify his friends he let them have good bargains at the sales of the properties of Pompeius and others which he confiscated; he increased the number of priesthoods and prætorships, and placed several of his officers in the senate*. Having had himself and his master of the horse, M. Lepidus (for he continued to be dictator), chosen consuls for the following year, he was preparing to pass over to Africa, when a mutiny broke out among his veteran legions, who were disappointed at not having yet gotten the rewards that had been promised them. It began with his favourite tenth legion. C. Sallustius (the historian), whom he sent to assure them that when the war was ended they should have 1000 denars a man, beside the lands and money already due to them, was obliged to fly for his life. They marched from

* The far larger part of the senate consisted of those whom he had placed in it. Cic. Div. li. 9.

Campania to Rome, plundering and murdering on their way, and came and posted themselves on the Field of Mars. Cæsar, in spite of his friends, went out, and mounting his tribunal, demanded what had brought them thither and what they wanted? They were disconcerted, and merely said that they had hoped he would give them their discharge in consequence of their wounds and length of service. "I give it you," said he, and then added, "and when I have triumphed with other soldiers I will still keep my word with you." He was retiring; his officers stopped him, and begged him to be less severe, and to speak to them again. He addressed them, commencing with *Quirites!* and not as usual *Commilitones!* this totally overcame them; they cried out that they were his soldiers, and would follow him to Africa or anywhere else if he would not cast them off; he then pardoned them, and passed over at their head to Sicily, though it was now far in the winter.

The Pompeians, aided by king Juba, were at this time in great force in Africa. Cato, having met Pompeius' ships, with Cornelia and Sex. Pompeius at Cyrene, landed all his troops there, and marching them overland to the African province joined Scipio and the other leaders. The chief command was given to Scipio as being a consular, and Cato took the government of the town of Utica.

Cæsar, having assembled six legions in Sicily, set sail from Lilybæum with a part of them (about three thousand men) and landed near Adrumêtum. Being frustrated in his attempt to take that town, he proceeded to another named Ruspina, which he reached on the 1st of January (706); he thence advanced to Leptis, but he soon returned in order to go and look after his fleet, which had steered by mistake for Utica. Having been joined by the troops on board the fleet he encamped at Ruspina, and some days after engaged a numerous army, chiefly Numidians, commanded by Labienus. The battle lasted from before mid-day to sunset, and the advantage was on the side of the Pompeian general. As Scipio and Juba were said to be approaching with eight legions and three thousand horse, Cæsar fortified his camp with the greatest care, and sent to Sicily and elsewhere for supplies. When Scipio came he offered battle repeatedly; but Cæsar, taught by the experience of the late action, steadily refused to fight; endeavouring at the same time to gain over Scipio's troops and the people of the country, in which he is said to have had some success. After some time he found himself strong enough

to offer battle; but Scipio had now prudently resolved to protract the war. Cæsar then decamped at midnight, and went and laid siege to the town of Thapsus. Scipio and Juba followed him thither, and forming two camps about eight miles from his, attempted to throw succours into the town; failing in this they resolved to give him battle, though Cato, it is said, strongly advised against it. Scipio moved down to the seaside, and having thrown up some intrenchments, drew his army out before them with his elephants on the wings. Cæsar also drew out his nine legions. While he was hesitating whether to attack or not, a trumpeter sounded on the right wing; the troops then charged in spite of their officers: the elephants, not being well trained, turned on their own men when assailed by the missiles, and rushed into the camp. Scipio's troops broke and fled to their former camp, and then to that of Juba; but this also being forced they retired to a hill, whither they were pursued and slaughtered by Cæsar's veterans. Ten thousand was the number of the slain; the loss of the victors did not exceed fifty men. Cæsar then, leaving three legions to blockade Thapsus, and sending two against a town named Tisdra, advanced with the remainder toward Utica.

Cato, who commanded in this town, had formed a council of three hundred of the Roman traders who resided in it. When the news of the defeat at Thapsus arrived, he assembled his council and tried to animate them; but finding them inclined to have recourse to Cæsar's clemency, he gave up all hopes of defending the town, and sent word to that effect to Scipio and Juba, who were now in the neighbourhood. Soon after the cavalry which had fled from Thapsus arrived; Cato went out to try and engage them to stay, but while he was away the three hundred met and determined on a surrender: when he heard of this he prevailed on the cavalry to stop for one day, and he put the gates and citadel into their hands; his object being to gain time to send away the Roman senators and others by sea. Having closed all the gates but one leading to the port, he got ships and everything ready for those who were to go. Meantime the cavalry had begun to plunder; but he went to them, and by giving them money prevailed on them to leave the town: he then went down to the port to see his friends off. He afterwards arranged his accounts, and commended his children to his quæstor L. Cæsar. In the evening he bathed and supped as usual with his friends, discussing philosophical questions; and having walked after supper he re-

tired to his room, where it is said he read over Plato's dialogue named *Phædo*, which treats of a future state and the immortality of the soul, and it is added slept soundly. Toward morning he stabbed himself with his sword: the sound of his fall being heard, his friends ran to the room, and his surgeon went to bind up the wound; but he thrust him from him, tore it open, and instantly expired.

Thus died M. Porcius Cato, in the forty-eighth year of his age, a man possessed of many noble and estimable qualities, but joined with some defects, among which his vanity and his obstinacy were conspicuous. He was certainly patriotic, and was for maintaining the constitution; but it may be doubted if personal hatred to Cæsar was not the secret source of many of his apparently most patriotic actions. His politics were of too Utopian a cast ever to be really useful; for such is our nature, that the politician *must* know how to yield to circumstances if he would do good. We may therefore admire, but should never think of imitating, the character of Cato*.

Cæsar soon arrived at Utica, where he granted their lives to L. Cæsar and the other Romans: as for the three hundred, he said he would content himself with confiscating their properties for their crime in supplying Varus and Scipio with money; he however let them off for a sum of two hundred millions of sesterces, to be paid in the course of six years to the republic—that is, to himself.

King Juba had set out with Petreius for his town of Zama; but he found the gates closed against him, and he and his companion, seeing no hopes, agreed to kill one another; Petreius died at once, Juba was obliged to employ the hand of a slave. Afranius and Faustus Sulla were met and made prisoners in Mauritania, as they were making for Spain with the cavalry from Utica, by P. Silius†, an Italian *condottiere* who had declared for Cæsar, to whom he sent them, and by whose soldiers, probably with his knowledge and consent, they and L. Cæsar were put to death. Scipio on his way to Spain being obliged to put into the port of Hippo, where Silius' freebooting squadron lay, was attacked by it. Having seen most of his vessels sink, he stabbed himself, and when one of Silius' soldiers on

* See Seneca, *Epist.* 11.

† Silius was a native of Nuceria in Apulia. Being suspected of a participation in Catilina's conspiracy, he fled to Spain and thence to Africa, where he hired out his own services and those of a body of men whom he had collected, to the princes of the country in their wars.

boarding asked where was the general, he calmly replied, "The general is safe." Cæsar went from Utica to Zama, where he sold the property of king Juba and seized that of the Romans who resided there. He converted the kingdom into a province, giving Cirta to Sitius. On his return to Utica he seized and sold the property of all who had been centurions under Juba and Petreius, and he fined all the towns in proportion to their means; he, however, did not allow his soldiers to pillage any of them. He then set sail homewards, leaving C. Sallustius as proconsul to govern the new province of Numidia, by whom it was plundered in a merciless manner*.

On Cæsar's arrival in Rome honours of every kind were decreed to him by his obsequious senate. They had already decreed a supplication of forty days for his African victory; that he should be dictator for ten years, inspector of morals for three; that his chariot should be placed on the Capitol opposite the statue of Jupiter, and his statue standing on a brazen figure of the world with the inscription "Cæsar the semigod." Having addressed the senate and the people, and assured them of his clemency and regard for the republic, he prepared to celebrate his triumphs for his various conquests; and in one month he triumphed four times, the first triumph being for Gaul, the second for Ptolemæus of Egypt, the third for Pharnaces of Pontus, and the fourth for Juba of Numidia. The first was the most splendid; but as the procession went along the Velabrum the axle of the triumphal car broke, and he was obliged to mount another, which caused much delay. When he at length reached the Capitol, he went up the steps of the temple on his knees. In the second triumph were seen pictures of the deaths of Pothinus and Achilles, and the Pharos on fire; the third displayed a tablet with VENI, VIDI, VICI! on it. The money borne in triumph is said to have amounted to 65,000 talents, and the gold crowns to have been 2822 in number, and to have weighed 2414 pounds. He feasted the people at 22,000 tables placed in the streets; and to 150,000 citizens he gave ten pecks of corn, ten pounds of oil, and 400 sesterces a-piece. As he returned home from the banquet, lights were borne on each side of him by forty elephants. He then dedicated a forum and a temple of Venus Genetrix which he had built, on which occasion he entertained the people with public

* Dion, xlii. 9. He was prosecuted for extortion the next year, but Cæsar saved him; hence his apologists say that it was for Cæsar, not for himself, that he had pillaged the province.

games of all kinds, sham-battles, hunting of wild beasts, horse- and chariot-races, the Trojan game, etc. To reward his veterans he gave them each 24,000 sesterces, double the sum to the centurions, the quadruple to the tribunes; and he assigned them lands, but not in continuous tracts, in order that present possessors might not be disturbed; or perhaps rather that the new colonists might not, from a consciousness of their numbers and strength, be disposed to insurrection.

Cæsar now turned his thoughts to legislation. He confined the judicial power to the senators and knights; he reduced by a census the number of citizens who received corn by about one half; he sent eighty thousand citizens away as colonists; he enacted that no freeman under twenty or over forty years of age should be more than three years out of Italy, and no senator's son at all unless in the retinue of a magistrate; that all graziers on the public lands should not have less than a third of their shepherds freemen. He granted the freedom of the city to all physicians and professors of the liberal arts; he made or renewed various sumptuary laws; and he encouraged marriage, and gave rewards to those who had many children.

As a means of securing his power, he abolished all the clubs and other societies except the ancient guilds; for however useful they might have formerly proved in forwarding his own views, he knew them to be totally incompatible with all regular government. Judging also by his own experience, he enacted that no prætor should hold a province for more than one year, no consul for more than two. He further reserved to himself the appointment of one half of those who were to be elected to offices in the state, and at the approach of the elections he always notified to the people whom he would have chosen for the remaining places*.

It was at this time also that Cæsar made his celebrated reformation of the calendar. The Roman year had been the lunar one of 354 days, and it was kept in accordance with the solar year by intercalating months in every second and fourth year. The pontiffs were charged with this office; but they exercised it, it is said, in an arbitrary manner, from motives of partiality, and the year was now more than two months in arrear. Cæsar therefore added 67 days between November and December of this year, which with the intercalary month

* The following was the form of his *congéd d'élire*: "Cæsar, dictator, illi tribui: Commendo tibi illum et illum, ut vestro suffragio suam dignitatem teneant." Suet. Jul. Cæs. 41. Dion, xliii. 51.

of 23 days made an entire addition of 90 days; and he divided the year into months of 30 and 31 days, directing a day to be intercalated every fourth year, to keep it even with the course of the sun. His agent in this change was an Alexandrian named Sosigenes.

Toward the end of the year Cæsar was obliged to return to Spain, where the sons of Pompeius with Labienus and Varus had collected a force of eleven legions, and had driven Trebonius, who commanded there, out of Bætica. In twenty-seven days he travelled from Rome to the neighbourhood of Corduba, and after various movements the two armies met (Mar. 17th, 707) on the plain of Munda. Cn. Pompeius, who commanded in chief, had the advantage in position and numbers, and he was so near gaining the victory, that Cæsar, it is said, was about to put an end to himself. He alighted from his horse, took a shield, and advancing before his men declared that he would never retire. This action excited them to renewed exertions; and just then a Moorish prince in Cæsar's army having fallen on Pompeius' camp, Labienus sent five cohorts to protect it; Cæsar cried aloud that the enemy was flying; this roused the courage of one side and excited the fears of the other, and after a severe contest victory remained with Cæsar. Labienus, Varus, and 33,000 men lay slain on the side of Pompeius; the victors, according to their own accounts, had one thousand killed and half that number wounded. Cæsar declared that in his other battles he had fought for victory, in this for his very existence: it was the last conflict of the Civil War. Cn. Pompeius fled to Carteia, where his fleet lay; but finding the people inclined to Cæsar, he put to sea with thirty ships. C. Didius, who commanded Cæsar's fleet at Gades, pursued him, and when he was obliged to land for water attacked and burned several of his ships. Pompeius, who was wounded, fled from one place to another; and being found in a cavern in which he had taken shelter, he was put to death, and his head, like his father's, brought to Cæsar. Sex. Pompeius, who commanded in Corduba, fled to the mountains of Celtiberia. Munda was taken after a siege of three weeks; Corduba, Hispalis (*Seville*), Gades and the other towns opened their gates. Cæsar in order to raise money heavily fined some places, sold privileges to others, and even plundered the temple of Hercules at Gades; and having thus collected all the money he could, he set out on his return to Rome, leaving C. Asinius Pollio as proprætor in Ulterior Spain.

Cæsar celebrated his triumph on the 1st of October, but though a magnificent it was a melancholy sight to the people, who regarded it as a triumph over themselves. The senate however was never weary of heaping honours on him. He was made perpetual dictator and inspector of morals, given the *prænomen* of Imperator, and the *cognomen* of Father of his Country; his statue was placed among those of the kings on the Capitol and in all the temples and towns; it was carried with those of the gods at the Circensian games, and there was a *pulvinar*, or state-couch, for it as for theirs; he had a *flamen* and Luperce like Quirinus, and the month Quinctilis was named Julius after him. He was allowed to wear a laurel crown constantly, to have a golden seat in the senate-house and Forum, etc. Friends and enemies concurred in lavishing these honours on him, the former out of zeal, the latter it is said in the hope of making him incur the hatred of the people.

Insatiate of fame and impatient of repose, Cæsar had already resolved on a war with the Parthians, and he now sent his legions before him into Macedonia. Meantime he was forming various magnificent projects for his own glory and the benefit of the people. He proposed to rebuild Carthage and Corinth and several Italian towns, to cut across the isthmus of Corinth, to drain the Pomptine marshes, to let off the Fucine lake, to dig a new bed for the Tiber*, to form a large port at Ostia, and to construct a causeway over the Apennines to the Adriatic. He employed the learned Varro to collect books for a public library, and he purposed reducing the mass of the Roman laws to a moderate compass.

It was thus that Cæsar meditated improving the empire which he had acquired by his sword; he moreover proclaimed an amnesty, replaced the statues of Sulla and Pompeius which had been thrown down, and dismissing his guards went attended only by lictors. But, in the intoxication of power he did not sufficiently spare the feelings and prejudices of those over whom he ruled. He introduced Gauls into the senate, he set his slaves over the mint and the revenue, he did as he pleased with all the high offices; he would use such language as this:—"There is no republic; Sulla was an idiot to lay down the

* It was his plan to make the river run close to the Janiculan in a straight line, instead of its actual meandering course from the Mulvian bridge downwards, and thus protect the city from inundations. The Campus Martius was then to be employed as building-ground, and the land between it and the new course of the Tiber to be the place of exercise for the Roman youth. Cic. ad Att. xiii. 33.

dictatorship; men should speak more respectfully to me, and consider my word to be law." When the whole senate waited on him one day with a decree in his honour, he did not even deign to rise from his seat to receive them. Finally, like Cromwell, not content with the solid power of a king, he longed, it is said, for the empty title, and various modes of feeling the pulse of the people on this subject were employed. As he was returning (708) from keeping the Latin holidays on the Alban Mount some voices in the crowd called him King, and some one placed a diadem and a crown of laurel on one of his statues. Seeing that the people was not pleased, he replied, "I am Cæsar, not king;" but he deprived of their office two of the tribunes when they imprisoned the man who had crowned his statues. A few days after, on the festival of the Lupercalia (Feb. 15), Antonius, then his colleague in the consulate and one of the new Luperci, ran up to him as he was seated in state on the Rostra and placed a diadem on his head; a few hired voices applauded: Cæsar rejected it, and a general shout of approbation ensued; the offer was repeated with the same effect. Cæsar then rose desiring the diadem to be placed on the statue of Jupiter as the only king of the Romans. It was also rumoured that it was found in the Sibylline books that the Parthians could only be conquered by a king, and that therefore L. Cotta, one of the keepers of them, was to propose that Cæsar should bear the regal title out of Italy.

But at this very time there was a conspiracy formed to deprive Cæsar of life and empire. The members of it were sixty in number, some of them his adherents, others those who had fought against him, to whom he had given their lives, and even promoted them to honours. Among the latter were C. Cassius Longinus and M. Junius Brutus. Of these, Cassius had, as we have seen, been Crassus' quæstor in the Parthian war; he had commanded a division of Pompeius' fleet, and meeting Cæsar on his way to Egypt had been pardoned by him, and he was now one of the city-prætors. He was a man of very considerable talent, but of a harsh and stern temper. Brutus was the nephew of Cato, to whose daughter he was now married, having divorced his former wife Claudia for that purpose. After the battle of Pharsalia he fled to Larissa, whence he sent his submission to Cæsar, who joyfully received him, and when he was going to Africa set him over Cisalpine Gaul, and had now made him one of the city-prætors. His sister Junia was the wife of Cassius. A mistaken sense of patriotism may have been, and probably was, the motive which actuated these and

some others; for even Cæsar's own partisans who shared in the conspiracy, such as D. Brutus and C. Trebonius, may have acted from the same motives, as though they fought for Cæsar against Pompeius, it does not follow that they approved of the overthrow of the constitution. The conspirators were about sixty in number; nearly all of them seem to have been of the Cæsarian party, such as C. and P. Servilius Casca, L. Tillius Cimber, L. Minucius Basilus, and Ser. Sulpicius Galba. Q. Ligarius is the only Pompeian mentioned beside Brutus and Cassius.

Cassius is said to have been the original contriver of the plot; those to whom he communicated it advised him strongly to engage Brutus in it if possible, on account of his name and influence, and Brutus when sounded readily entered into it. Brutus was further urged, it is said, by hints such as these: on his tribunal he found written, "Brutus, dost thou sleep?" and, "Thou art not a true Brutus!" and on the statue of the elder Brutus was written, "Would there were a Brutus now!" Knowing the timidity of Cicero's character, and certain of his support when the deed was done, the conspirators did not make him privy to their design; but it is said they had had some thoughts of admitting Antonius, who was supposed to be offended with Cæsar for having required him to pay for Pompeius' property which he had bought, but Trebonius had diverted them from it. It was then warmly debated among them whether they should not kill Antonius and Lepidus along with Cæsar, but M. Brutus declaring strongly against such an act as unjust and impolitic, it was imprudently given up. The place and time of performing the deed were also matter of debate, as they were resolved that this act of public justice, as they deemed it, should be done in the face of day: some proposed the Field of Mars, others the Via Sacra or the entrance of the theatre; but as the senate were to meet on the ides of March, in the Curia belonging to the theatre of Pompeius in the Field of Mars, that day and place were finally fixed on. It is said moreover that Cæsar knew that there was a conspiracy against him, but that he disdained to take any precautions, saying that he would rather die at once by treachery than live in fear of it; that he had lived long enough, and that the state would be a greater loser than he by his death.

On the morning of the ides (15th) of March Brutus and Cassius sat calmly to administer justice as usual, but with daggers concealed under their garments. Cæsar, who felt himself indisposed, and whose wife is said to have had ominous

dreams, was thinking of not going to the senate, but D. Brutus urging him he ascended his litter and set out: on the way, we are told, Artemidorus, a Greek philosopher, handed him a paper with an account of the plot, desiring him to read it immediately; but he went in with the paper in his hand*. Popillius Lænas, who a little before had spoken to Brutus and Cassius in terms which seemed to intimate a knowledge of the plot, went up and spoke earnestly to him; the conspirators, who did not hear what he said, were in alarm, and laid their hands on their daggers to kill themselves if necessary. At length Popillius retired, and Cæsar advanced and took his seat; the conspirators gathered round him; Cimber began to plead for his brother who was in exile, the others joined earnestly in the suit: Cæsar was annoyed at their importunity; Cimber then gave the appointed signal by seizing his *toga* and pulling it off his shoulder. "This is violence," cried Cæsar. Casca instantly stabbed him under the throat. Cæsar rose, ran his writing-style into Casca's arm, and rushed forward; but another and another struck him; then despairing of life he thought only of dying with dignity, and wrapping his *toga* around him, he fell, pierced by three-and-twenty wounds, at the foot of Pompeius' statue†. Brutus then waving his bloody dagger called aloud on Cicero, and congratulated him on the recovery of the public liberty‡. He was going to address the assembly, but the senators fled out of the house in dismay.

Thus perished, in his fifty-sixth year, C. Julius Cæsar, the greatest man Rome, we would almost say the world, ever beheld. Equally the general, the statesman, the orator, and the man of letters and taste, he must have shone in any station and under any form of society. His courage was not merely physical, it was moral; his eloquence was simple and masculine; his taste pure and elegant. He was free from the vanity which disfigured Pompeius, Cicero, Cato, and others§. He was clement,

* It is also said that Spurinna, an aruspex, had warned him to beware of the ides of March; and now seeing him he said, "Well, the ides of March are come." "Yes, but they are not past!" replied Spurinna.

† Some writers say that when Brutus struck, Cæsar cried out in Greek, "And thou my son?" Cæsar, it is well known, had an intrigue with Servilia, Brutus' mother, but he was only fifteen years older than Brutus, and so could not well have been his father.

‡ Cic. Phil. ii. 12.

§ His solicitude about his dress and his personal appearance was a curious trait in Cæsar's character. No honour that was decreed him gave him more pleasure than that of wearing a laurel wreath, as it helped to conceal his baldness. Suet. Jul. Cæs. 45.

generous, and magnanimous : but he was also insatiably ambitious, and though not cruel (as no really great man is), he could shed torrents of blood without remorse when he had any object to gain ; and though he enforced the laws when he had the supreme power, he had trampled on them with contempt when they stood in his way. To say that Cæsar overthrew the liberties of his country, unless we dignify anarchy with the name of liberty, we hold to be incorrect ; and had his motive been the love of Rome, and not the gratification of his own ambition, we might even feel disposed to praise him. But he cared not for his country : the love of fame alone actuated him ; instead of staying in Italy, and seeking to promote the happiness of those who were become his subjects, he was now on the point of running, in imitation of Alexander, to attempt the conquest of the East, leaving the supreme power at Rome in the hands of such men as Antonius and Dolabella. According to the old Valerian law*, Cæsar was legally slain : we are not perhaps justified in ascribing any but patriotic motives to most of the conspirators ; but if his assassination was an act of justice, according to the ideas of those times, never was there a more useless, a more pernicious act of justice performed†.

CHAPTER XII.†

Affairs at Rome after Cæsar's death.—His funeral.—Conduct of Antonius.—Octavius at Rome.—Quarrel between him and Antonius.—Mutinensian war.—Cæsar made consul.—The Triumvirate and Proscription.—Death of Cicero.—His character.—Acts of the Triumvirs.—War with Brutus and Cassius.—Battle of Philippi.—Death of Brutus and Cassius.—Antonius and Cleopatra.—Cæsar's distribution of lands.—Perusian war.—Return of Antonius to Italy.—War with Sex. Pompeius.—Parthian war.—Rupture between Cæsar and Antonius.—Battle of Actium.—Last efforts of Antonius.—Death of Antonius and Cleopatra.—Sole dominion of Cæsar.—Conclusion.

THE terror of the senate at the assassination of Cæsar was shared by the people, and the conspirators not knowing how

* See above, p. 33. "The purport of this law," says Niebuhr (i. 522.), "was to ensure tyrannicide ; its effect to give impunity to murder." We know not if he had the present case also in view.

† See Seneca de Benef. ii. 20.

‡ Dion, xlv.—li. Appian, B.C. iii.—v. Vell. Pat. ii. 58—89. Suet. Octavius, Plut. Cicero, 43—49 ; Brutus, 19—53 ; Antonius, 14—87 ; the Epitomators.

they might finally act, and aware of the great number of soldiers that were in and about the city, deemed it their safest course to retire to the Capitol, whither several of the senate and the nobility repaired to them. The dead body of Cæsar, which lay in the senate-house, was placed in his litter by three of his slaves and taken home. Antonius fled and concealed himself; Lepidus retired to the troops which he had in the island of the Tiber*, and transported them without delay over to the Field of Mars.

The next day passed in conferences and negotiations. Brutus and Cassius came down and harangued the people in the Forum, and were heard with respect; but when the prætor L. Cornelius Cinna began to accuse Cæsar, the people showed such anger that the conspirators deemed it prudent to return to the Capitol; and Brutus, expecting to be besieged, made those who had joined them there retire, that they might not share in the danger. On the third day (the 17th) Antonius†, as consul, assembled the senate in the temple of Earth (*Tellus*), which was on the Carinæ, where he then dwelt in the house of Pompeius. Cicero's son-in-law Dolabella, at the same time, assumed of himself the place in the consulate now vacant by the death of Cæsar, and to which he had been designated. Antonius proposed an accommodation with the conspirators, which was approved of by Cicero, who gave it the name of *amnesty*, comparing it with that of Athens in the time of the Thirty. Antonius also moved that all Cæsar's acts should be confirmed; to this, likewise, the senate assented.

* He was preparing to set out with them for Spain, of which Cæsar had given him the government.

† As Antonius becomes now an actor of so much importance, we will sketch his previous history. He was grandson of the great orator (see p. 345), and son of the Antonius who commanded against the pirates (pp. 362. 364.). In his youth he was riotous and debauched, and squandered his patrimony before he assumed the toga. His step-father was Catilina's associate Lentulus; after whose death he joined Clodius, and shared in the violence of his tribunate. He then went abroad, and became commander of the horse under Gabinus in Syria, and had his part in the restoration of Ptolemæus (p. 434). On his return, his debts driving him from Rome, he went to Gaul to Cæsar, who aided him with his money and credit in his suit for the quæstorship; and Cicero, to oblige Cæsar, exerted himself so strenuously in his favour, that Antonius attributed his success to him, and, to prove his gratitude, attempted to kill Clodius in the Forum. As soon as he was made quæstor, he went back to Cæsar, without waiting for an appointment from the senate; he afterwards returned, and was chosen one of the tribunes; and we have seen how useful he proved to Cæsar. See Cic. Phil. ii. 18-20.

Meantime the conspirators had assembled the people on the Capitol, where Brutus addressed them, taking care to assure the veterans that they should not be disturbed in the possession of their lands. The decree of the senate was read out to the people, and Cicero harangued them with his usual fire. They then, as a proof of the truth of what they had heard, required to see those on the Capitol, and Antonius and Lepidus having sent their sons up for hostages they came down. Brutus supped that evening with Lepidus, who was married to his sister; Cassius was entertained by Antonius, the others by their respective friends. Next day (18th) they appeared in the senate, where a decree was made confirming them in the provinces to which they had been appointed by Cæsar, namely, M. Brutus in Macedonia, D. Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul, Cassius in Syria, Trebonius in Asia, etc.

The danger likely to arise to the republican party should Cæsar have a public funeral and his will be made known was so apparent, that when the house rose on the 17th many applied to his father-in-law Piso on the subject, and Cicero's friend Atticus, departing from his usual caution, declared aloud that all was lost if there was a public funeral*. But Piso would not hearken to their remonstrances, and accordingly the will of the dictator was opened and read at the house of Antonius. It was found that he had adopted and made his principal heir C. Octavius, the grandson of his sister; that he had bequeathed the citizens 300 sesterces a-piece, and left them his gardens near the Tiber. The funeral then took place. A small temple, framed on the model of that of Venus Genetrix, and adorned with gold, was raised in front of the Rostra, and his body was borne thither and placed in it on an ivory couch by those who had held public offices in the present or the preceding year; the robe in which he had died was hung over it; the pyre meantime was formed in the Field of Mars, whither all who chose were directed to carry their spices and perfumes to be burnt on it. Antonius then ascended the Rostra; he desired the decrees of the senate in Cæsar's honour to be read, and the oath taken by the senators not only not to make any attempt on his life, but to defend it at the hazard of their own. He spoke briefly on each point†; he then descended and approached the bier, where he wept over the dead and praised his deeds. He then displayed the bloody robe; verses suitable

* Cic. ad Att. xiv. 10, 14.

† "Quibus perpauca a se verba addidit." Suet. Jul. Cæs. 84.

to the occasion, selected from the tragedies of Pacuvius and Atilius, were chanted to mournful music, and a waxen image of the dictator, displaying the three-and-twenty wounds, was raised and moved over the bier. The multitude was roused to fury and would not suffer the body to be removed, some insisting that it should be burnt in the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, others in the curia of Pompeius, in which he was slain. Suddenly two armed soldiers advanced with lighted tapers and set fire to the bier; the crowd broke up all the seats and got brushwood and everything else that came to hand to feed the flames; the musicians and players threw on them their dresses, the veterans their arms, the women their own and their children's ornaments to honour Cæsar. The mob then attempted to set fire to the houses of the conspirators, and they murdered C. Helvius Cinna, a tribune, and one of Cæsar's friends, mistaking him for his namesake the prætor, and carried his head about on a spear. Shortly after the mob erected an altar with a pillar on the spot where they had burnt Cæsar's body and offered sacrifices on it; but Antonius seized and put their ringleader to death; and Dolabella afterwards demolished the pillar and altar, and executed several of the most riotous of the populace.

Pretending fear on account of the hostility of the populace, Antonius asked the senate for a guard to protect him, and when it was granted he surrounded himself with six thousand veterans. He then caused the execution of Cæsar's acts to be committed to the consuls, and as he had Cæsar's papers and his secretary Faberius in his hands he now could forge and do as he pleased. He therefore recalled exiles, granted immunities to whom he chose and who could pay for them*, and thus amassed a large quantity of money. Calpurnia, Cæsar's wife, had, in her first terror, given up to him all the ready money that Cæsar had left behind him, amounting to one hundred million sesterces, and he seized the public treasure of seven hundred millions which Cæsar had placed in the temple of Ops. He thus had been enabled to pay off his own debts of forty million sesterces, purchase over his colleague Dolabella, and gain the soldiery to his side. As Sex. Pompeius was again in arms, Antonius and Lepidus, aware of the annoyance

* Though Cæsar had been implacable toward Deiotarus, Antonius restored him his dominions, in compliance, as he said, with the will of Cæsar. The price to be paid by the king was 10,000,000 sesterces: the bargain was made by his agents with Fulvia the wife of Antonius. Cic. ad Att. xlv. 12. Phil. ii. 37.

he might give them, had a decree passed restoring him to his estates* and honours, and giving him the command at sea with as full powers as his father had enjoyed. Lepidus himself obtained at this time the high-priesthood in the place of Cæsar.

The young C. Octavius, a youth of nineteen years of age, was at Apollonia pursuing his studies at the time of Cæsar's death: the officers of the troops about there waited on him with a tender of their services, and some of his friends advised him to accept them; but this course did not suit his naturally cautious temper, and he only said that he would go to Rome and claim his uncle's estates. In the present posture of affairs even this course seemed too hazardous to many of his friends, and his mother Atia and her husband L. Marcius Philippus wrote to dissuade him from it. He however persisted, and on his landing near Brundisium, the veterans flocked to him complaining of Antonius' tardiness to avenge the death of Cæsar. He thence proceeded to join his mother at Cumæ, and there he was introduced to Cicero, whom he assured that he would be always governed by his advice. Octavius then set out for Rome; when he came near the city crowds of Cæsar's friends met him and attended him on his entrance. Next day he went before the prætor C. Antonius and had his claim duly registered. M. Antonius was at this time absent from Rome, as he was making a progress through Campania in order to conciliate the veterans who were settled as colonists in that district. On his return (about the middle of May) Octavius waited on him and claimed his uncle's property. Antonius made a cold reply, telling him that he was indebted to *him* for his adoption not being annulled; that there was no more money remaining, and that he should call to mind what he had learned from his masters on the subject of the popular instability. When soon after Octavius sought to have his adoption confirmed by the curies, Antonius caused the tribunes to prevent it by their intercession.

Octavius (whom we shall henceforth call Cæsar†), seeing he had no hopes of Antonius, turned to the senate and people; the former seemed disposed to favour him against Antonius, and he easily won the latter by a promise of even more

* It may give some idea of the wealth of the Roman nobles to know that Pompeius' property (independent of his plate and jewels) was valued at 700,000,000 sesterces, or upwards of five millions and a half sterling.

† By the rule of adoption, his name now became C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus.

money than Cæsar had left them in his will, and of treating them with splendid shows. To perform these promises he had to sell his own estate and his succession to his uncle's, and even those of his mother and his father-in-law, who now supported him heartily.

Brutus and Cassius were now no longer at Rome. They quitted the city toward the middle of April and remained at Lanuvium, Antium, and other places in the vicinity for some months, during which time Antonius caused Macedonia and Syria to be transferred to himself and Dolabella, and the task of collecting corn in Crete and Cyrene to be assigned to them as their provinces. In the beginning of September, seeing that their cause was hopeless at Rome, they set sail with the ships which they had collected, and proceeded to take possession of their original provinces, being now resolved on an appeal to arms.

The chief hope of the republicans at Rome now lay in the increasing coolness between Cæsar and Antonius. The latter did all in his power to gain the veterans; he estranged himself more and more from the republican party, which therefore looked to his rival, who it is said * formed a design against his life, and sent some slaves to his house to assassinate him. They both began to make preparations for war, and Antonius in the beginning of October set out for Brundisium to meet four legions which he had recalled from Macedonia. Cæsar sent his agents to try to purchase the fidelity of these legions; he himself went to solicit the veterans settled about Capua, and as he gave 500 denars a man, a number of them joined him. Antonius was but coolly received by the soldiers, and when he offered them 100 denars each they left his tribunal with contempt. In a rage he summoned the centurions whom he suspected to his quarters, and had them massacred in the presence of himself and his wife Fulvia. Cæsar's agents took advantage of this to gain over the soldiers, and only one of the legions could be induced to follow Antonius to Rome; the other three marched along the coast without declaring for either side. At Rome Antonius published several edicts in abuse of Cæsar, Cicero, and others, and he had summoned the senate with the intention of having Cæsar proclaimed a public enemy; but hearing that two of the three legions had declared for him he left Rome in haste, and putting himself at the head of his troops set out for Cisalpine Gaul, which, though the

* Cic. ad. Fam. xii. 23. Suet. Octav. 10.

province of D. Brutus, he had made the people decree to himself without asking the consent of the senate.

Rome being now free from the presence of Antonius' troops, Cicero, who had hitherto kept away, ventured to return to it; and having received an assurance that Cæsar would be a friend to Brutus, and seen that he allowed Casca, who had given the dictator the first blow, to enter on the tribunate to which he had been elected, he resolved to keep no measures with Antonius; both in the senate and to the people he inveighed against him, extolling Cæsar and D. Brutus, and calling on the senate to act with vigour in the defence of the republic*. The remainder of the year was spent in making preparations for war against Antonius, who was now actually besieging D. Brutus in Mutina. Cæsar, with the approbation of Cicero, who had procured him the title of *proprætor*, marched after Antonius to watch his movements.

On the first of January (709) the new consuls, A. Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa, entered on their office; and in the senate, in spite of the eloquence of Cicero, the motion of Q. Fufius Calenus to send an embassy to Antonius was carried, after a debate of three days. Three consulars, Sex. Sulpicius, L. Piso, and L. Philippus, were sent. Meantime the levies went on with great spirit, and an army under Hirtius took the field against Antonius. The embassy having been detained by the illness and death of Sulpicius, did not return till the beginning of February, when the senate was informed that Antonius refused obedience unless they would confirm all the acts of his consulate, give lands and rewards to all his troops, and to himself the government of Transalpine Gaul for five years, with six legions. On the motion of Cicero, Antonius was then in effect, though not in words, declared a public enemy, and the people were ordered to assume the *sagum*, or military habit. As Brutus was closely pressed in Mutina, attempts were made in the senate to have the negotiations with Antonius renewed, but they were defeated by the forcible eloquence of Cicero; and Pansa at length set out toward the end of March to attempt the relief of Brutus.

When Antonius heard of Pansa's approach he secretly drew out his best troops to attack him before he should join Hirtius. On the 15th of April, the day that Pansa was to enter Hirtius' camp, he found the horse and light troops of Antonius,

* The speeches, fourteen in number, delivered by Cicero against Antonius, are called *Philippics*, after those of Demosthenes.

who kept his legions out of view in an adjacent village, prepared to oppose him. A part of his troops charged them without waiting for orders; Antonius brought out his legions; the action became brisk and general; and Pansa's troops were finally driven to their camp, which Antonius attempted but in vain to storm; and as he was returning he was met by Hirtius and defeated with great loss, and another body of his troops, which attacked Hirtius' camp, was driven off by Cæsar, who commanded there. Three or four days after (27th), Hirtius and Cæsar made a vigorous attack on the camp of Antonius, who drew out his legions and gave them battle. Hirtius forced his way into the camp, but was slain near the *Prætorium*; Cæsar however completed the victory, and Antonius fled with his cavalry toward the Alps.

The consul Pansa, who had been severely wounded in the first engagement, died the next day at Bononia, whither he had been conveyed. The deaths of the two consuls happened so very opportunely for Cæsar, that he was accused, though certainly without reason, of having caused them*. He was now at the head of nearly the entire army, for the veterans would not serve under Brutus, who was thus unable to pursue Antonius; and as Cæsar, having other views, would not follow him, he was able to form a junction with his legate P. Ventidius, who was bringing him three legions, and to effect his retreat over the Alps. At Rome, on the motion of Cicero, all kinds of honours were lavished on the slain and living generals.

There were in this time two Roman armies in Gaul, the one commanded by Lepidus, who had stopped there on his way to Spain, the other by L. Munatius Plancus, the consul-elect. The former, though he had sent reiterated assurances of fidelity to the senate, joined Antonius when he came to the vicinity of his camp: the latter united his forces with those of D. Brutus; but when he found that Asinius Pollio had led two legions out of Spain to the aid of the rebels (for Lepidus had been also declared a public enemy), he took the same side, and even attempted to betray Brutus to them. Brutus endeavoured to make his escape to M. Brutus, who was in Macedonia, but he was betrayed, and he was taken and put to death by the soldiers whom Antonius had sent in pursuit of him.

* Suet. Octav. 11. Tac. Ann. i. 10. We may here observe that the various charges made against Cæsar in Suetonius are to be received with some caution, as the writers of republican feelings were extremely hostile to him.

Cæsar, not content with the honours decreed him, demanded, it is said, a triumph, and on its being refused began to think of a reconciliation with Antonius. Though but a youth he then resolved to claim the consulate, and it is also said that he induced Cicero to approve of his project by flattering his self-love, holding out to him the prospect of becoming his colleague and his director. As however no one could be found to propose him, he sent a deputation of his officers to demand it. The senate hesitated; the centurion Cornelius, throwing back his cloak, showed the hilt of his sword and said, "This will make him if you will not." Cæsar himself soon appeared at the head of his troops; two legions which were just arrived from Africa, and had been set to defend the Janiculan, went over to him; no opposition could be made; an assembly of the people chose him and his cousin Q. Pedius consuls, and they entered on their office on the 19th of the month of August. Cæsar was now resolved to keep measures no longer with the republican party. Pedius proposed a law for bringing to trial all concerned, directly or indirectly, in causing the dictator's death; the conspirators were all impeached, and none of course appearing they were outlawed. Sex. Pompeius, though he had not had the slightest concern in the deed, was included in the sentence, as the object proposed was not so much to avenge the death of the elder, but to establish the power of the younger Cæsar, who for this purpose now distributed to the citizens the legacies left them by his uncle.

Having settled the affairs of the city to his mind, Cæsar set out with his troops to hold the personal interview, which had been long since arranged, with Lepidus and Antonius, who had passed the Alps for the purpose. The place of meeting was a small island in a stream named the Rhenus about two miles from Bononia*. Each encamped with five legions in view of the island, which Lepidus entered the first to see that all was safe; and on his giving the signal, Cæsar and Antonius approached and passed over to it from the opposite banks by bridges, which they left guarded each by three hundred men. They first, it is said, searched each other to see that they had no concealed weapons, and then sat in conference during three days, the middle seat being given to Cæsar as consul. It was agreed among them, that under the title of *Triumvirs* for settling the Republic they should jointly hold the supreme power for five years, appoint to all offices, and decide on all public

* Dion, xlv. 55. Plut. Cic. 46. Suet. Oct. 96. Appian (iv. 2.) says, in an island of the river Lavinus near Mutina.

affairs; that Cæsar should have for his province Africa, Sicily, and the other islands; Lepidus, Spain and Narbonese Gaul, and Antonius the two other Gauls both sides of the Alps; that Cæsar and Antonius, each with twenty legions, should prosecute the war against Brutus and Cassius, and Lepidus with three have charge of the city; that finally, at the end of the war, eighteen of the best and richest municipal towns and colonies * of Italy, with their lands, should be taken from their owners and given to their faithful soldiers. They then proceeded to the horrible act of drawing up a proscription-list after the example of Sulla, which was to contain the names of their public and private enemies, and of those whose wealth excited their cupidity. Antonius insisted on Cicero's being included; Cæsar is said to have shrunk from this deed, but after holding out for two days he at length gave him up, as did Lepidus his own brother Paulus, and Antonius his uncle L. Cæsar. The list is said to have contained the names of 300 senators and 2000 knights †. Cæsar as consul read to the soldiers all the articles of the agreement except the proscription-list; their joy was unbounded and they insisted on a marriage between him and Claudia, the daughter of Antonius' wife Fulvia, by her first husband the notorious P. Clodius ‡.

The triumvirs having selected seventeen names of the most obnoxious persons, sent off some soldiers to murder them without delay. Four were met and slain at once, but the tumult made by the soldiers in searching after the others filled the city with such alarm that the consul Pædus was obliged to run about the streets all night to quiet the people. In the morning he published the names of the seventeen, and he died the next day in consequence of his great exertions and uneasiness of mind. A few days after, the triumvirs arrived, and having had a law proposed by one of the tribunes for investing them with their new office, entered on it on the 27th of November. They immediately published their proscription-list, and the scenes of Sulla's days were renewed in all their horrors, and the vices and virtues of human nature had again full room for display. "The fidelity of the wives of the proscribed," says a historian §,

* Appian (iv. 3.) enumerates Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Beneventum, Nuceria, Ariminum, and Hipponium.

† Appian, B. C. iv. 5. Livy says 130, Florus 140 senators.

‡ Suet. Oct. 62.

§ Vell. Pat. ii. 67. "So hard," he adds with respect to the sons, "is the delay of a hope anyhow conceived." The assertion in the text must however be taken with limitations, as appears from Appian's narrative of the proscription, iv. 17 *seq.*

"was exemplary, that of the freedmen middling, slaves showed some, sons none at all."

M. Cicero, his brother, and his nephew were among the first sought out. Cicero, who in reliance on Cæsar had feared no danger, was at his Tusculan villa when he heard that his name was in the fatal list. He set out with his brother and nephew for his villa at Astura, which was on the coast near Antium, intending to make their escape by sea; but Q. Cicero having no money returned to Rome with his son, thinking he could remain concealed there till he had procured what he wanted; they were however betrayed by their slaves, and both put to death. M. Cicero got on board a vessel at Astura, and sailed as far as Circeii, where he landed. He was perplexed how to act, and whether he should go to Brutus, Cassius, or Pompeius; at times he did not wholly despair of Cæsar, at other times he thought of returning secretly to Rome, and entering Cæsar's house to kill himself on his hearth, and thus draw on him the vengeance of Heaven; death in fine he now regarded as his only refuge*: he however yielded to the entreaties of his slaves, and let them convey him by sea to his villa at Caiëta; but he would go no further, declaring that he would die in the country he so often had saved†. He went to bed and slept soundly, though a flock of crows, we are told, as if to warn him of his impending fate, made a continual noise fluttering and crying about the house. His slaves, apprehending danger, made him get up, and placing him in a litter carried him through the woods toward the sea. The soldiers soon arrived at the villa, and finding him gone, set out in pursuit of him. When they came up his slaves prepared to fight in his defence, but he forbade them, and stretching his neck out of the litter, and regarding the soldiers with an air of resolution which almost daunted them, bade them do their office and take what they wanted. They struck off his head and hands, and C. Popillius Lænas the tribune, who commanded the party, a man whom Cicero had formerly defended on a capital charge, took them and carried them to Antonius. The triumvir was sitting in the Forum when he arrived; Lænas held up the bloody spoils when he came in sight, and he forthwith received the honour of a crown and a large sum of money. The head and hands were placed on the Rostra, where the sight of them drew tears from many an eye, and awoke many a sigh in the

* Seneca, Suasor. 6.

† Liv. in Senec. Suasor. 7.

bosoms of those who called to mind the eloquence with which he had so often from that place defended the laws and liberties of his country.

Such was the end, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, of the greatest orator, the most accomplished writer that Rome ever possessed. In his private character Cicero was every way amiable, and a just and benevolent spirit pervades all his writings; as a magistrate, whether at Rome or in the provinces, few were so upright or incorruptible; it is only his political character that is stained with blemishes. His vanity was insatiable, and any one who would minister to it could wield him at his pleasure; he had a cowardly dread of the ills of life, and lost all sense of dignity in his anxiety to escape them. He wanted that firmness, that fixedness of purpose, without which no statesman can be great; he was ever vacillating, and to gratify his ambition, which was inordinate, he could even be base*. Though Cæsar had caused his banishment, he sought and obtained favours from him; he flattered him when in power, and yet he exulted at and applauded his assassination. Cicero's patriotism had not the moral purity of that of Demosthenes; we could believe that the latter, provided he saw Athens great and flourishing, would have been content to have been one of her humblest citizens; to Cicero the republic was nothing if he was not the leading man in it, its animating spirit. To speak thus hardly of so great, so generally excellent a man, is painful to us, but our regard for truth will not allow us to join in the unqualified eulogies which have been lavished on his memory†.

Numbers of the proscribed made their escape to Pompeius or to Brutus. Even Antonius showed some mercy; when Cicero's head was brought to him, he declared the proscription on his part at an end; he let his uncle escape and he erased from the list the names of the learned Varro, and of Cicero's friend T. Pomponius Atticus, and some others; we are however assured that he and his spouse Fulvia set in general but little bounds to their appetite for blood and plunder. Lepidus saved his brother. Cæsar, whom, as having few personal

* One could hardly believe, had we not his own words for it (*Ad Att. l. 2.*), that he had thoughts of defending Catilina, though he knew his character, and that his guilt was as clear as the sun at noonday, in the hopes of that villain's joining forces with him in their joint suit for the consulate.

† At the same time we are very far from partaking in the malignity and injustice toward him evinced by Hooke and Professor Drumann.

enemies we should have expected to have been the most moderate, is said to have acted with more cruelty than his colleagues ; but if such was really the case, he was not actuated by revenge or the love of rapine, but must have gone on the cool deliberate principle of exterminating the aristocracy, and thus making room for his own power. When at the end of the proscription Lepidus made in the senate a sort of apology for it, and held forth hopes of clemency in future, Cæsar we are told declared that he would not bind himself, but would still reserve the power of proscribing*.

The triumvirs having satiated their vengeance next thought of raising money for the war. They had recourse to all modes of extortion ; they seized the treasures in the charge of the Vestals ; they laid a heavy tax on four hundred women of fortune, and then on all the citizens who had above a certain property. They appointed the magistrates for several years to come ; and having made Lepidus and Plancus consuls, Cæsar and Antonius put themselves at the head of their army and crossed over to Epirus.

We must now follow Brutus and Cassius. After their departure from Italy they went first to Athens, where they were received with great honours, and the vainglorious people decreed them statues to stand beside those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the fancied founders of Athenian freedom. Brutus collected all the troops he could† ; P. Vatinius opened the gates of Dyrrhachium, and gave him up three legions which he commanded ; Q. Hortensius, the proprætor of Macedonia, delivered it up to him, and when C. Antonius, whom his brother had appointed to it, came out, he was defeated and made a prisoner ; and Brutus thus remained master of Greece, Macedonia, and Illyricum.

Cassius had proceeded to Syria. As Dolabella, for whom his colleague Antonius had obtained that government, had on his way through Asia treacherously seized and put to death with torture the governor of that province, Trebonius, one of the conspirators, the senate had declared him a public enemy ; but while they were deliberating whom to send against him, Cassius arrived in Syria, where all the troops declared for him ; and Dolabella being besieged in Laodicæa put an end to himself. Being now at the head of ten legions Cassius was

* Sueton. Oct. 27.

† Cicero's son and the poet Horace, who were studying at Athens, took arms on this occasion and received commands from Brutus.

preparing to invade Egypt, when he was summoned by Brutus to come to his aid against Antonius and Cæsar (710). They met at Smyrna, and Cassius being of opinion that they should first reduce the Rhodians and Lycians, who had refused to pay contributions, he himself attacked and plundered the former, while Brutus turned his arms against the latter. Having levied contributions in all quarters, they met at Sardes, and then crossed over to the Chersonese*. As P. Decidius Saxa and C. Junius Norbanus, whom the triumvirs had sent forward with eight legions, occupied the pass leading into Macedonia, Brutus and Cassius sent a detachment, under the guidance of a Thracian prince, by a circuitous route through the mountains; at the sight of which the triumvirs' legates fell back to Amphipolis, and the republican generals then came and encamped on an eminence near the town of Philippi.

Antonius, who was an active general when he chose to rouse himself, made all haste to save his legates, and on his arrival he encamped within a mile of the enemy. He was joined in a few days by Cæsar, and their united force was nineteen legions and thirteen thousand horse; the other army had the same number of legions and twenty thousand horse; Antonius, as his army being excluded from the sea was in want of provisions, sought to bring on an action, which Cassius, aware of his motive, steadily refused. At length, however, the impatience of his troops, or, as some say, of his officers and his colleague, or, according to the more probable account, the able manœuvres of Antonius, obliged him to give battle. As Cæsar was unwell, Antonius had the sole command of the other army, and he defeated the troops of Cassius which were opposed to him and took their camp; but on the other side Cæsar's troops were routed by those of Brutus, and their camp was taken. Cassius having made some fruitless efforts to rally his men retired to an eminence, and seeing a body of horse coming toward him he sent one of his friends, named Titinius, to learn who they were. As they were part of Brutus' troops they received Titinius joyfully, and taking him among

* It is said that at this time, as Brutus was sitting up late one night reading in his tent, he beheld a strange and terrific figure standing by him. He asked who he was, and why he was come; the phantom replied, "I am thy evil genius; thou wilt see me at Philippi!" "I shall see thee then," said Brutus, and the figure vanished. This may be a fiction, but it is such a trick as fancy might have played. Valerius Maximus (i. 7, 7.) tells a similar story of Cassius Parmensis, another of the conspirators against the late dictator.

them still advanced. Cassius, whose sight was imperfect, became convinced that they were enemies, and crying out that he had caused the capture of his friend, withdrew into a lonely hut and made a faithful freedman strike off his head. Titinius slew himself when he heard of his death, and Brutus on coming to the place wept over him, calling him the last of the Romans: lest his funeral should dispirit the soldiers, he sent his body over to the adjacent isle of Thasos. He then assembled and encouraged his troops, promising them a donation of 2000 drachmas a man.

The loss on the side of the republicans had been eight thousand men, while that of the triumvirs was double the number; yet Antonius, as his troops lay in a wet marshy situation and were suffering from want of supplies, still offered battle, which Brutus, whose camp was well supplied, prudently declined: his fleet had also defeated that of the triumvirs, but of this he was ignorant. At length, urged by the impatience of his soldiers and fearing the effect of dissensions between his own men and those of Cassius, he led them out after a delay of twenty days, promising them the plunder of two cities if they were victorious*. Both sides fought with desperation, but victory finally declared for the triumvirs. Brutus, having crossed a stream that ran through a glen, retired for the night to the shelter of a rock with a few of his friends, and looking up at the sky, now full of stars, he repeated two Greek verses, one of which, from the *Medæa* of Euripides, ran thus†;

Zeus! may the cause of all these ills escape thee not!

He passed the night in enumerating and mourning over those who had fallen. Toward morning he whispered his servant Clitus, who wept and was silent; he then drew his shield-bearer aside; he finally besought his friend Volumnius to hold his sword for him to fall on it. Being refused by all, he con-

* Lacedæmôn and Thessalonica. Plut. Brut. 46. Appian (iv. 118.) mentions this fact doubtingly, *δοκεῖ δὲ τισι*.

† Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθοι σε τῶνδ' ὅς εἰς αἴτιος κακῶν.

Dion (xlvii. 49.) and Florus (iv. 7.) say that he repeated these verses from the *Hercules* of the same poet:

ὦ τλῆμον ἀρετῇ, λόγος δρ' ἦσθ'· ἐγὼ δέ σε
ἔργον ἥσκουν· σὺ δ' ἄρ' ἐξούλευες τύχην.

"O wretched virtue, a mere word thou art, but I
Practised thee as a real thing, while thou wert nought
But Fortune's slave."

tinued to discourse with them some time longer, and then retired with his friend Strato and one or two others to a little distance; he there threw himself on his sword, which Strato held for him, and expired. Antonius, when he came to where the body of Brutus lay, cast a purple robe over it, and he sent his remains to his mother Servilia*.

All who had been concerned in the death of Cæsar followed the example of Brutus; M. Valerius Messala and L. Bibulus and some other men of rank passed over to the isle of Thasos, where the military chest and magazines of Brutus and Cassius were; these they delivered up, and made terms for themselves with the conquerors, whose service the troops all entered. The victorious generals spent some days in glutting their vengeance and extirpating the friends of independence; and we are assured that the cool calculating Cæsar far surpassed the brutal Antonius in cruelty and insolence†. They then made a new division of the empire, and having completed their arrangements, Antonius proceeded to levy money in the East for the soldiers' rewards, while Cæsar undertook to put them in possession of the lands promised them in Italy.

Antonius went first to Greece, and spent some time at Athens, where he amused himself with attending the games and the disputes of the philosophers, and having himself initiated in

* It was said (Val. Max. iv. 6, 5.) that Brutus' wife Porcia, when she heard of his death, put an end to herself by swallowing burning coals,—a thing physically impossible. She might however have smothered herself by inhaling the fumes of charcoal; but see Plut. Brut. 53.

As the charge of avarice is the greatest stain that has been fixed on the character of Brutus, we will here relate the case which has given occasion to it. When Cicero was going out as governor of Cilicia, Brutus strongly recommended to him two persons named Scaptius and Matinius, to whom the people of Salamis in Cyprus owed a large sum of money. Cicero's predecessor, Ap. Claudius, who was Brutus' father-in-law, had given Scaptius a prefecture in Cyprus which Brutus wished Cicero to continue him in; but Cicero, who had laid it down as a rule not to grant these commands to traders and usurers, refused; particularly as he knew that Scaptius had shut up the senate of Salamis in their house till five of them died of hunger. Moreover Scaptius demanded 48 per cent., and Cicero in his edict had declared that he would allow of no more than 12 per cent. on any bonds. Brutus and Atticus both wrote repeatedly to Cicero about it, and the former at length confessed that *he* was the real creditor and the others were but his agents. To Cicero's honour he stood firm, and would not permit such robbery and oppression when he could prevent it. This affair is but one proof among many of the manner in which the Roman nobles oppressed the provincials.

† Suet. Octav. 13.

the Mysteries. He behaved with great mildness and was very liberal to the city. Leaving L. Censorinus to command in Greece, he passed with his army of eight legions and ten thousand horse over to Asia, where he disposed of public and private property at his will; kings waited humbly at his doors, queens and princesses vied in offering him their wealth and their charms. He exacted from the unfortunate people the enormous sum of 200,000 talents, most part of which he squandered away in luxury. Meeting at Ephesus several of the friends of Brutus and Cassius, he granted their lives to all but two; he acted also with great generosity to the towns which had suffered for their attachment to the Cæsarian cause. From Tarsus in Cilicia he sent to summon Cleopatra (who having murdered her young brother was now sole sovereign of Egypt) to justify herself for not having been more active in the cause of the triumvirs. She came, relying on her charms. At the mouth of the Cydnus she entered a barge, whose poop was adorned with gold and whose sails were of purple; the oars, set with silver, moved in accordance with the sound of flutes and lyres. The queen herself, attired as Venus, lay reclined beneath the shade of a gold-embroidered umbrella, fanned by boys resembling Loves; while her female attendants, habited as Nereïdes and Graces, leaned against the shrouds and sides of the vessel; and costly spices and perfumes, as they burned before her, filled the surrounding air with their fragrance. All the people of the city crowded to behold this novel sight, and Antonius was left sitting alone on his tribunal in the market. He sent to invite the fair queen to supper, but she required that he should come and sup with her. Antonius could not refuse; the elegance and variety of the banquet amazed him: next day he tried, but in vain, to surpass it. The guileful enchantress cast her spell over him and twined herself round his heart. Cruel as fair, she obtained from him an order to drag her sister Arsinoë from the sanctuary at Ephesus, and put her to death. Her general Serapiôn, and an impostor who personated her elder brother, were likewise torn from sanctuaries and given up to her vengeance, and she then set out on her return to Egypt. Antonius, unable to live without her, gave up all his previous thoughts of war on the Parthians, and putting his troops into winter-quarters, hastened to follow her and abandoned himself wholly to luxury and enjoyment in her society.

Meantime Cæsar came to Rome (711), and set about giving

his soldiers their promised rewards; a task of no small difficulty and danger, for they demanded the towns which had been fixed on before the war, while the people of these towns required that the loss should be shared by all Italy, and that those who were deprived of their lands should be paid for them. Young and old, men, women and children, they repaired to Rome; they filled the Forum and temples with their lamentations, and the people there sympathised with their grief and mourned their wrongs*. Cæsar, however, urging the tyrant's plea of necessity, went on distributing lands to his soldiery; and he even borrowed money from the temples to divide among them for the purchase of stock and farming implements. This gained him additional favour with them, which was increased by the cries and reproaches of those whom he was robbing of their properties for their advantage. Like every army of the kind, they knew their power over their chief, and exercised it with insolence, as the following instances will show. One day, when Cæsar was present at the theatre, a common soldier went and took his seat among the knights; the people murmured, and Cæsar ordered him to be removed. The soldiers took offence at this, and surrounding him as he was going out of the theatre demanded their comrade's release: they were obeyed; he came; but when he assured them that he had not been in prison as they supposed, they reviled him as a liar and a traitor to the common cause. Again, Cæsar summoned them to the Field of Mars for a division of lands. In their eagerness they came before it was day, and finding that he delayed, they began to grow angry. A centurion named Nonius reminded them of their duty to their general; they laughed and jeered at him, but gradually they grew warm and abused and pelted him; he jumped into the river to escape, but they dragged him out and killed him: they then laid the body where Cæsar was to pass. When he came he took but little notice of it, affecting to regard the crime as the deed of a few, and merely advised them to be more sparing of one another in future; he then proceeded to distribute the lands, to which he added gifts to both the deserving and the undeserving. The soldiers were touched; they bade him to search out and punish the murderers. He said, "I know them, but I will leave their punishment to their own consciences and to your disapprobation." A shout of joy was raised at these words. How different from

* See the first and ninth of Virgil's eclogues for affecting pictures of the evils of these confiscations; see also Horace, Sat. ii. 2, *sub fin.*

the conduct of the old dictators and consuls, and their armies, when Rome had a constitution and freedom, and her troops served from duty and not for plunder, like these hordes of bandits who raised their leaders to empire over their fellow-citizens !

Cæsar's situation was at this time rather precarious. Sex. Pompeius was powerful at sea, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus* was also at the head of a large fleet in the Adriatic, and they cut off the supplies of corn from Italy, where tillage was now neglected and discontent was general; for the soldiers, not satisfied with what had been given them, seized on such pieces of land as took their fancy, and Cæsar did not dare to check them. Antonius' wife Fulvia, and his brother Lucius, who was now consul, resolved to take advantage of this state of things. They promised to protect those who had been deprived of their lands, and declared that the properties of the proscribed and the money raised by Antonius in Asia were quite sufficient for paying the soldiers what had been promised them; and they gave out that Antonius was willing to lay down his power and restore the constitution. They required Cæsar at any rate to be content with providing for his own legions, and to leave those of Antonius to them; but Cæsar, whose object was to attach the soldiery to himself, declined this, alleging his agreement with Antonius; aware however of the affection of the army for Antonius, and of the present enmity of the people of Italy to himself, he agreed to the terms which a congress of the officers of Antonius' party proposed for ending the differences. He did not however execute them, and L. Antonius and Fulvia, affecting to fear for their lives, retired to Præneste, and sent to inform M. Antonius of the state of affairs. After another vain attempt at reconciliation both sides began to prepare for war.

The good wishes, and in some cases the means and arms of the people of Italy, were with L. Antonius; the remains of the Pompeian and republican parties joined him in the hope of restoring the republic, and his brother's legions and colonies supported him; but most of the veterans regarding Cæsar's cause as their own were zealous in his favour. Antonius' generals, Pollio, Ventidius, and Plancus, do not seem to have exerted themselves as much as they might, and L. Antonius being obliged to throw himself into the town of Perugia was there besieged by Cæsar. After a gallant defence famine

* Son of Domitius who was slain at Pharsalia.

compelled him to surrender (712). Cæsar granted him and his soldiers favourable terms, but for the Roman senators and knights, the remnant of the Pompeian or republican party who were in it, he had no mercy. "Thou must die," was his laconic ruthless reply to every one who sued for mercy or sought to excuse himself. Nay, it is even said*, but with manifest untruth, that he reserved three hundred captives of rank to sacrifice to the manes of the dictator on the following ides of March. The town of Perugia was destined to be plundered, but one of its citizens having set fire to his house the whole city was consumed.

This last effort of the republican party crushed their hopes for ever, and it threw several more properties for confiscation into Cæsar's hands; some indeed were of opinion that it was with a view to this that he had kindled the war†. Several persons, among whom was Julia the mother of the Antonii, sought refuge with Sex. Pompeius. Fulvia with her children and Plancus fled to Greece.

M. Antonius was preparing to march against the Parthians, who had invaded Syria and taken and plundered Jerusalem, when he heard of the late events in Italy. He forthwith assembled two hundred ships and a large army and sailed to Athens, where he met Fulvia, whom he blamed much for her recent conduct; and leaving her sick at Sicily, where she died soon after, he proceeded toward Italy. Domitius joined him with his fleet, and Sex. Pompeius (though Cæsar, in the hopes of gaining him to his side, had lately married Scribonia, the sister of his father-in-law Libo, a woman many years older than himself‡), preferring an alliance with Antonius, sent his mother Julia to him, and a kind of treaty was concluded between them. When Antonius appeared before Brundisium he was refused admittance; he then blockaded the port, and sent calling on Pompeius to invade Italy. Cæsar came to the relief of Brundisium; but his soldiers were unwilling to fight against Antonius, and the two armies sought to reconcile their leaders. C. Asinius Pollio (one of the consuls at the time) and C. Cilnius Mæcenas on the parts of Antonius and Cæsar,

* Sueton. Octav. 15. Dion, xlviii. 14.

† Suet. *ut sup.*

‡ Cæsar, on the rupture with Fulvia, sent her back her daughter Claudia, having never consummated his marriage. He divorced Scribonia the very next year after she had borne him a daughter, and in 714 he married Livia, whom he obtained from her husband T. Claudius Nero.

and M. Cocceius Nerva a common friend, met*, and having conferred together settled the terms of agreement. All past offences were to be forgotten; Antonius, who was now a widower, was to espouse Cæsar's sister Octavia, a lady of great beauty, sense, and virtue; a new division of the empire was arranged, by which Antonius was to have all to the east of the Ionian sea, Cæsar all thence to the ocean, while Africa was to be the portion of Lepidus†.

Antonius sent Ventidius to conduct the Parthian war, while he himself remained in Italy (713). The chief object now was to come to some arrangement with Sex. Pompeius, who was actually starving Rome by cutting off the supplies of corn. Cæsar, who was personally hostile to him, would not hear of accommodation till one day he was near being stoned by the famishing multitude. This caused him to give ear to the suggestions of Antonius and others, and a communication was opened with Pompeius through his father-in-law Libo. A meeting took place between Pompeius and the triumvirs at Cape Misenum, but as he claimed to be admitted into Lepidus' place in the triumvirate, nothing could be effected at that time. The increasing distress obliged them soon to have another meeting, and it was finally agreed that Pompeius should possess the islands and the Peloponnese, be chosen augur, be allowed to stand for the consulate in his absence, and to discharge its duties by deputy, and be paid seventy million sesterces; that all who had sought refuge with him out of fear should be restored to their estates and rights, and all the proscribed (except the actual assassins) have liberty to return and get back a fourth of their estates. On his part he was to allow the sea to be free, and to pay up the arrears of corn due from Sicily. When the peace was concluded the chiefs enter-

* The journey to Brundisium, in which Horace accompanied Mæcenæ, and of which he has left us so agreeable an account (Sat. l. 5.), is said by his scholiasts to have taken place on the present occasion. Modern critics, however, reject this as inconsistent with the date of the poet's first introduction to Mæcenæ. Some, therefore, place it in 714, others in 715, in both of which years Antonius came to Brundisium. The hypothesis of the scholiasts is in fact quite inconsistent with Appian's narrative, and with the words of the poet,

Aversos soliti componere amicos,

for this was the first quarrel between Antonius and Cæsar.

† The blessings which were to result from this peace are, as Voss has proved, the theme of Virgil's fourth eclogue. In the following year Pollio conquered and triumphed for the Parthinians, a people of Dalmatia, on which occasion Virgil dedicated to him his eighth eclogue.

tained each other; Pompeius gave his dinner on board his ship*. At the feast, it is said, Menas, one of his officers, whispered him, saying, "Let me now cut the cables, and you are master of Rome." Pompeius pondered a moment: "You should have done it," said he, "without telling me; I cannot perjure myself." Having been entertained in return he set sail for Sicily, and Cæsar and Antonius went back to Rome; the latter soon after set out for Athens, where he spent the rest of the year.

The following year (714) Ventidius, who had been successful against the Parthians, defeated and killed their brave young prince Pacorus, for which the Roman people accorded him the honour of a triumph†. In this year also the war was renewed between Cæsar and Pompeius; and Menas, the admiral of the latter, having deserted to Cæsar, put him in possession of Sardinia and Corsica. Previously to commencing operations, Cæsar sent to invite Antonius, who was at Athens, to a conference on the subject of the war. The triumvir came accordingly to Brundisium, but not finding him there he went away again, having written to advise him to remain at peace with Pompeius. Of this advice Cæsar took no heed; he assailed Sicily with two separate fleets, but both were destroyed by Pompeius; and Cæsar himself, who was on board of one of them, narrowly escaped being taken or drowned. The remainder of this and the whole of the succeeding year was devoted by Cæsar to the preparations against Pompeius, and a large fleet was built under the superintendence of the consul M. Vipsanius Agrippa, a man of humble birth, but of great civil and military talents, and wholly devoted to the service of Cæsar‡.

In the spring of the year 715, Antonius came with three hundred ships to Brundisium, under the pretext of assisting Cæsar, but in reality with other views. Being refused admit-

* Pompeius, as he received his guests, said, "In Carinis suis se cœnam dare," alluding to his father's house on the Carinæ at Rome, of which Antonius was in possession. Vell. Pat. ii. 77.

† Ventidius, who was the son of the general of the same name in the Marsic war, had himself adorned as a captive in the triumph of Pompeius Strabo at the end of that war. Vell. Pat. ii. 66. Val. Max. vi. 9, 9. Gell. xv. 4. Plin. vii. 44. Dion, xliii. 51, xlix. 21.

‡ At this time the celebrated Julian port near Baizæ was made, by cutting passages through the belt of land which separated the Lucrine lake from the sea, and by making a ship-canal from that lake to lake Avernus. See Virg. Geor. ii. 161. Horace, De Art. Poet. 63. Dion, xlviii. 50.

tance he sailed to Tarentum, whence Octavia went to her brother, and by her influence with his friends Agrippa and Mæcenas, prevailed on him to agree to a meeting with Antonius. The cautious Cæsar appointed a place where the river Galæsus would be between them; but when they came to it, Antonius, more brave or more generous, jumped into a boat to cross over; Cæsar then did the same; they met in the middle, and then disputing which should pass over Cæsar prevailed, as he said he would go to Tarentum to visit his sister. They soon arranged all matters: they renewed their triumvirate for another period of five years, without consulting Lepidus or the senate and people. Antonius lent Cæsar one hundred and twenty ships, and received in return twenty thousand soldiers for his Parthian war, and he then set out for the East, leaving Octavia in Italy.

Cæsar having everything now prepared (716) resolved to make three simultaneous attacks on Sicily; Lepidus was to invade it from Africa, T. Statilius Taurus with the ships of Antonius from Tarentum, Cæsar himself and Agrippa from the Julian port. Lepidus alone effected a landing; the other two fleets were shattered by a tempest. Pompeius, affecting to view the peculiar favour of the sea-god in this destruction of the hostile fleet by a summer-tempest, sacrificed to Neptune and the Sea (*Amphitrite*), styled himself their son, and changed the colour of his robe from purple to dark-blue (*cæruleus*). Cæsar declared that he would conquer in spite of Neptune, and forbade the image of that god to be carried at the next Circensian games*.

Lepidus had with him twelve legions and five thousand Numidian horse; he sent orders to his remaining four legions to come and join him, but they were met on the passage by Papias, one of Pompeius' commanders, and two of them destroyed; the other two found means to join him some time after. Cæsar's fleet having passed over to the Liparæan isles sailed thence under the command of Agrippa and engaged that of Pompeius led by his admirals Papias, Menecrates, and Apollonphanes off Mylæ. Cæsar's ships were larger, those of Pompeius lighter and more active; the former had the better soldiers, the latter the better sailors, but Agrippa had invented grappling-implements, somewhat like the old *crows*†. The

* Suet. Octav. 16.

† Appian, v. 118. He names the implement the *ἄρπαξ*. It is plainly the same with the *harpagon* employed by the Carthaginians in the second Punic war. See Liv. xxx. 10.

fight was long and obstinate; at length the Pompeians fled with the loss of thirty vessels. Agrippa sailed then and made an ineffectual attempt on the town of Tyndaris.

Cæsar had gone to Taurus' camp at Scylacæum, intending to pass over in the night from Rhegium to Sicily; but he took courage when he heard of Agrippa's success, and having first prudently ascended a lofty hill to assure himself that no enemy was in sight he went on board with what troops his ships could carry, leaving the rest with Messala till he could send the ships back for them. Being refused admittance into Taurominium he sailed further on, and landing began to encamp, but suddenly Pompeius was seen coming with a large fleet, and bodies of horse and foot appeared on all sides. Had Pompeius now made a general attack he might have gained a complete victory, but as it was evening he did not wish to engage, and his cavalry alone assailed the enemy. During the night the Cæsarians fortified their camp, and Cæsar leaving the command with L. Cornificius, and desiring him to hold out to the last, embarked to return to Italy for succours; his vessel being hotly pursued he was obliged to get into a small boat to save himself, and he escaped with difficulty. Pompeius next day fell on and destroyed the whole Cæsarian fleet, and Cornificius soon began to be in want of provisions; having vainly offered the enemy battle he resolved to abandon his camp and march for Mylæ, and though harassed by the enemy's horse and light troops, and suffering from heat, thirst, and fatigue during five days, his troops effected their retreat. Agrippa had now taken Tyndaris, whither Cæsar soon transported twenty-one legions, twenty thousand horse and five thousand light troops. Lepidus moved from Lilybæum, and their united forces met before the walls of Messana. Pompeius seeing no hopes but in a general battle sent to propose a combat of three hundred ships a-side, and Cæsar, jealous of Lepidus, departed from his usual caution and accepted the challenge. The victory was complete on the side of Cæsar. Pompeius' land-army, with the exception of eight legions in Messana, surrendered, and he himself with his seventeen sole remaining ships abandoning Sicily passed over to Asia, where raising a new war he was taken and put to death by M. Titius, one of Antonius' officers.

Messana soon surrendered, and the whole island submitted; Cæsar then proceeded to deprive his colleague Lepidus of his office and power; and having ascertained the temper of his officers and men, he ventured to enter his camp with a few

attendants. Lepidus being deserted by his troops was forced to assume the garb of a suppliant, and throw himself at the feet of Cæsar, who, never wantonly cruel, and knowing how powerless he would remain, raised him, granted him his life, and allowed him to pass the rest of his days at Circeii, retaining his dignity of high-priest.

As Cæsar was preparing to return to Italy a mutiny broke out, his troops demanding their discharge and rewards equal to those of the victors at Philippi. He threatened and remonstrated in vain; when he promised crowns and purple robes, one of the tribunes cried out that these were only fit for children, but that soldiers required money and lands. The soldiers loudly applauded; Cæsar left the tribunal in a rage; the tribune was extolled, but that very night he disappeared, and was heard of no more. As the soldiers still continued to clamour for their discharge, Cæsar dismissed and sent out of the island those who had served at Mutina and Philippi. He then praised the rest, and gave them 500 denars a man, raised by a tax on the Sicilians. On his return to Rome he was received with every demonstration of joy by the senate and people; and aware now of the tyranny which the army would exercise over him if he continued to depend on it, he sought to gain the affections of the people of Rome and Italy. It was probably with this view that he purchased fairly the lands which he required for his veterans. During the two years that succeeded, in order to keep his troops in occupation he carried on a war, in which he commanded in person, against the tribes of Illyria and Pannonia.

While Cæsar was thus laying the foundation of his future empire, Antonius was wasting his troops and his fame in an inglorious war with the Parthians. Under pretence of aiding the king of Armenia, he entered that country with an army of 60,000 legionaries, 10,000 horse, and 30,000 auxiliary light troops; and though it was late in the summer, he passed the Araxes, and leaving his artillery on the frontiers under the guard of two legions, marched against Praaspa, the capital of Media Atropatène. But the kings of Parthia and Media cut the two legions to pieces and destroyed the machines, and then came to the relief of Praaspa, where they so harassed the Romans by cutting off their supplies that Antonius was obliged to commence a retreat. Led by a faithful guide he kept to the mountains, followed closely by the Parthians; his troops suffered severely from famine and thirst; but at length they

reached and got over the Araxes, having in the retreat sustained a loss of 20,000 foot and 4000 horse. Impatient to re-join Cleopatra, instead of wintering in Armenia he set out for Syria, and in the march thither he lost eight thousand more of his men. The queen came to Berÿtus to meet him, and he returned with her to Alexandria, where they passed the winter in feasting and revelry.

In the year 718, Antonius, in alliance with the king of the Medes, entered Armenia, and by treachery made its king a prisoner. He defeated the Armenians when they took up arms, and on his return to Alexandria he triumphed after the Roman fashion,—a thing which gave the greatest possible offence to the people of Rome when they heard of it. On this occasion he gave a magnificent entertainment to the people, at which he and Cleopatra sat in public on golden thrones; the one attired as Osiris*, the other as Isis; he declared her queen of kings, and sovereign of Egypt, Libya, Cyprus, and Cœle-Syria, associating with her Cæsariôn, her son by Cæsar, whom he styled king of kings, and giving kingdoms to the two sons whom she had borne to himself. The most unbounded luxury followed this degradation of the majesty of Rome†.

In the following year (719) Antonius returned to the banks of the Araxes, where he concluded an alliance with the king of Media, to whose daughter he betrothed one of his sons by Cleopatra. When he was setting out on this second expedition against the Parthians, Octavia obtained leave from her brother to go and join him; but Antonius, urged by Cleopatra, sent word to her to return to Italy. Cæsar, glad perhaps of the pretext for war, laid before the senate the whole of Antonius' conduct (720), who in revenge sent Octavia a divorce; and after various insulting messages and letters on both sides, Antonius directed his general P. Canidius to march sixteen legions to Ephesus, whither he himself soon after repaired with Cleopatra; and he was there joined by the consuls Cn. Domitius and C. Sosius, and his other friends who had come from Italy. Domitius urged him in vain to send away Cleopatra; she gained over Canidius, and Antonius was unable to resist their joint arguments. He and she passed over to Samos, and spent their days in revelry, while the kings of the East were for-

* Plutarch says Bacchus, but the two deities had been long before identified. See *Mythology of Greece and Italy*, p. 211, 2nd edition.

† At one of these banquets Cleopatra dissolved and drank a pearl of great price. Pliny, *H. N.*, ix. 35, 50.

warding their troops and stores to Ephesus. From Samos they went to Athens, where they passed some time.

Cæsar meantime was making his preparations in Italy, for which purpose he was obliged to lay on heavy taxes. As the people were in ill humour at this, he sought by all means to render Antonius odious and contemptible in their eyes; and Plancus, who deserted to him at this time, having informed him of the contents of Antonius' will, he forced the Vestals, in whose custody it was, to give it up, and then most basely and dishonourably made it public. He then caused a decree to be passed depriving Antonius of the triumvirate and declaring war against Cleopatra, affecting to believe that she, not Antonius, was the real leader of the hostile forces.

In the autumn Antonius sailed to Corcyra, but not venturing to pass over to Italy, he retired to the Peloponnese for the winter.

The next year (721) Antonius occupied the bay of Ambracia with his fleet; that of Cæsar lay at Brundisium and the adjacent ports, whence Agrippa sailed with a division and took the town of Methône (*Modon*), and seized a large convoy. Cæsar then embarked his army, and landing at the Ceraunian mountains, marched and encamped on the north side of the bay of Ambracia; the army of Antonius was on the south side; and they thus lay opposite each other for some months. Meantime Agrippa took Patræ, Corinth and some other towns; and Domitius and other leaders went over to Cæsar.

Antonius' land forces amounted to 100,000 foot and 12,000 horse, beside the auxiliaries; his fleet counted 500 ships. Cæsar had 80,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and 250 ships; his troops and sailors were both superior to those of his opponent; his ships, though smaller in size, were better built and better manned. The great question with Antonius was, whether he should risk a land- or a sea-battle. Canidius was for the former, Cleopatra for the latter, and the queen of course prevailed. Antonius selected one hundred and seventy of his best ships, which were all that he could fully man, and burned the rest; with these he joined Cleopatra's sixty vessels, and he put 20,000 soldiers on board. On the 2nd of September he drew up his fleet in line of battle before the mouth of the bay. Cæsar's fleet, led by Agrippa, kept about a mile out to sea; the two land-armies, the one from the cape of Actium, the other from the opposite point, stood as spectators of the combat. Antonius had directed his officers to keep close to shore, and

thus render the agility of the enemy's vessels of no avail ; but when about noon a breeze sprang up, his left wing, eager to engage, began to advance. Cæsar made his right wing fall back, to draw it on ; the engagement soon became general and both sides fought with great courage ; but in the midst of the action, whether from fear, treachery, or a conviction that the battle would be lost, Cleopatra, followed by all her ships, turned and fled for Egypt ; and Antonius, when he saw her going, left the battle and made all speed to overtake her. The battle still lasted till five in the evening, when finding themselves abandoned by their leader, the naval forces accepted the offers of Cæsar and submitted to him. The land-army refused for seven days to listen to his solicitations ; but at length, being deserted by Canidius and their other leaders, they yielded to necessity and submitted. Cæsar, having made offerings to Apollo of Actium, sent home his veterans with Agrippa ; he then proceeded to Athens, and thence to Asia ; but he was obliged to return to Italy in the middle of the winter, on account of the turbulence of the veterans, whom Agrippa could not keep in order.

When Antonius overtook Cleopatra he went on board of her ship, but during three days he sat in silence, refusing to see her. At Tænaron in Laconia her women brought about a reconciliation, and Antonius having written to Canidius to lead the army to Asia, they sailed for Egypt ; they parted on the confines of Cyrene, but when Antonius found that the governor of this province also had declared for Cæsar, it was with difficulty that his friends were able to keep him from destroying himself. They brought him to Alexandria, where Cleopatra was busily engaged in a new project : she had caused some of her ships to be hauled over the Isthmus of Suez, intending to fly with her treasures to some unknown region ; but the Arabs, at the instance of Q. Didius, who commanded for Cæsar in Syria, burned her vessels and thus frustrated her design. She then began to put her kingdom into a state of defence. Nevertheless she, Antonius, and their friends, were resolved to die : meantime they spent their days in feasting and revelry.

Cæsar, having stayed but twenty-seven days in Italy, returned (722) to Asia, all whose kings submitted to him. An envoy from Antonius and Cleopatra came to him ; the latter resigning her crown, and only asking the kingdom of Egypt for her children ; the former requesting to be allowed to live as a private man at Athens. To Antonius he deigned no reply ; the queen

was assured of every favour if she banished or put him to death. Meantime he himself advanced on the east and seized Pelusium, while Cn. Cornelius Gallus made himself master of Peritonium on the west of Egypt. Antonius flew to oppose this last, but was driven off with loss. When Cæsar arrived in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, Antonius put himself at the head of his troops and gave him a check; and emboldened by this success he drew out his army and his fleet on the 1st of August for a general engagement. His fleet was seen to advance in good order till it met that of Cæsar; it then turned round, and both together took a station before the port. Antonius' cavalry seeing this also went over to Cæsar: his infantry was then forced to yield, and he himself returned in a rage to the town, crying that Cleopatra had ruined and betrayed him.

The queen had a little time before had a kind of sepulchre built near the temple of Isis, in which she placed her jewels and other valuables, and covered them with combustibles, with the intention, as she declared, of burning them and herself if driven to desperation. The knowledge of this had caused Cæsar to send her various assurances of his respect and his kind intentions. She now shut herself up in the sepulchre, and caused a report to be spread of her death. This event revived the tenderness of Antonius; he resolved not to survive her; and he bade his faithful freedman Erôs, who had engaged by oath to kill him, to perform his promise. Erôs drew his sword, but plunged it into his own body and fell dead at his feet. Antonius then drew his own sword, and stabbing himself in the belly threw himself on his bed, where he lay writhing, vainly calling on his friends to despatch him. Meantime Cleopatra, having heard what had been done, sent to tell him that she was alive, and to request that he would let himself be carried to her; he assented, and as she would not have the door of her retreat opened, she and her maids drew him up by cords at a window. She laid him on her bed, and gave way to the most violent transports of grief; Antonius sought to console her, begged of her to save her life if she could with honour, and among Cæsar's friends, recommended to her Proculeius. He then expired, in the fifty-third year of his age.

The sword with which Antonius slew himself was brought to Cæsar, who, it is said, shed tears at the sight. Anxious to secure Cleopatra and her treasure, he sent Proculeius to her; but she refused to admit him; he then returned to Cæsar, who sent back Gallus with him with new proposals; and while Gallus was talking to her at the door, Proculeius and two

others got in at the window and made her prisoner. Cæsar, when he entered Alexandria, treated her with the utmost respect; and he allowed her to solemnise the obsequies of Antonius, which she performed with the greatest magnificence.

Cæsar soon after paid her a visit; she received him slightly arrayed, with her hair in disorder; her eyes were red with weeping, and her voice faint and tremulous. She threw herself at his feet; he raised her, and sat beside her; she attempted to excuse her previous conduct, and seemed as if she wished to live. Cæsar made many promises: it was a trial of skill between two consummate actors; the artful queen sought to catch him in the net of love; the cold-blooded Cæsar wished to make her live to grace his triumph. He left her, certain that he had succeeded, but he was deceived. In a few days Cleopatra learned that she and her children were to be sent on to Syria before him: she then resolved on death, and having obtained permission to visit the tomb of Antonius, she embraced it and crowned it with flowers; and then, as if her mourning was over, bathed and sat down richly arrayed to a splendid banquet. While she was at table a peasant came with a basket of fine figs; the guards suspecting nothing let him in. The queen took the basket, aware of its contents; she wrote a letter to Cæsar requesting to be buried with Antonius; and then, retaining in the room only her maids Charmion and Iras, applied to her arm an asp which had been concealed among the pretended peasant's figs. When those whom Cæsar sent to prevent her death arrived, they found her lying dead on her bed, Iras also dead at her feet, and Charmion just expiring in the act of arranging the diadem on the head of her mistress. Cæsar gave Cleopatra and her faithful maids a magnificent funeral, and buried her as she wished by the side of Antonius. To prevent any future commotions he put to death her son Cæsariôn; her two other sons adorned the triumph, which he celebrated on his return to Rome.

Though this last period of the republic was of so unquiet a character, literature was cultivated with much ardour by persons of rank and fortune. The language, the philosophy, and the poetry of the Greeks were familiar to every Roman of education; a library formed an essential part of every respectable house, and its contents were chiefly Greek. Roman poetry was still imitative, and the drama a principal object of imita-

tion. L. Attius, the younger contemporary of Pacuvius, may be regarded as the last of that rough but vigorous race of poets who ventured to tread in the foot-prints of *Æschylus* and *Sophocles*. But the higher drama seems to have been as unattainable to ancient as to modern Italy. Attius' contemporary C. Lucilius followed Ennius in writing satires, but he improved and altered that species of composition so much that he was regarded as its inventor; of these satires he left several books, all of which have perished. In the time of Cicero, T. Lucretius Carus put the physics of Epicurus into verse; and in no portion of Roman poetry is the true, the born poet, more discernible than in those places where his ill-chosen subject allowed him to give free course to his genius. C. Valerius Catullus was also a poet of true genius; grace, elegance, ease and feeling strongly characterise many of his extant poems. The *Bucolics* and *Georgics* of Virgil, the *Satires*, *Epodes* and first book of the *Odes* of Horace, also belong to the literature of this period*.

It was in this century that most of the Roman annals and histories were written†. C. Junius, named Gracchanus from his friendship with C. Gracchus, wrote a valuable history of the constitution, which, though lost, is mediately the chief source whence our knowledge of it is derived. The only historian of this period of whose works any perfect portions have reached us is C. Sallustius Crispus. This writer seems to have taken Thucydides as his model, but he can by no means stand a rivalry with the great Athenian. Cæsar's narrative of his own wars is a perfect specimen of that species of composition to which it belongs. The various writings, oratorical, philosophical, and didactic, of Cicero are well known and most justly admired. Of the numerous works of M. Terentius Varro, the most learned of the Romans, only a small portion has been preserved.

In the preceding narrative we have traced the history of Rome from the time when she was only a village on the Palatine to that when she became the mistress of the world; another volume contains the history of the enormous empire of which she now only formed a part. In the progress of Rome to dominion it is difficult not to discern the hand of a predisposing cause:

* Notices of these poets and their works are given in the *History of the Roman Empire*, pp. 17, 18.

† See the account of them in the Appendix.

the steadiness and perseverance of the Roman character; the preponderance of the aristocratic element in her constitution at the time of her conflicts with her most powerful rivals; the advantage which the unity produced by a capital, as a fixed point, gave her over the brave but loose federation of Samnium, and her armies of citizens and allies over the mercenaries in the pay of Carthage; and the circumstance of all other states being in their decline when she engaged them,—all tend to show that the empire of the world was reserved for Rome. But in the attainment of this empire she was also destined to lose her own freedom. Neglecting to enforce her agrarian laws, and not being a commercial state, she possessed no middle class of citizens*, without which there can be no permanent liberty; the Hortensian law placed all political power at the disposal of the lower order of the people; the incessant foreign wars corrupted the genuine Roman character, and the constant influx and manumission of slaves further debased it. Meantime the government of provinces, the conduct of wars, and the farming of the public revenues, enabled some of the nobility and the knights to acquire immense wealth, with which they purchased impunity for their crimes and the lucrative and influential offices of the state; for the votes of electors without property are almost always venal. The consequence of this condition of society was, as we have seen, a century of turbulence and anarchy ending in a despotism. Rome thus, like Athens, stands as a warning to free states to beware of democracy; for from their history we may infer that if in a democracy there are persons of great wealth, they will eventually, by their contests for power, convert it into a despotism, as at Rome; while if, as at Athens, the people have reduced the families of ancient nobility and hereditary wealth to their own level in point of fortune, the end will be utter political insignificance.

* L. Marcius Philippus, when proposing an agrarian law in his tribunate (648), asserted that there were not two thousand citizens who were possessed of property ("non esse in civitate duo millia hominum qui rem haberent." Cicero, Off. ii. 21.). Many of the leading families of both orders in the early ages of the republic must have died off, or have dwindled into insignificance, in consequence probably of there being neither law nor custom of primogeniture. In the Fasti and history of the last century we rarely meet the names of the Quinctii, Manlii, Fabii, Furii, Decii, Curii, and never those of the Horatii, Menenii, Veturii, Genucii, Icili, Numitorii.

APPENDIX.

A. Page 8.—AUTHORITIES.

WE have noticed above (p. 174) the nature of the earliest Roman history. A very brief chronicle was kept by the Pontifex Maximus, which only noted the prominent events of each year, such as wars and victories, plagues, famines, and prodigies. The details were probably derived by those annalists, used by Livy and other late writers, from the narrative poems and from the funeral orations. The history therefore anterior to the Punic wars is of the same nature with that of Greece before the Peloponnesian war.

The oldest Roman historian was Q. (or N.) Fabius Pictor, who flourished in the time of the second Punic war. His work embraced the events from the foundation of the city to his own times. He wrote in Greek, and according to Polybius he was weak and partial.

L. Cincius Alimentus, the contemporary of Fabius, wrote also in Greek. His annals seem to have embraced the same period as those of Fabius. He was probably a far more accurate writer than his rival, as he is said to have been diligent in the study of antiquities.

We have no account of any annalists for some years after Fabius and Cincius, except the poet Ennius, who composed in seventeen books the annals from the earliest times to his own days. It is probably to him that the narratives in the early books of Livy are indebted for their poetic hue.

M. Porcius Cato, who died in the first year of the third Punic war, in his 86th year, wrote his *Origines* in his old age. The work, which was in Latin, was in seven books; the first contained the history of Rome under the kings; the second and third the *origins* of the different states and towns of Italy, whence it derived its title; the fourth the first, and the fifth the second Punic war; the sixth and seventh the events thence to the last year of the author's life.

A. Postumius Albinus, the contemporary of Cato, wrote annals in Greek. They seem to have extended from the foundation of the city to the historian's own times.

C. Acilius also wrote annals at this time in Greek, which were translated into Latin by a writer named Claudius (Liv. xxv. 39.). We know not where they commenced or how far they extended; they however contained the history of the first Punic war.

From the times of the Gracchi and the younger Africanus, that is, in the seventh century of the city, historians became more numerous, and events were in general related by contemporaries.

Polybius of Megalopolis, one of the thousand hostages taken from Greece by the Romans (Hist. of Greece, p. 480), wrote a general history, which contained that of Rome from the commencement of the first Punic war down to the destruction of Carthage and Corinth. This writer, who was both a statesman and a soldier, formed the history of the earlier events of

his work by a careful comparison of Fabius with the contemporary Greek writers, and by a diligent inspection of all the documents and monuments that were to be found in a spirit of sound historic criticism. Though not to be classed with Thucydides, Polybius occupies a highly respectable station in the second rank of historians, and the loss of the greater part of his work is much to be lamented. His narrative from the commencement of the first Punic war to the battle of Cannæ is complete, as is also that of the Confederate war in Greece; and Livy derived almost exclusively from him the materials of the fourth and fifth decads of his history, which contain the wars with Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus.

L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, who was consul in the year of the taking of Numantia, and afterwards censor, wrote annals from the foundation of the city down to his own time. Piso was the great *rationaliser* of the legends of the early history. See above, p. 127. C. Fannius, who was at the taking of Carthage, also wrote annals: their extent is not known.

Cn. Gellius wrote annals, probably at this time; as also did L. Cassius Hemina.

The Romans, we may here observe, seem to have made a distinction between annals and histories. By the former they appear to have understood a narrative of past events; by the latter, an account of those of the writer's own time. Such is apparently the distinction made by Tacitus. We may however remark that the latter part of annals is usually history.

L. (or M.) Cælius Antipater wrote annals or histories. His work appears to have commenced with the second Punic war.

L. Ælius Tubero wrote a history, but its extent is unknown. His work would rather seem to have been annals, as it contained the events of the first Punic war.

P. Sempronius Asellio, the contemporary of the preceding writers, wrote the history of his own times.

After the times of the Gracchi, P. Rutilius Rufus (above, p. 329) wrote a history of his own times. L. Cornelius Sisenna did the same; his work contained the Marsic war and subsequent events. Sulla, Lucullus and Catulus also wrote histories, or rather memoirs of their own lives and times.

In the times succeeding Sulla we find the following annalists and historians:—

Q. Claudius Quadrigarius appears to have commenced his annals with the capture of Rome by the Gauls; they seem to have contained the proscription of Sulla. Quadrigarius is praised for his style by Gellius, and apparently with reason.

Q. Valerius Antias, who is notorious for his mendacity, composed annals from the earliest times to his own days. His work must have been very copious, for we find the seventy-fifth book quoted.

C. Licinius Macer wrote annals from the foundation of the city, but the fragments do not enable us to ascertain how far they extended. Macer was one of the most valuable of the annalists, as he followed the example of Cincius and Polybius in consulting documents and monuments.

These were the principal authorities for the history previous to the time of the Civil wars. We meet the names of Vennonius, Lutatius, Clodius, Drusus and others, but we can learn little or nothing of their writings. Cicero's friend Atticus, the orator Hortensius and others wrote annals. Among the annalists is also to be mentioned L. Fenestella, who flourished in the reign of the Emperor Tiberius. Beside his narratives of Catilina's conspiracy and the

Jugurthine war which are extant, *Sallust* wrote a history which appears to have extended from the death of Sulla to the Piratic war, and of which unfortunately only fragments exist.

These were the writers before the time of Augustus, in whose reign the Roman history from the foundation of the city to the commencement of the first Punic war was written with great copiousness and diligence, but on a false theory, by *Dionysius* of Halicarnassus. Of this elaborate work, which was in the Greek language, and in twenty books, the first eleven have come down to us entire, and fragments of the remaining nine.

T. Livius wrote in the same reign his splendid rhetorical history, extending, in fourteen decads or one hundred and forty books, from the earliest times to the death of Drusus the step-son of Augustus in A.U. 745, Varr. Of his fourteen decads time has spared no more than the first, third, fourth and half of the fifth: the remainder only exists in epitome.

Appian of Alexandria compiled in Greek, in the time of the Antonines, various portions of the Roman history under the titles by which they are referred to in the preceding pages. *Plutarch* in the same period wrote in Greek the lives so frequently quoted above.

For *Velleius Paterculus*, *Dion Cassius* and the *Epitomators* we refer the reader to the Appendix of our History of the Roman Empire, where however the piece "*De Viris Illustribus*," ascribed to Aurelius Victor, is not included.

Diodorus Siculus, who wrote in the time of Augustus, compiled with great labour, but little judgement, a work called a '*Historic Library*' in forty books, containing the history of the world from the earliest times to the commencement of the Gallic wars of Cæsar. Of this work, books vi.-x., and xxi.-xl. exist only in fragments. The notices of Roman affairs in it are in general very brief.

B. Page 8.—THE CITY OF ROME.

The course of the Tiber at Rome is very winding; it may however be regarded as running from north-east to south-west. A chain of hills on its right bank commences beyond the Mulvian bridge (*Ponte Molle*), and terminates below the part opposite the Aventine hill of Rome, lying within a short distance of the stream. This range was named the Janiculan, and a detached mass of it (behind the present church of St. Peter's) was called the Vatican, a name sometimes applied to the whole range. At its southern extremity was the elevation on which Ancus Marcius built the fort commonly called the *Janiculan*, the object of which seems to have been to command the road leading from Etruria to Rome over its only bridge, the *Sublician*, which was opposite the Aventine.

On the left bank of the river, opposite the southern extremity of the Janiculan, a hill named the Aventine rises abruptly within a few yards of the stream. To the north of the Aventine, and further from the river, is the Palatine hill, and north of the Palatine, but nearer to the river, is the hill anciently named the Saturnian, Tarpeian, or Capitoline. The Cælian hill lies eastward of the Aventine. The three hills named the Quirinal, the Viminal, and the Esquiline run parallel to the river beyond the Capitoline. As they are united in their northern declivity and then divided, stretching

toward the Cælian, they have been aptly compared to the open fingers as they extend from the back of the human hand. The Esquiline however makes, as it were, a bend, and runs toward the Palatine below the Viminal and Quirinal. The hill now named the Pincian, between the northern part of the Quirinal and the river, formed no part of ancient Rome. In the latter period of the republic it was covered with the gardens of Lucullus and others, and was named the *Collis Hortorum*.

The *Forum* extended from the bottom of the ridge named the *Velia* (above, p. 33) toward the *clivus* of the Capitoline; the districts named the *Vicus Tusculus* and *Velabrum* lay between it and the river; the *Subura* was in the hollow between the extremities of the Quirinal and Viminal and the southern bend of the Esquiline, the overhanging part of which last was named the *Carinæ*.

The wall of Servius Tullius, commencing at the Capitoline, ran along the river-front of the Quirinal, and thence round the other hills till it reached the river at the Aventine. It is uncertain whether it was continued along the bank of the Tiber, or terminated at it on either extremity; but the former seems to be the more probable hypothesis*.

The principal gates were the *Colline* at the northern extremity of the Quirinal, near the present Porta Pia; the *Esquiline*, near the church of *S. Maria Maggiore*; the *Cælian* near the Lateran church; the *Capene* at the foot of the Cælian hill near the Baths of Caracalla; and the *Carmental* at the foot of the Capitoline toward the river†.

The *Campus Martius* lay outside of the city between the Tiber, the Capitoline and the Quirinal; the *Flaminian Mead* (p. 99) lay under the northern side of the Capitoline (between the Capitol and the end of the *Corso*); the *Navalia* or docks were below the Aventine‡.

The Capitoline hill has two summits, and between them a space named the *Area* (by later topographers the *Intermontium*), in which was the *Asylum*, and to which the *Clivus* ascended. It is doubtful on which summit the temple stood. Nardini and most of the later Italian topographers place it on the eastern (*Araceli*), while the older ones, who are followed by Hirt, Niebuhr, Bunsen, and Burgess, place it on the western summit (*Monte Caprino*).

The temple of *Concord* (p. 124) stood at the bottom of the Capitoline hill close to the *clivus* (behind the arch of Severus); that of *Saturn* (p. 295), the remains of which are commonly called the temple of *Jupiter*

* In the middle ages cities such as London, Florence, Orleans, etc. built on the banks of rivers, had always a wall on the water-side.

† Niebuhr (ii. 196.) is positive that this gate was at the further end of the hill; but this opinion is not adopted by Bunsen, or any other topographer, and is evidently erroneous.

‡ Livy says that the *Prata Quinctia* were beyond the Tiber, "*contra eum ipsum locum ubi nunc Navalia sunt.*" As we know of no *Navalia* at Rome but the one, we have (above, p. 89) followed Donati and those who place the *Prata Quinctia* below the Janiculan. As Pliny however says that the farm of *Cincinnatus* was in the *Ager Vaticanus*, Nardini, Cluverius, Bunsen and others, assuming that there were *Navalia* higher up the river (where now the *Ripetta* is, or nearer to Rome), place the *Prata Quinctia* in the present *Prati*, near the Castel St. Angelo. We doubt, however, if *Navalia* ever signifies merely a quay or wharf.

Tonans, stood to the right of it; that of *Concord* built by Opimius (p. 307) was above the senate-house close to the Comitium. The temple of *Ops* (p. 452) was by the *Æquimælium* under the Capitol; that of *Castor* (p. 306) was on the west side of the Forum, and that of *Vesta* between the Palatine and the Comitium (near Sta Maria Liberatrice). The temple of *Ceres* (p. 64) stood under the Aventine close to the Circus, and that of *Diana* (p. 24) was on that hill, but its site is uncertain. The temple of *Tellus* (p. 450) was on the *Carinæ*; that of *Bellona* (p. 350) in or by the Flaminian Mead; that of *Mars* (p. 99) outside of the Capene gate (near San Cesareo?); the temple of *Janus* (p. 193), or more properly *Porta Janualis* (Varro L. L. v. 165.), was on the east side of the Forum under the Capitol, and that of *Apollo* (p. 351) was outside of the Carmental gate by the Flaminian Mead.

The temple of *Faith* (p. 298) seems to be a mistake of Appian's, for that temple was on the Capitol (Plin. H. N. xxxv. 10.), while both he and Plutarch say that Nasica and those with him ascended the Capitol. Perhaps it was the temple of Concord that he meant. Velleius (ii. 3.) says that Scipio, "ex superiori parte Capitolii summis gradibus insistent," called on those who valued the republic to follow him, and adds that they rushed on Gracchus, "stantem in arca." We doubt, however, if there was a temple on the Capitol capable of containing the senate.

C. Page 42.—THE KINGS OF ROME.

We will here resume and extend the observations made in the text on the series of the Roman kings.

Of the first four kings Romulus and Numa are purely mythic or ideal personages, like the Theseus, Amphietyon and others of Greece. Romulus, or Ronius as he was called by the Greeks, was merely the personified symbol of the town of Roma; Numa, i. e. the *Legislator*, that of the religious institutions of the state. The two remaining monarchs, Tullus and Ancus, were probably real persons, and as, like their mythic predecessors, the first was a Roman and the second a Sabine, they offer a confirmation of the hypothesis of its being the rule in the Romano-Sabine state to elect the king alternately from each of the combined nations.

The arguments of Niebuhr (adduced in the text) against the supposed Grecian and Etruscan origin of Tarquinius, are in our opinion quite conclusive. The Luccres or *patres minores*, whom we find so strong in the early days of the republic, may even then have been powerful enough to place a member of their Tarquinian *gens* on the vacant throne, or the influence of the aged king Ancus may have availed to secure it for the husband of his daughter, on whom he may for some years previously have devolved some of the functions of royalty. As hereditary succession to the throne was unknown at Rome*, all that is said about the sons of Ancus may be regarded as fabulous. The probably fortuitous coincidence between the name of the *gens* at Rome and the city of Etruria, and possibly the introduction

* An Italian writer of the present day, Professor Oriuolo, has advanced a most extraordinary theory on the regal succession of Rome; namely, that the crown always devolved to the husband of the preceding monarch's eldest daughter.

by this monarch of Etruscan ornaments and ceremonies, may have given occasion to the tale of his Etruscan origin. We believe there is not a single instance in the history of ancient Italy of a gentile *nomen* being derived from the name of a place, and we very much doubt if there be one of a total change of name, except in the case of a Roman adoption.

The three patrician tribes would thus have given kings to Rome, and though unsupported by direct authority, we will venture to express our suspicion that the celebrated legislator known by the name of Servius Tullius belonged to the remaining portion of the Roman people, the Plebs. Niebuhr, we know not on what grounds, asserts that the Tullian *gens* belonged to the Luceres. The name, which is apparently Volscian, occurs only twice in the early centuries of the republic. The consul M'. Tullius Longus (Livy, ii. 19.) was no doubt a patrician, but the centurion Sex. Tullius (*Id.* vii. 13.) was probably a plebeian*; almost everything in fact related of Servius Tullius seems to connect him with the plebeians†. Thus, for example, he dwelt among them on the Esquiline; all his legislation was in their favour, and it was by a conspiracy of the patricians that he lost his life.

But then it may be said, was not Servius the Etruscan Mastarna? We think not, for that story is laden with difficulties. It in the first place gives what we regard as an erroneous view of ancient Etruria; for if there was in it a *condottiere* like Cæles Vivenna, its condition must have resembled that of the Tuscany of the middle ages, when Florence, Siena, Pisa and the other towns were engaged in mutual and bitter hostilities; for which there is not the slightest warrant of history, no instance occurring of war among the states of ancient Etruria. It further is connected with a false etymology of the Cælian hill at Rome. Finally, to any one acquainted with the manners and habits of mercenary soldiers, there will be an extreme difficulty in the circumstance of Mastarna's being the author of the beneficent system of legislation ascribed to Servius Tullius‡.

The fact however of the rule of Tuscan princes at Rome is maintained by Niebuhr, and held even more strongly by Müller. The theory of the last-named writer (*Etrusk.* i. 118–123.) is as follows. The city of Tarquinii at one time held the supremacy over the whole of Etruria, and ruled over Rome and a part of Latium: hence the walls, sewers, and Capitoline temple at Rome, built on the Tuscan scale of magnitude, and the Grecian games of the Circus, Tarquinii being intimately connected with Corinth. This denotes the period of the reign of the elder Tarquinius. Mastarna then, at the head of an army from Vulturni, the enemy of Tarquinii, made the conquest of Rome, where he reigned as Servius Tullius, giving it a new constitution; but his government was overthrown by the Tarquinians, whose renewed dominion is denoted by the reign of the younger Tarquinius. Finally Lars Porsenna of Clusium overthrew the dominion of Tarquinii, the city of Rome being one of his conquests. Müller therefore supposes the Tuscan dominion at Rome to have lasted about a century.

* "Tullia plebeia antiquissima gente eum fuisse opinor." Pighius, *Annales*, i. p. 286.

† Plebs colit hanc (*Fortunam*) quia qui posuit de plebe fuisse
Fertur et ex humili sceptrum tulisse loco. (Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 781.)

‡ The *condottiere* Sforza, by marrying a natural daughter of the last of the Visconti, became duke of Milan, a curious coincidence with the story of Servius. But Sforza was no legislator.

We avow that we do not see any necessity for this ingenious theory. The Romans were a people who never were too proud to imitate and borrow the arts and institutions of other peoples; they therefore, it is probable, borrowed largely from their neighbours of Etruria, particularly in religious and political usages and ceremonies. We know that their principal works of art came from that country; there was a quarter at Rome, the *Vicus Tuscus*, named from the Tuscans who resided in it, and all these circumstances combined may have given origin to the tradition of a Tuscan colony and Tuscan kings at Rome.

In conclusion, we are not to be classed with those who regard the history anterior to the taking of the city by the Gauls as little entitled to credit. Such no doubt are many of the details of battles and other events; but the main facts after the expulsion of the kings, such as the contests between the two orders, and the gradual extension or recovery of the Roman dominion, are undoubtedly true; and, with due allowances, the history from the year 244 may be regarded as a trustworthy narrative.

D. Page 46.—POPULUS AND PLEBS.

"Ateius Capito," says Gellius (x. 20.), "*plebem seorsum a populo divisit, quoniam in populo omnis pars civitatis omnesque ejus ordines contineantur; plebes vero ea dicitur in qua gentes civium patriciæ non insunt.*" This continued to be the common opinion till the sagacity of Niebuhr led him to discern that the original *Populus* was the patricians as opposed to the *Plebs*. See *Hist. of Rome*, i. 417, ii. 168.

The following instances in which we find the two words used, not merely disjunctively but conjunctively, will probably convince most persons of the soundness of his views:—

"Consul Appius negare jus esse tribuno in quemquam nisi plebeium; non enim *populi* sed *plebis* eum magistratum esse." Liv. ii. 56: compare ii. 35, iii. 11. "A *plebe* consensu *populi* consulibus negotium mandatur." *Id.* iv. 51. "Prætor—is qui *populo plebique* jus dabit summum." *Id.* xxv. 12. This last passage, we may observe, occurs in a prophetic poem, and may therefore be regarded as an ancient mode of speaking. In his prayer, when embarking for the conquest of Africa, (xxix. 27.) Scipio says, "*ea mihi, populo plebique Romanæ, sociis nominique Latino . . . bene ver-runcent,*" where the correctness of the latter expressions (above, p. 168, note) shows that Livy was following good authority.

In Cicero also we meet with several instances of this distinction; *ex. gr.* "Ut ea res mihi magistratuique meo *populo plebique Romanæ* bene atque feliciter eveniret." Pro Murena, l. "Mihi Floram matrem *populo plebique Romanæ* ludorum celebritate placandam." In Verrem, v. 14. "Sacrosanctum esse nihil potest nisi quod *populus pleberve* sanxerit." Pro Balbo, 14. "Leges statuimus per vim et contra auspicia latas, illisque nec *populum* nec *plebem* teneri." Phil. xii. 5. "Cum *populo cum plebe* agendi jus." Legg. ii. 12. "Quum pontifices decressent ita, si neque *populi jussu* neque *plebis scitu*, &c." Ad Att. iv. 11. This last is evidently an ancient formula, and as such we may regard the superscriptions of public letters or despatches, such as the following: PLANCUS IMP. COS. DES. S. D. COSS. PR. TRIB. PLEB. SEN. POP. PL. Q. R. (Ad Fam. x. 8.); and LEPIDUS IMP. ITER. PONT. MAX. S. D. SENAT. POP. PL. Q. R. (Ib. x. 35.). In his work De Republica

Cicero always uses the word *populus* of the assembly which in the comitia curiata conferred the *imperium* on the Roman kings.

Even in so late a writer as the younger Pliny we find the following passage, "Ut partem aliquam *populi plebisque* Romanæ aleret ac tueretur." Panegy. 32.

Dion Cassius, who was an accurate writer, employed the Greek *δῆμος* to express the Latin *populus*, and *πλῆθος* for *plebs*, and he frequently uses the two terms in conjunction, as in lib. lii. 20, liii. 21, 47, lv. 34, lviii. 20, lix. 9. Zonaras, who wrote from Dion Cassius, almost invariably employs *πλῆθος* or *ὄμιλος*, instead of *δῆμος*, to express the *plebs* of the Latin writers.

Tacitus (A. i. 8. H. i. 35, 36, 40.) seems to employ the two terms in the same sense as Capito. The distinction between *δῆμος* and *πλῆθος* in Polybius (iii. 103, 5.) is not very clear.

The origin of this late sense of the terms may be easily understood if we call to mind the Roman habit of retaining old terms and applying them to new objects (above, p. 39, *note*). When therefore the original distinction between *Populus* and *Plebs* had been effaced, the former was made to stand for the whole, the latter for a part of the Roman people.

E. Page 54.—KINDS OF STONE USED AT ROME.

Niebuhr, when describing the Cloaca Maxima, asserts positively that it was built of the stone named *peperino*; but Brocchi, the eminent Roman mineralogist and geologist, assures us that the stone used in the construction is the *tufa litoide* of the place. His opinion has been adopted without hesitation by Bunsen and Arnold, and is without doubt the truth.

Some account of the different kinds of stone employed by the Romans in their buildings may be not without utility.

The *tufa litoide*, i. e. *stonelike tufa*, which forms the Capitoline hill and some other parts of Rome, is a volcanic product of a red-brown colour with orange specks in it.

The *peperino* or *pepper-stone*, as it is called by the modern Italians on account of its colour, which resembles that of ground pepper, is also a volcanic product. It contains lumps of lava and other harder substances, and is found at Gabil and Albano. It was greatly used by the ancient Romans for building and other purposes. The celebrated coffin, for example, found in the tomb of the Scipios, and now deposited in the Vatican, is of this stone. It may also be seen in the wall of the Tabularium which faces the Forum. The footways in the street named the Corso, which are so unpleasant to walk on, on account of the protruding lava, are of this stone.

The *travertino*, which name is a corruption of Tiburtino, and which was chiefly obtained from the neighbourhood of Tibur, is a calcareous deposition from the fresh water; by exposure to the air it becomes of a reddish-white colour. The fronts of St. Peter's and other churches at Rome are of this stone. It also forms the curb-stone in the Corso.

The *silex* of the Romans, with which they paved their roads and streets, was lava, of which a stream ejected by the volcano which formerly existed in the Alban range extends thence as far as the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, near Rome, at which place were the quarries whence it was extracted.

The preceding kinds of stone were, with bricks, the only substances used by the Romans in their buildings, public and private, during the first six centuries of the republic.



GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

* * *n.* *s. e. w.* north, south, etc.; *m.* miles; *col.* colony; *mun.* municipium. After Volscian, Oscan, etc., *town* is to be understood. By Oscan is meant the country from the range between Fundi and Formiæ to the Massic hills.

- ACERRÆ** (*Acerra*), Campanian, *n.-w.* of Nola, *mun.*; (2) *Geri*, Cis-Gallic, on the Addua (*Adda*).
- Æculānum**, Samnite, on the Calor, *s.-e.* of Beneventum.
- Æsernia** (*Isernia*), Samnite, *n.* of Mt. Tifernus.
- Æsis** (*Esino*), riv., on *n.* frontier of Picenum.
- Alba Longa**, on Alban Mount, site unknown; (2) *Fucinia* (*Alba*), Marsian, near Fucine lake, *col.*
- Algidus Mt.**, eastern part of volcanic range of Alban Mt., etc., in Latium.
- Alia** (*Fossa di Conca*, 7 *m.* from Rome?), Sabine stream.
- Allifæ** (*Alife*), Samnite, on the Vulturnus.
- Anagnia** (*Anagni*), Hernican, 35 *m.* from Rome.
- Anio** (*Teverone*), riv. of Latium, near Rome.
- Antennæ**, 4 *m.* from Rome, beyond the junction of the Anio and Tiber.
- Antium** (*Capo d'Anzo*), Volscian coast, 38 *m.* from Rome.
- Aquilonia** (*Agnone*), in northern Samnium.
- Apiolæ**, 9 or 10 *m.* from Rome, near the Appian Road.
- Ardea**, Latin, 23 *m.* from Rome, 4 from the sea.
- Aricia** (*Lariccia*), Latin, 16 miles from Rome on Appian Road, *mun.*
- Ariminum** (*Rimini*), coast of Umbria.
- Arpi**, Apulian, *e.* of Nuceria.
- Arpinum** (*Arpino*), Volscian, *n.* of Fregellæ, *mun.*
- Arretium** (*Arezzo*), Tuscan, *col. mun.*
- Arsia**, wood behind the Janiculan.
- Asculum** (*Ascoli*), Apulian; (2) *Ascoli*, Picenian, *col. mun.*
- Astura** (*Astura*), riv. and island, Volscian, 7 miles *e.* of Antium.
- Aufidēna** (*Alfidēna*), *n.* frontier of Samnium.
- Aufidus** (*Ofanto*), riv. of Apulia.
- Ausona**, Oscan, *s.* of the Liris.
- Auximum** (*Osimo*), Picenian, *s.* of Ancona, *col. mun.*
- Bantia**, Lucanian, *s.-e.* of Venusia.
- Beneventum** (*Benivento*), Samnite, on the Calor, *col.*
- Bola** (*Polì*), Latin, *n.* of Præneste.
- Bononia** (*Bologna*), Cis-Gall., *col. mun.*
- Bovianum** (*Bojāno*), Samnite, *col.*
- Bovillæ**, Latin, under Alban Mt., 12 *m.* from Rome.
- Brundisium** (*Brindisi*), coast of Calabria, *col.*

- Cærinæ (*Ceino*?), Latin, near the Tiber above Rome.
 Cære (*Cervitina*), Tuscan, **30 m.** from Rome, *mun.*
 Caiëta (*Gaita*), Oscan coast.
 Calatia (*Caiazza*), Samnite, *n.* of Mt. Tifata; **(2)** *Caserta*, Campanian, between Capua and Nola.
 Cales (*Calvi*), Campanian, *s.* of Teanum, *col.*
 Callicula, hills between Teanum and the Vulturnus.
 Calor (*Calore*), riv. of Samnium, passes Beneventum, falls into the Vulturnus.
 Capëna, Etruscan, *s.* of Mt. Soracte (*St. Oreste*), **20 m.** from Rome.
 Cannæ, Apulian, *e.* of the Aufidus, **10 m.** from the sea.
 Canusium (*Canosa*), Apulian, *s.* of the Aufidus.
 Capua, Campanian, under Mt. Tifata, *col. mun.*
 Casilinum (*Capua*), on the Vulturnus, **2 m.** from Capua, *col.*
 Ceno (*Nettuno*), Volseian, port of Antium.
 Caudium (*Cervinara*), Samnite, between Capua and Beneventum.
 Cingulum (*Cingolo*), Picenian.
 Circeii, Volscian, on cape Circæum (*Monte Circello*), *col.*
 Clusium (*Chiusi*), Tuscan, **100 m.** from Rome.
 Collatia, between Rome and Gabii (*Castel dell' Osa*? or *Lunghezza*?).
 Cominium (*Cereio*), Samnite, *s.-e.* of Allifæ.
 Compsa (*Conza*), *s.* frontier of Samnium.
 Corbio (*Rocca Priore*), Latin, beyond Tusculum.
 Corfinium (*Popoli*?), Pelignian, *n.* of Sulmo.
 Corioli (*Monte Giove*?), Latin, *w.* of Lanuvium.
 Corniculum (*St. Angelo in Cappoccio*?), Sabine, beyond Nomentum.
 Cosa, Lucanian, *n.* of Thurii.
 Cremëra, stream of Etruria, falls into the Tiber above Rome.
 Cremôna (*Cremona*), Cis-Gall., *col. mun.*
 Crustumërium (*Monte Rotondo*), between Nomentum and the Tiber?.)
 Cumæ (*Cuma*), on coast of Campania.
 Cures (*Corresa*?), Sabine, **30 m.** from Rome.
 Eeetræ, Hernican, in valley *e.* of Alban hills between Signia and Anagnia.
 Erêtum (*Grotta Marozza*), Sabine, **18 m.** from Rome.
 Fæsulæ (*Fiesole*), Tuscan, over Florence.
 Falerii (*Cività Castellana*?), Tuscan, **35 m.** from Rome.
 Falernus ager, Campanian, between Mt. Massicus and the Vulturnus.
 Fanum Fortûnæ (*Fano*), coast of Umbria, *s.* of Pisaurum, *col.*
 Fanum Voltumnæ (*Viterbo*), Tuscan, see p. **150**.
 Ferentîna (*Marino*), fount and grove in the valley between the Alban Mt. and Tusculum.
 Ferentinum (*Ferentino*), Hernican, *s.-e.* of Anagnia.
 Ficana (*Dragonella*?), below Rome on the Tiber.
 Ficulea (*Torre Lupara*?), on the way to Nomentum.
 Fidënæ, near *Villa Spada*, **5** or **6 m.** above Rome on the Tiber.
 Firmum (*Fermo*), coast of Picenum, *col.*
 Formiæ (*Mola*), Oscan coast, *mun.*
 Fregellæ (*Caprano*), Volscian, on the Liris.
 Fundi (*Fondi*), Oscan, *n.-e.* of Tarracina, *mun. col.*
 Gabii, Latin, **12 m.** from Rome, half-way to Præneste.
 Galæsus (*Galëso*), stream at Tarentum.
 Geronium, Apulian, *s.* of Larinum.
 Grumentum (*Grunmo*), in Apulia.

- Heraclea (*Policoro*), on coast of Lucania, and on riv. Aciris (*Agri*).
 Herdonia (*Ordona*), in Apulia.
 Iguvium (*Gubbio*), in Umbria.
 Interamna (*Terni*), in Umbria, *mun.*
 Labici or Lavici (*Colonna?* or *Zagoruiolo?*), Latin, beyond Tusculum, **15 m.** from Rome.
 Larinum (*Larino*), *n.* frontier of Apulia.
 Lavinium (*Pratica*), *s.-e.* of Laurentum, **16 m.** from Rome, **3** from the sea.
 Lavinius, stream of Cis-Gaul, *w.* of the Rhenus.
 Lanuvium (*Cività Lavinia*), under Genzano, **20 m.** from Rome, *col. mun.*
 Laurentum (*Torre Paterno*), coast of Latium, **16 m.** from Rome.
 Lautulæ, the long and narrow pass *e.* of Terracina.
 Liris (*Garigliano*) riv. flows through Volscian and Oscan countries, and enters the sea near Minturnæ.
 Liternum (*Patria*), **3** or **4 m. n.** of Cumæ, on coast of Campania.
 Longula and Pollusca in Latium, near Corioli.
 Luca (*Lucca*), Tuscan, *col.*
 Mediolanum (*Milano*), Cis-Gall., *mun.*
 Medullia (*Catibio* at *Mt. Geniro?*), on the way to Nomentum.
 Minturnæ, Oscan, on the Liris, **2 m.** from the sea, *col.*
 Misenum (*Miseno*), western cape of bay of Baiæ in Campania.
 Mutina (*Modena*), Cis-Gall., *col.*
 Neapolis (*Napoli*), on coast of Campania.
 Nepe, or Nepète (*Nepi*), Tuscan, **30 m.** from Rome, *col.*
 Nola (*Nola*), Campania, *e.* of Naples, *s.* of Capua, *mun. col.*
 Nomentum (*La Mentana*), Sabine, **12 m.** from Rome.
 Nuceria (*Nocera*), Campanian, on the Sarnus *e.* of Pompeii; (**2**) *Nocera*, more correctly Luceria (*Lucera*), Apulian, near Samnium, *col.*
 Numicius (*Rio Torto?*), stream of Latium, between Lavinium and Ardea.
 Numistro (*Muro*), in Lucania.
 Ostia (*Ostia*), **16 m.** from Rome at the mouth of the Tiber.
 Palæopolis, near Neapolis, site unknown.
 Pandosia, Lucanian, *w.* of Heraclea on the Aciris.
 Pedum (*Galliano?*), beyond Gabii.
 Perugia (*Perugia*), Tuscan, *col. mun.*
 Pisaurum (*Pesaro*), coast of Umbria, *col.*
 Placentia (*Piacenza*), Cis-Gall., on the Po, *col. mun.*
 Pompeii, Campanian, at foot of Vesuvius *on* the Sarnus.
 Populonia, on coast of Etruria, **3 m.** from Piombino.
 Præneste (*Palestrina*), Latin, **20 m.** from Rome, *col. mun.*
 Privernum (*Piperno*), Volscian, on the Amasenus.
 Puteoli (*Pozzuoli*), on bay of Baiæ in Campania, *col.*
 Regillus lacus (at *Cornufella* near Frascati? or at *Colonna?*).
 Rhegium (*Reggio*), at the point of Bruttium.
 Rhenus (*Reno*), riv. of Cis-Gaul, runs near Bologna and enters the Po.
 Rubicon (*Fiumicino*), stream on confines of Gaul and Umbria.
 Sacriportus (*Pempinara?*), in the valley between Signia and Præneste.
 Salapia (*Salpi*), coast of Apulia.
 Salernum (*Salerno*), on bay of Pæstum in Campania, *col.*
 Salpinum (*Orvieto?*), Tuscan, *n.* of Vulsinii.
 Saticula (*Sta Agata de' Goti*), Samnite, between Capua and Beneventum.
 Satricum on the Astura, between Velitræ and Antium.

- Sena Gallica (*Sinigaglia*), on coast of Umbria.
 Sentinum (*Sentina*), Umbrian, **n.** of the *Æsis*.
 Sidicinum (*Riardo*?), Oscan, near Teanum.
 Signia (*Segni*), Volscian, *s.-w.* of Anagnia.
 Sinuessa (*Mondragone*), coast of Campania.
 Sora (*Sora*), Hernican, on the Liris.
 Stabiae (*Castellamare*), on the bay of Naples.
 Suessa Aurunca (*Sessa*), Oscan, *w.* of Teanum, **col.**; (2) Pometia, Volscian, in Pomptine district.
 Suessula, Campanian, between Capua and Nola.
 Sutrium (*Sutri*), Tusean, **33 m.** from Rome, **col.**
 Tarentum (*Taranto*), on bay of same name in Japygia, **col.**
 Tarquinii (*Corneto*), coast of Etruria, **50 m.** from Rome.
 Terracina (*Terracina*), Volscian, **col.**, see p. **107**.
 Teānum (*Teāno*), Oscan, capital of the Sidicinians, **col.**
 Telesia (*Telisa*), Samnite, on the Calor, **n.-w.** of Beneventum, **col.**
 Tellena (in valley of *Decimo*?), near Ficana.
 Thurii on the Crathis (*Crati*), on Lucanian and Bruttian frontier near the sea.
 Tibur (*Tivoli*), Latin, **18 m.** from Rome.
 Ticinus (*Tessino*), riv. of Cis-Gaul, enters the Po near Ticinum (*Pavia*).
 Tifāta, hills over Capua.
 Tifernus mons, in Samnium, between *Æsernia* and *Bovianum*.
 Trasimēnus lacus (*Lago di Perugia*), in the plain of the Clanis (*Chiani*) between Cortona and Perugia.
 Treba or Trehia (*Trevi*), on Hernican and *Æquian* frontier, **n.** of Anagnia.
 Trebia (*Trebbia*), riv. of Cis-Gaul, rises in the Apennines, enters the Po at Placentia.
 Tuseulum (near *Frascati*), Latin, **12 m.** from Rome.
 Vadimo, lake in Etruria, close to the Tiber, *s.* of Horta (*Orta*), *w.* of Otriculum, **40 m.** from Rome.
 Veii, see p. **107**.
 Vellitræ (*Velletri*), Volscian, **24 m.** from Rome.
 Venāfrum (*Venafro*), Campanian, *w.* of the Vulturinus.
 Venusia (*Venosa*), **col.**, see p. **158**.
 Vercellæ (*Vercelli*), Cis-Gall., **n.** of the Po.
 Vescia, on coast of Campania, *s.* of the Liris.
 Victumviæ (*Vigevano*?), in Cis-Gaul.
 Vitellia (*Valmontone*?), *Æquian*.
 Volaterræ (*Volterra*), Tuscan, between Siena and Leghorn.
 Vulsinii (*Bolsena*), Tuscan, on lake of same name.
 Vulturinus (*Volturno*), riv. of Samnium and Campania.

INDEX.

* * Figures (2), (3), &c., denote 2nd, 3rd, &c. of the name.

Abelux, 216.
 Acea Larentia, 12.
Accensi, 51.
 Accius (M.) Plautus, 290.
 Achilles, 434-436.
 Acilius (M.) Glabrio, 256;
 (2) M., 371.
Addictus, 60.
 Adherbal, 311, 312.
Ebutius (T.), 35.
Ædiles, 64.
Æmilius (Mam.), 104;
 (2) L. Barbula, 161.
 — (M.) Paulus, 185;
 (2) L., 209-210; (3) L.,
263; (4) L., 245, 265.
 — (M.) Scaurus,
312, 313, 315, 331;
 (2) M., 351.
 — (M.) Lepidus,
283; (2) M., 354, 355;
 (3) L., 424, 447, 450,
456-461, 471-473.
Æneas, 9-10. *Æquians*, 4.
Ærarians, 54.
 Afranius (L.), 391, 425-
426, 441.
Africānus, see *Cornelius*.
 Agrippa, see *Vipsanius*.
 Ahala, see *Servilius*.
 Alba, 11.
 Albius (C.) *Carrinas*, 348,
349.
 Allobroges, 199, 310,
381, 382.
 Allucius, 233.
 Amulius, 11-13.
 Ancus Marcius, 20.
 Andristes, 276.
 Anicius (Q.), 162; (2)
 L., 263.
 Annii (L.), 137; (2)
 Q., 379.
 — (T.) Milo, 400,
401, 408-410, 429.

Antillius, 305.
 Antiochus, 255-259.
 Antonius (M.), 345; (2)
 M., 362-364; (3) M.,
419, 420, 424, 430,
438, 446, 451, 477;
 (4) L., 467, 468.
 Apuleius (L.) Saturni-
 nus, 323, 326-328.
 Apulia, 4.
 Aqua Appia, 168.
 Aquilii, 32.
 Aquilius (M.), 325, 340,
341, 342.
 Archimedes, 221, 228.
 Ariobarzanes, 339.
 Ariovistus, 411.
 Aristion, 341.
 Aristobulus, 375, 377.
 Aristodemus, 36.
 Aristonicus, 309.
 Artabazus, 404.
 Artemidorus, 448.
 Aruns, 21; (2) 28, 32;
 (3) 114.
 Asinius (C.) Pollio, 420,
444, 456, 467.
Assiduans, 51.
Asylum, 13.
 Ateius (C.) Capito, 404.
 Athenio, 325.
 Athens, 341.
 Atilius (C.) Regulus, Ser-
 ranus, 181; (2) M.,
182, 183, 186, 187.
 — (A.) Calatinus,
 Serranus, 181, 188;
 (2) M., 278; (3) Sex.,
399.
 Atius (T.) Labienus, 421,
429, 433, 439, 444.
 — (P.) Varus, 424,
444; (2) L., 479.
 Attalus, 258, 287.
 Attius (L.), 479.

Augustus, 16.
 Augustus, 379.
 Aurelia, 386.
 Aurelius (M.) Cotta, 366;
 (2) L., 361, 384, 446.
 — (M.) Scaurus, 322.
 — (L.) Orestes, 301.
 Auruncans, 4.
 Ausonians, 4.
 Autronius (P.), 379, 383.
 Barcas, 188.
 Bardians, 345.
 Battle of Arsia, 32.
 — Regillus, 36.
 — Alia, 116.
 — Mount Gaurus,
133.
 — Vesuvius, 138.
 — Perusia, 150.
 — Vadimo, 150.
 — Sentinum, 156.
 — Aquilonia, 158.
 — Siris, 162.
 — Asculum, 166.
 — Beneventum,
167.
 — the Ægates,
189.
 — Trebia, 203.
 — Trasimene
 Lake, 205.
 — Cannæ, 209.
 — Nola, 217.
 — Mictaurus, 238.
 — Zama, 250.
 — Cynocephalæ,
255.
 — Magnesia, 258.
 — Pydna, 261.
 — Chéronœa, 342.
 — Orchomenus,
342.
 — Tigranocerta,
369.

- Battle of Pharsalia, 431.
 ——— Munda, 444.
 ——— Mutina, 455.
 ——— Philippi, 462.
 ——— Actium, 475.
 Belgians, 413.
 Bestia, see *Calpurnius*.
 Bibulus, see *Calpurnius*.
 Blossius, 293, 298.
 Bocchus, 317, 318, 321.
 Bomilear, 314, 316.
 Bostar, 183, 187; (2) 216.
 Brennus, 115, 118.
 Bruttians, 5. *Brutus*, 5,
 28.
 Brutus, see *Junius*.
 Byrsa, 175, 269.
 Cæcilius (L.) Metellus,
186; (2) 211; (3) Q. Met.
 Macedonicus, 276, 282; (4) Q. Met.
 Numidicus, 315–320,
326–329; (5) Q. Met.
 Pius, 329, 344, 348,
357, 358, 389; (6) Q. Met.
 Creticus, 361,
391; (7) Q. Met. Celer,
391, 394, 395; (8) Q. Met.
 Nepos, 384,
385, 399, 400; (9) Q. Met.
 Pins, *Scipio*, 410,
431, 433, 439, 441;
 (10) L., 424.
 Cædicius (M.), 115, 117.
 Cæles Vivenna, 41.
 Cæpio, see *Servilius*.
 Cæsar, see *Julius*.
 Cæsariôn, 437, 478.
 Calendar, 443.
 Callæicus, see *Junius*.
 Calpurnius (L.) Piso, 271;
 (2) Q., 283; (3) C.,
363, 382; (4) Cn., 388;
 (5) L., 395, 462.
 ——— (L.) Bestia,
313, 315; (2) L., 379.
 ——— (M.) Bibulus,
392, 393, 409, 428, 430.
 Calvinus, see *Domitius*.
 Camillus, see *Furius*.
 Canidius (M.), 398; (2)
 P., 474, 475.
 Canuleius (C.), 99.
 Capite Censi, 51.
 Capitolium, 27.
 Capua, 132.
 Carbo, see *Papirius*.
 Carrinas, see *Albius*.
 Carthage, 176, 268.
 Carthage (New), 196, 232.
 Carthalo, 212; (2) 267.
 Casca, see *Servilius*.
 Casceans, 4.
 Cassivelaunus, 415.
 Cassius (Sp.) Viscellinus,
65, 67, 70.
 Cassius (L.) Longinus,
309; (2) L., 313, 322;
 (3) L., 340; (4) L.,
379; (5) Q., 419; (6)
 C., 404, 406, 446, 451,
461–463.
 ——— (L.) *Hemina*, 290.
 Catilina, see *Sergius*.
 Cato, see *Porcius*.
 Catulus, see *Lutatus*.
 Caudine Forks, 144.
 Celeres, 45.
 Censorinus, see *Marcus*.
 Censors, 100. *Census*, 54.
 Centuries, 51. *Centu-*
rions, 45.
 Cethægus, see *Cornelius*.
 Cicero, see *Tullius*.
 Cilnius (C.) Macênas,
468, 471.
 Cimbrians, 322, 326.
 Ciminian Wood, 149.
 Cincinnatus, see *Quinc-*
tius.
 Cineas, 163.
 Cinna, see *Cornelius*.
 Classes, 49, 170.
 Claudius (Ap.), 58, 60, 62;
 (2) Ap., 72, 78–80;
 (3) C. Sabinus, 93–98;
 (4) Ap., 93–98; (5)
 Ap., 110, 127; (6)
 Ap. Cæcus, 154, 164,
168, 169; (7) Ap.
 Caudex, 178; (8) P.
 Pulcher, 188; (9) Ap.,
211, 225, 229; (10) C.
 Nero, 230, 236–238;
 (11) Ap., 294, 296,
299; (12) Ap., 344;
 (13) C., 359; (14) Ap.,
399, 403, 407; (15)
 P., see *Clodius*.
 Claudius (M.) Marcellus,
195, 214, 217, 219,
221, 226–233, 235;
 (2) M., 278; (3) C.,
419; (4) C., 419.
 ——— (M.), 94–98; (2)
 M. Glicia, 188.
 Cleon, 286.
 Cleopatra, 434–437, 465,
474–478.
 Clients, 15, 46.
 Cloëna Maxima, 54.
 Clodius or Claudius (P.)
 Pulcher, 368, 370, 371,
386, 394–401, 408.
 Cloelia, 35.
 Clælius, 88–90, 101.
 Cluilius, 17.
 Cocceius (M.) *Nerva*, 469.
 Coelius (M.), 408, 419,
420.
 Collatinus, see *Tarqui-*
nus.
 Colonies, 65.
 Comitium -a, 38, 46.
 Connubium, 38.
 Conscripts, 58.
 Consulars, 70. *Consuls*,
58.
 Coriolanus, see *Marcus*.
 Cornelia, 293, 300; (2)
410, 434–435.
 Cornelius (A.) Cossus,
104, 121; (2) A. Ar-
 vina, 143.
 Cornelius (Cn.) Scipio,
180; (2) L., 181; (3)
 P. and Cn., 198, 199,
201, 216, 219, 222,
228; (4) P. Africanus,
201, 211, 230, 233,
239–253, 257–261; (5)
 L. Asiaticus, 239, 244,
257–259; (6) P. Æmi-
 lianus Africanus, 270–
276, 283–285, 299–
300; (7) P. Nasica,
266, 296, 298, 299;
 (8) L., 448; (9) L. Me-

- rula, 344, 346; (10)
 Q. Metellus, 410, 431-433, 439-441.
 Cornelius (L.) Sulla, 321, 322, 324, 332-343, 346-354; (2) Faustus, 441.
 — (L.) Cinna, 338, 343-347; (2) L., 450.
 — (P.) Lentulus, 286; (2) P. Lent. Sura, 379, 381, 382; (3) P. Lent. Spinther, 399, 421, 422, 431; (4) L. Crus, 419; (5) Cn. Marcellinus, 402.
 — (C.) Cethëgus, 379, 381, 383.
 — (P.) Dolabella, 162, 165; (2) P., 438, 450, 452, 461.
 — (Cn.) Gallus, 477.
 Cornificius (L.), 472.
 Corvus, see *Valerius.*
 Cossus, see *Cornelius.*
 Cotta, see *Aurelius.*
 Crassus, see *Licinius.*
 Cremera, 75.
 Crispinus, see *Quinctius.*
 Curiatii, 17.
 Curies, 15, 45.
 Curio, see *Scribonius.*
 Curius (M') Dentatus, 158, 167; (2) Q., 379, 380.
 Curtius (M.), 127.
 Damasippus, see *Junius.*
 Decemvirs, 92.
 Decidius (P.) Saxa, 462.
 Decius (P.) Mus., 134, 137-138; (2) P., 153-155, 170; (3) P., 166; (4) Q., 309.
 Deiotarus, 437.
 Demetrius of Pharus, 192.
 Dictator, 59.
 Didius (C.), 444; (2) Q., 476.
 Dolabella, see *Cornelius.*
 Domitius (Cn.) Ahenobarbus, 310; (2) 326; (3) L., 349; (4) L., 403, 407, 409, 421, 422, 425; (5) Cn., 467, 468, 474, 475.
 Domitius (Cn.) Calvinus, 407, 431, 432.
 Drusus, see *Livius.*
 Duilius (M.), 96-98; (2) C., 180.
 Egeria, 16. Egerius, 21, 22.
 Egnatius (Gellius), 153; (2) Marius, 332, 334.
 Ennius (Q.), 290.
 Epic'ides, 221, 227.
 Equites, 50. Etruscans, 6.
 Eumenes, 257, 258.
 Eunus, 286.
 Fabii, 71-76, 115.
 Fabius (K.) Vibulanus, 71, 72-76; (2) Q., 72, 74; (3) M., 72-73; (4) Ambustus, 115; (5) M., 123; (6) M., 130; (7) Q. Rullianus Maximus, 142, 143, 147, 149-156, 158, 170; (8) Q. Max. Gurgus, 158; (9) Q. Max. Cunctator, 206-209, 211, 217, 219, 234, 243; (10) Q. Max. 222; (11) Q. Pictor, 212, 290; (12) Q. Max. Æmilianus, 280; (13) C., 425; (14) M. Adrianus, 370; (15) Q. Sanga, 381.
 Fabricius (C.) Luscinus, 160, 165, 166; (2) Q., 399.
 Falerii, 113.
 Fannius (C.), 303, 304.
 Fasces, 16. Fasti, 169.
 Fathers, 15, 46. Faustulus, 12.
 Favonius (M.), 394.
 Fidene, 104.
 Fimbria, see *Flavius.*
 Flaccus, see *Fulvius* and *Valerius.*
 Flamma, 16.
 Flamininus, see *Quinctius.*
 Flaminius (C.), 193, 194, 204-205.
 Flavius (Cn.), 169; (2) C., Fimbria, 343, 346; (3) L. Nepos, 391, 399.
 Forum, 51.
 Fufius (Q.) Calenus, 430, 455.
 Fulvia, 379, 380; (2) 408, 452, 460, 467, 468.
 Fulvius (Ser.) Nobilior, 185; (2) Q., 278, 281; (3) M., 379.
 — (Q.) Flaccus, 222, 225, 229, 234, 243; (2) M., 299-301, 304-306.
 — (Q.) Centumalus, 233.
 Furius (Sp.), 82; (2) M. Camillus, 108, 113, 118, 122-125; (3) Sp., 124; (4) L., 131.
 — (P.) Philus, 283.
 Gabii, 27.
 Gabinus (Q.), 309; (2) A., 365; (3) P., 379, 381, 383; (4) A., 362, 376, 395, 396, 399.
 Galba, see *Sulpicius.*
 Gauls, 114.
 Gellius (L.) Poplicola, 360, 384.
 Gentius, 264.
 Genucius (Cn.), 77; (2) Cn., 109.
 Glaucia, see *Servilius.*
 Gracchus, see *Sempronius.*
 Gulusa, 267, 271.
 Hamilcar, 182, 183, 187; (2) Barcas, 188, 189, 191, 196.
 Hampsicora, 218.
 Hannibal (son of Gisco), 179-181; (2) son of

- Hamilcar, 196-256, 260, 261.
 Hanno, 177, 178; (2) 179, 182, 189, 216; (3) 213; (4) 198, 217, 220, 225.
 Hasdrubal (son of Hamilcar), 183, 186; (2) 196; (3) 196, 216, 219, 230, 235, 238; (4) 219; (5) (son of Gisco), 239, 240, 244, 247; (6) 267, 269, 271, 273, 274; (7) 269, 271.
Hastats, 172.
 Herdonius (Turnus), 26; (2) Ap., 87.
 Hernicans, 5.
 Hiempsal, 311.
 Hiero, 177-178, 191, 219.
 Hieronymus, 219.
 Hirtius (A.), 455.
 Horatii, 17.
 Horatius (M.) Pulvillus, 33; (2) M., Cocles, 34; (3) M., 93, 97-99.
 Hortensius (Q.), 159; (2) Q., 386, 387; (3) Q., 461.
 Hostilius (Tullus), 17-20, 40; (2) L. Mancinus, 271, 272; (3) C., 282.
 Hircanus, 376.
 Janus, 38, 193.
 Icilius (L.), 94-99.
Imperium, 47.
 Indibilis, 228, 233, 240, 241, 277.
Interrex, 16, 46. Italy, 3.
 Juba, 424, 440-441.
 Judacilius, 332, 334.
Jugum, 90.
 Jugurtha, 284, 311-322.
 Julia, 395.
 Julius Proculus, 15; (2) C., 72; (3) C., 103; (4) L., 103; (5) L., Caesar, 332-334, 345; (6) C. Caesar, 372, 379, 383-385, 392-402, 403, 411, 449; (7) L., 421, 440, 441-478; (8) C. Octavianus, 453-479.
 Iulus, 11.
 Junius (L.) Brutus, 28-32; (2) D., 285; (3) L. Damasippus, 349; (4) M., 356; (5) D., 425, 447, 455-456; (6) M., 398, 446-455, 461-463.
 — (M.) Silanus, 231, 239; (2) M., 322; (3) D., 383.
 — (C.) Norbanus, 462.
Justitium, 92.
 Labienus, see *Atius*.
 Laelius (C.), 231, 233, 239, 244, 246-253, 256; (2) C., 274, 293, 298, 301.
 Laetorius (C.), 78.
 Laevinus, see *Valerius*.
 Lamponius, 332, 349.
 Larcus (Sp.), 34; (2) T., 59.
Latins, 4, 65. *Latinus*, 10.
Lavinia, 11. *Lavinium*, 11.
Law, *Valerian*, 33.
 —, *Agrarian*, 68, 69, 123-124, 294-296, 392-393.
 —, *Terentilian*, 86.
 —, *Icilian*, 86; *Twelve Tables*, 92.
 —, *Licinian*, 123.
 —, *Publilian*, 140.
 —, *Hortensian*, 159.
 —, *Scmpronian*, 294, 302, 304.
 —, *Julian*, 334, 443.
 —, *Cornelian*, 352, 353.
 —, *Gabinian*, 363.
 —, *Manilian*, 372.
Legate, 173.
Legatio Libera, 288.
Legion, 52, 172.
 — (*Linen*), 157.
Lentulus, see *Cornelius*.
 Lepidus, see *Emilius*.
 Libo, see *Scribonius*.
 Licinius (C.), 64; (2) C. Stolo, 123, 124, 129; (3) C., 124.
 — (L.) Lncullus, 278, 279; (2) L., 366, 373, 387, 394, 395.
 — (L.) Murcna, 365.
 — (P.) Crassus, 263; (2) 310; (3) 309; (4) M., 332, 349, 351, 360-362, 392, 393, 403-407; (5) P., 396, 406, 413, 414.
Lictors, 16. *Ligurians*, 7.
 Livius (M.) Salinâtor, 223, 236-238.
 — (M.) Drusus, 304; (2) M., 329, 330.
 — (L.) Andronicus, 290.
 Lucanians, 5.
Luceres, 15, 44.
 Lucilius (C.), 479.
 Lucretia, 29, 30.
 Lucretius (Sp.), 29, 33; (2) Q. Ofella, 349; (3) L., 353.
 Lucullus, see *Licinius*.
Lucumo, 21, 114.
 Lutatius (C.) Catulus, 189; (2) 323, 325, 316; (3) Q., 355, 363, 379-382, 386, 389.
 Mæcenas, see *Cibius*.
 Mælius (Sp.), 102.
 Mænius (C.), 72; (2) L., 129.
 Mago, 203, 213, 239, 242, 244, 249.
 Maharbal, 206, 212.
 Mamertines, 177.
 Mamilius (Octavius), 26, 35; (2) L., 88; (3) C., 314.
 Mancinus, see *Hostilius*.
 Mandonius, 233, 240, 241, 277.
 Manilius (C.), 371.
 Manlius (Cn.), 73, 74; (2) M. Capitolinus, 118, 121; (3) P. 124;

- (4) *L. Imperiōsus*, 126;
(5) *T. Torquātus*, 126,
128, 131, 137-138,
139; (6) *Cn. Vulso*,
259; (7) *C.* 386, 387.
Marcellus, see *Claudius*.
Marcus (Ancus), 20; (2)
Cn. Coriolānus, 83-
85; (3) *C. Rutilus*,
130, 131, 135; (4) *L.*,
228, 231, 240.
— *L. Censorinus*,
267, 270; (2) *L.*, 465.
— *Q. Rex*, 310.
— (Q.) *Philippus*,
263; (2) *L.*, 330; (3)
L., 402, 453, 455.
Marius (C.), 318-328,
332-338, 344-346;
(2) *C.*, 348, 349; (3)
M. Gratidiānus, 331.
Marrucinians, 5.
Marsians, 5.
Masinissa, 222, 239, 241,
244-249, 266, 267, 271.
Massilia, 424, 427.
Massīva, 313.
Mastarna, 42.
Master of the horse, 59.
Megara, 270.
Memmius (C.), 312, 328;
(2) *C.*, 407, 410.
Menenius (Agrippa) La-
nātus, 63; (2) *T.*, 76,
77.
Merula, see *Cornelius*.
Messāla, see *Valerius*.
Metellus, see *Cæcilius*.
Mettius Fuffetius, 17-19.
Mezentius, 10.
Micipsa, 271, 311.
Milo, see *Annius*.
Minucius (Q.), 88; (2)
M., 206-208, 211; (3)
Q. Thermus, 385; (4)
Basilus, 447.
Mithridātes, 339, 343,
364-377; (2) 437.
More Majorum, 70.
Mucius (C.) Scævola, 34;
(2) 294, 298, 299; (3)
Q., 346, 349.
Mummius (L.), 276, 278,
Munatius (T.) Plancus,
408-410; (2) *L.*, 475,
479.
Municipium, 82.
Murēna, see *Licinius*.
Nævius (Cn.), 290.
Nasica, see *Cornelius*.
Navius (Attus), 22.
Nepheris, 269, 274.
Nero, see *Claudius*.
Nervians, 413.
Nexus, 59.
Nicomēdes, 340, 365.
Ninius (L.), 396.
Norbānus (C.), 348, 349.
Numantia, 281.
Numa Pompilius, 16, 40.
Numisius, 139.
Numitor, 11-12.
Numitorius (P.), 95-98;
(2) *Pullus*, 301.
Octavia, 469, 471, 474.
Octaviānus, see *Julius*.
Octavius (Cn.), 264; (2)
M. Cæcina, 295, 296;
(3) *Cn.*, 338, 344, 345;
(4) 406.
Ogulnius (Q.), 159.
Opimius (L.), 301, 303,
306-307, 311, 315.
Oppius (Sp.), 96, 98;
(2) *M.*, 97.
Orōdes, 405, *Orōses*, 375.
Oscans, 4. *Ostia*, 20.
Pacorus, 470.
Pacuvius Calavius, 213;
(2) 290.
Paganatia, 54.
Pansa, see *Fibius*.
Papirius (M.), 117; (2)
L. Cursor, 142, 145,
146, 151; (3) *L.*, 156.
— (C.) *Carbo*, 299,
309; (2) *Cn.*, 322;
(3) *Cn.*, 344, 346-348,
351.
Papius Brutulus, 143;
(2) *C. Mutilus*, 332-
334.
Parthians, 339, 404.
Patres, 15, 45.
Patricians, 15, 45.
Pelasgians, 3. *Peligni-*
ans, 5.
Perperna (M.), 310; (2)
C., 332, 352, 357, 359.
Perseus, 263-265.
Petillius, Q., 260.
Petreius (M.), 425-426,
441.
Pharnāces, 377, 437.
Philip, 217, 256, 263;
(2) 435.
Philippus, see *Marcus*.
Phraātes, 374.
Piceniāns, 5.
Pilum, 171.
Piso, see *Calpurnius* and
Pupius.
Plancus, see *Munatius*.
Plautius (C.), 130; (2)
Hypsæus, 286; (3) *P.*,
410.
Plautus, see *Accius*.
Plebiscits, 136.
Plebs, 15, 48.
Pompēdium, or *Pope-*
dium (Q.) Silo, 331,
333.
Pompeius (Q.) Rufus,
282; (2) *Q.*, 296; (3)
Q. Rufus, 335-338.
— (Cn.) *Strabo*,
332, 334, 338, 344;
(2) *Cn. Magnus*, 348,
352, 355-364, 372-
378, 391-403, 409-
410, 418-422, 428-
435; (3) *Cn.*, 433, 444;
(4) *Sex.*, 434, 439, 444,
469-472.
Pomponius (M.), 127;
(2) *T. Atticus*, 451, 460.
Pontidius (C.), 332.
Pontiffs, 16.
Pontius (C.), 144-146,
158; (2) *Telesinus*,
332, 349.
Popedius, see *Pompēdium*.
Popillius (M.) Lænas,
130, 131; (2) *M.*, 282;
(3) *M.*, 287; (4) *P.*,
302; (5) *C.*, 459.

- Poplicola, see *Valerius*.
Populifugia, 119.
Populus, 46. Porcia, 464.
 Porcius (M.) Cato, 244, 260, 262, 266, 277, 290; (2) M., 334; (3) M., 383, 385, 389, 390, 392, 394, 397, 398, 403, 423, 433, 439-441; (4) C., 402; (5) M. Laeca, 379.
 Porsenna, 34, 35, 43.
 Postumius (A.) Albus, 82; (2) Tubertus, 103; (3) M., 106; (4) Sp., 144-145; (5) L., 161; (6) L., 192; (7) L., 215; (8) Sp. Albinus, 313, 315.
 Prætor, 58.
 Principes, 172.
 Priscans, 4.
 Proconsul, 141.
 Proculus, see *Julius*.
 Proletarians, 51.
 Proscription, 350.
 Provinces, 191, 288.
 Prusias, 260, 287.
 Ptolemæus of Cyprus, 397, 398; (2) of Egypt, 434; (3) 434-437.
 Publicans, 289.
 Public land, 68.
 Publicum, 60.
 Publius (Volero), 77; (2) Q. Philo, 140-141, 145.
 Pupius (M.) Piso, 386.
 Pyrrhus, 162-167.
 Quæstors, 100.
 Quinctius (T.) Capitolineus, 78, 81, 82; (2) K., 86-88; (3) L. Cincinnatus, 88-90, 93, 102; (4) T., 135; (5) T. Crispinus, 227, 235; (6) T. Flaminius, 255, 260.
 N., 369.
 Quirinus, 15.
 Quirites, 14, 39.
 Ramnes, 15, 44.
 Rasena, 6.
 Regifugium, 30.
 Regulus, see *Attilius*.
 Remus, 12, 13.
 Romulus, 12-15.
 Rostra, 140.
 Ruminant fig-tree, 11.
 Rupilius (P.), 286.
 Rutilius (P.), 329; (2) P., 332, 333.
 Sabellians, 5. Sabines, 5.
 Saguntum, 197. Sallii, 17.
 Sallustius (C.) Crispus, 438, 442, 480.
 Samnites, 5.
 Saturninus, see *Apuleius*.
 Saufcius (C.), 328.
 Scævola, see *Mucius*.
 Scaptius, 464.
 Scaurus, see *Æmilius*.
 Scipio, see *Cornelius* and *Cæcilius*.
 Scribonius (C.) Curio, 419, 420, 424.
 — (L.) Libo, 430, 468.
 Secession, 64, 97, 159.
 Sempronius (A.) Atratinus, 72; (2) C., 105; (3) A. Asellio, 335.
 — (Tib.) Gracchus, 198, 202-204, 215, 220, 222, 225; (2) Tib., 261, 277; (3) Tib., 282, 293-299, 307; (4) C., 300-308.
 Senate, 15, 46.
 Septimius, 435.
 Sergius (M.), 108; (2) L. Catilina, 351, 378, 383.
 Serranus, see *Attilius*.
 Sertorius (Q.), 344, 356-358.
 Servilius (Q.) Priscus, 81; (2) Q., 90; (3) C. Ahala, 102; (4) Q. Priscus, 103, 106; (5) Q. Ahala, 135; (6) Cn. Cæpio, 281, 326, 327; (7) Q. Cæpio, 323; (8) C. Glaucia, 326, 328; (9) P. Isauricus, 362; (10) C. and P. Casca, 447, 448.
 Sextius (L.) Lateranus, 122-124; (2) C., 310; (3) P., 399, 402.
 Sibylline Books, 28.
 Sicinius (L.) Bellatus, 62, 64; (2) L. Dentatus, 94.
 Silanus, see *Junius*.
 Silvia, 11. Silvii, 11.
 Sisenna, see *Cornelius*.
 Sittius, 441.
 Sophonisba, 241, 248, 249.
 Spartacus, 360, 361.
 Spolia optima, 104, 195.
 Spurinna, 448.
 Statilius (L.), 379, 381, 383; (2) T. Taurus, 471.
 Sublician Bridge, 20.
 Suevians, 414, 416.
 Sulla, see *Cornelius*.
 Sulpicius (Ser.), 123; (2) C., 127, 128; (3) C., 148; (4) P., 255; (5) Ser. Galba, 265; (6) P. Rufus, 333, 335, 336.
 Surēna, 405, 406.
 Syphax, 222, 240, 242, 244-249.
 Syracuse, 221, 226.
 Tables (Twelve), 92.
 Tanaquil, 21-23.
 Tarentum, 222.
 Tarpeia, 14.
 Tarquinius (L.) Priscus, 21-23, 42; (2) L. Superbus, 24-26; (3) Sex., 27-30; (4) Collatinus, 29-32.
 — L., 382.
 Tarquinius (L.), 89.
 Tatius, 14.
 Tectosages, 323.
 Telesinus, see *Pontius*.
 Tempanius (Sex.), 105.
 Terence, 290.
 Terentilius (C.) Arsa, 85.

- Terentius (C.) Varro, 209-213; (2) C., 278; (3) M., 425, 427, 445, 460, 480; (4) P. Afer, 290.
Teuta, 192.
Teutones, 322, 323.
Ticinus, 201.
Tigrānes, 339, 365, 368, 374.
Tigranocerta, 365, 369.
Tillius Cimber (L.), 447, 448.
Titenses, 15, 44.
Titinius (L.), 109; (2) 462.
Titius (M.), 472.
Toga, 89.
Tolumnius (Lars), 104.
Trebonius (C.), 425, 427, 429, 447, 461.
Triarians, 172. *Triarius*, see *Volscius*.
Tribes, 15, 44, 49.
Tribunes, 15, 49, 64.
Tribute, 49.
Triumvirate, 392; (2) 457.
Trypho, 325. Tullia, 25, 26.
Tullius (Ser.), 23-25, 41; (2) Attus, 66, 67, 83; (3) M. Cicero, 372, 379-384, 386, 390, 395-401, 410, 411, 413, 422, 433, 438, 450-457, 459-460; (4) M., 461; (5) Q., 400, 416, 459.
Turnus, 11.
Umbrēnus, 381.
Umbrians, 4.
Vaccæans, 278.
Valerius (P.) Poplicola, 29, 32, 33; (2) M., 36; (3) 62; (4) L., 70; (5) L., 93, 96-99; (6) M. Corvus, 131, 133, 135; (7) P. Lævinus, 163, 165; (8) M. Lævinus, 217, 221, 231.
—— (P.) Flaccus, 217; (2) L., 343, 346.
—— (M.) Messāla, 391, 408, 464, 472, 371.
—— (C.) Catullus, 479.
Vargunteius (L.), 379.
Varinius (P.) Glaber, 359.
Varius, Q., 330.
Varro, see *Terentius*.
Varus, see *Atius*.
Vatinius (P.), 393, 395, 403, 429.
Veii, 107.
Velāti, 51. *Velites*, 173.
Ventidius (P.), 332-333; (2) P., 456, 470.
Vercingetorix, 417.
Verres (C.), 288, 391.
Vestals, 16.
Vestinians, 5.
Vettius Messius, 103; (2) (L.), 395; (3) Scato, 332.
Veturia, 84.
Vibius Virrius, 230; (2) C. Pansa, 455.
Vindicius, 31, 43.
Vipsanius (M.) Agrippa, 470-472, 475.
Virgilius (C.), 397.
Virginia, 94, 95.
Virginus (T.) Tricostus, 74, 98; (3) L., 108.
Viriāthus, 279-281.
Viridomarus, 195.
Vitellii, 31.
Volero, see *Publius*.
Volōnes, 220.
Volsceans, 4.
Volscius (M.) Fictor, 86, 90.
Vulturcius (T.), 381.
Volumnia, 84.
Xanthippus, 184.

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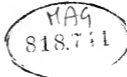
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